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DOCUMENTS IN  
MYCENAEAN GREEK









46=Au102, Mycenaean tablet of 'page' shape

# DOCUMENTS IN MYCENAEAN GREEK

THREE HUNDRED SELECTED TABLETS  
FROM KNOSSOS, PYLOS AND MYCENAE WITH  
COMMENTARY AND VOCABULARY

BY THE LATE  
MICHAEL VENTRIS

AND

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WITH A FOREWORD BY  
ALAN J. B. WACE

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To the memory of  
HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN

1822-1890

FATHER OF MYCENAEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

*I had always passionately longed to learn Greek; but up to the time of the Crimean War it appeared to me inadvisable to abandon myself to this study, since I feared that the powerful fascination of this wonderful language would take too great a hold on me and would alienate me from my commercial interests. But when the first news of peace arrived at St Petersburg in January 1856, I could no longer contain my desire, and without delay I applied myself with great diligence to the new study. Again I faithfully followed my old methods. In order to master the vocabulary in a short time (even more difficult for me than in the case of Russian), I obtained a modern Greek translation of Paul et Virginie; and read this from cover to cover, all the time carefully comparing each word with its counterpart in the French original. After a single reading I had absorbed at least half of the words in the book, and after a repetition of this process I had learnt practically all of them—without having wasted a single moment in looking a word up in a dictionary. In this way I succeeded, within the short space of six weeks, in mastering the difficulties of modern Greek. Then I embarked on the study of the ancient language, of which I gained a sufficient knowledge in three months to enable me to understand some of the ancient authors—especially Homer, whom I read again and again with the greatest enthusiasm. . . .*

(SELBSTBIOGRAPHIE, pp. 21-2.)





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## PREFACE

During the months following the appearance of our first article 'Evidence for Greek dialect in the Mycenaean archives' (*JHS*, 73, 1953, pp. 84-103) we received several invitations to discuss the results of our decipherment at book length. Our first reaction was to regard the writing of such a book as premature, in view of the uncertainty and incompleteness of much of the interpretation; but since 1953 there have been a number of changes in the situation:

1. A large number of new Mycenaean tablets, found at Pylos and Mycenae in the seasons 1952-4, have been added to the known material and must now be taken into account. Through the kindness of Prof. C. W. Blegen, Prof. A. J. B. Wace, Dr Emmett L. Bennett Jr. and Dr Ch. Karouzos (director of the National Museum in Athens), we have been able to study many of these documents in advance of publication; our thanks are also due to Dr N. Platon (director of the Iraklion Museum) and to his assistant S. Alexiou for making available to us the originals of the Knossos tablets, many of which are not to be found in Evans and Myres' *Scripta Minoa II*. We are indebted to them for the photographs of tablets which appear in the Plates. While this book contains a selection of all the Mycenaean tablets known at the time of writing (Easter, 1955), it is uncertain whether the next few seasons' excavation will provide any material addition to their numbers, and this may therefore be an opportune moment to review the evidence.

2. The 1952-4 tablets have enabled us to improve many of our earlier interpretations of signs, vocabulary and grammar, and have provided new and conclusive evidence that the language of the Mycenaean script really is a form of Greek. The documents here published are thus of great importance in forming almost the earliest record of Indo-European speech (of the family to which our own language belongs), and in providing the present-day speakers of Greek with a language history which may now be traced back more than 3350 years. A complete and detailed Mycenaean Vocabulary is becoming a necessity for comparative purposes.

3. A large number of classical scholars, philologists and archaeologists have begun to join in the interpretation of the documents. A general survey of the evidence will, we hope, be useful as a background against which to appreciate this new research discipline, already embodied in numerous articles dealing with points of detail. It may also provide a useful summary of its first results for those who have not the time for the cryptographic technicalities, but who



nevertheless wish to know more about the subject-matter that the tablets record and of the language in which they are written. While we would be the first to admit that our translations of the tablets are necessarily very tentative and imperfect, we hope that this book will have the advantage over previous articles in offering the remaining sceptics an overwhelming mass of evidence to show that the widespread support for the principle of the decipherment is justified.

The book has been planned in three sections. Part I contains a retrospective account of the half-century of research which has culminated in decipherment; a detailed discussion of the Mycenaean script, language and proper names; and a summary of the cultural evidence which can be extracted from the tablets. Part II, the core of the book, is devoted to the printing of 300 selected texts from Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae in transliteration, together with translation and commentary. We have tried to include all the tablets which provide useful material for a discussion of language, life and institutions, and have divided these into six chapters according to their different subject-matter. Part III comprises a complete Mycenaean Vocabulary, a selective list of personal names and a bibliography, together with concordances to the tablet numbering and a general index.

Our views on the detailed relationship of this Greek dialect are given in ch. III; but until a satisfactory terminology is agreed we have preferred to refer to it non-committally as 'Mycenaean Greek', which is intended to mean no more than 'that form of Greek which has so far been proved to occur in a Mycenaean context'. It may be objected that this would leave us without a distinguishing label for the speech of Mycenae itself, should further evidence reveal dialect differences between it and those of Pylos or Knossos; but similar considerations have not prevented the term 'Mycenaean' from coming into general use to describe the culture of the same wide area. Some apology is, however, due to the archaeologists for the necessity of referring to 'Mycenaean' dialect, script or institutions at Knossos in the period whose culture is properly known as Late Minoan II.

For the convenience of the printer and of those unfamiliar with the Mycenaean script, texts and words have generally been printed in the syllabic transliteration shown in fig. 4 (p. 23). Since in several respects the phonology of our dialect does not necessarily coincide with that of the later classical Greek, we have reluctantly decided to print the reconstructed Mycenaean forms in Roman letters (as in the transcription of other ancient Near Eastern scripts) rather than by an anachronistic use of the Greek alphabet. This has been replaced by the conventions *a b g d e w z h ē th i k l m n x o p r s t u ph kh ps ā*. The labio-velar series is represented by *q<sup>u</sup> g<sup>u</sup> q<sup>u</sup>h*; *ē* and *ō* indicate vowels



in which compensatory lengthening might be expected (Attic 'spurious' diphthongs  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $\omicron\upsilon$ ). This transcription is to be regarded as no more than a conventional approximation; the exact pronunciation of these phonemes may be subject to considerable uncertainty (particularly in the case of  $z$ ,  $h$ ,  $g^h$  and  $s$ ).

We have wherever possible taken account of the interpretations of individual words, signs and contexts which have been proposed by other scholars during the period from 1953 up to the completion of this manuscript at Easter, 1955, and have tried to give them due credit in the commentaries and Vocabulary. Bennett's edition of the 1939-54 Pylos tablets unfortunately appeared too late (February 1956) for full conformity to be ensured, particularly with regard to his new numbering of the 1939 tablets (see p. 153). We have preferred to leave many details of the interpretation as uncertain, where the solutions so far advanced appear to be premature or unsatisfactory. There will inevitably be cases where we withhold credit to others for solutions at which we had in fact already arrived independently, and for any such apparent injustice we apologize in advance. Books and articles have been referred to in the text merely by their author and year of publication (or other abbreviation), for which the key will be found in the bibliography on pages 428-33.

In preparing the first draft of this book, we divided its contents between us in alternating sections; but these were subsequently amended, and where necessary rewritten, to take account of the other's criticisms, so that it is hardly possible to apportion responsibility. Continuous discussion and correspondence have resolved most of our differences; where we still hold strongly to opposing views this is indicated.

We are greatly indebted to Prof. Alan J. B. Wace for writing the Foreword to this book, which enables us to leave in his competent hands the discussion of the historical background to the Knossos and Mainland records; to Prof. C. W. Blegen for the encouragement and generous facilities given to our studies in connexion with his successive finds at Pylos; to Dr Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. for his indispensable published reference works, for a prolonged and fruitful private exchange of views, and for assistance with the tables of phonetic signs and ideograms; to Mr T. B. Mitford for the tables of Cypriot syllabary signs shown in fig. 12; and to Monsieur O. Masson for help with the table of Cypriot linear signs (fig. 11).

We must also acknowledge with thanks the benefit which many different parts of our book have derived from discussion and correspondence with Professors E. G. Turner, T. B. L. Webster and L. R. Palmer, Col. P. B. S. Andrews and other members of the seminar of the Institute of Classical Studies

## PREFACE

---

in London; with Professors G. Björck✠, P. Chantraine, A. Furumark, M. S. Ruizpérez and E. Sittig✠, Dr F. Stubbings, Mr T. J. Dunbabin✠, Herr Hugo Mühlestein; and with many others.

Our thanks are due to the Trustees of the Leverhulme Research Fellowships for a grant which enabled John Chadwick to make a special journey to Greece in the spring of 1955 to examine the original documents; and to the British School of Archaeology at Athens for the hospitality and facilities extended to us on this and other occasions.

We are indebted to the Oxford University Press for permission to reproduce the illustration from *Scripta Minoa I* shown as fig. 1, and to Messrs Macmillan for fig. 18, taken from *The Palace of Minos*.

We must express our gratitude, finally, to the Cambridge University Press for the speed, accuracy and co-operativeness with which it has undertaken the printing of our far from straightforward manuscript.

M. G. F. VENTRIS

J. CHADWICK

LONDON  
CAMBRIDGE  
May 1955



# FOREWORD

## CHRONOLOGICAL NOTE

The Aegean area divides geographically into three main regions, the Greek Mainland, the Archipelago, and Crete. The archaeological finds from these three regions are dated archaeologically by what are called 'sequence dates'. From the successive strata of the sites that have been excavated, such as Knossos, Phylakopi, Korakou, Lianokladi, Eutresis, the succession of the different styles is known although their absolute dating is by no means certain. For the sake of convenience the whole Aegean Bronze Age is divided into three main periods, Early, Middle and Late. Each period can be subdivided into three sub-periods. The finds from the three main regions are thus described as Early, Middle and Late Helladic for the Mainland, Cycladic for the Archipelago, and Minoan for Crete. The three main periods are roughly parallel with the three great periods of Egypt, the Old Kingdom, the Middle Kingdom, and the Late Empire. This gives an approximate dating, which although not exactly accurate is not so far out as to make much difference. The Late Bronze Age begins with the establishment of the XVIIIth Egyptian Dynasty about 1580 B.C. and comes to an end in the days of the XXth Dynasty towards the end of the twelfth century. The sub-periods of the Late Bronze Age which most concern us, Late Helladic I, Late Helladic II and Late Helladic III, can be dated approximately as 1580-1500, 1500-1400, and 1400-1100 B.C. Many points are still under discussion, but new discoveries and future study are not very likely to change these approximate dates seriously. The sequence dates are of course fixed, unless there is an archaeological revolution, which is hardly possible.

In 1874 Schliemann made a series of trial pits on the Acropolis of Mycenae in order to select the most promising area for future excavations on a larger scale. In these tests Mycenaean pottery and Mycenaean terracotta figurines were found.<sup>1</sup> In 1876 Schliemann carried out his really epoch-making excavation at Mycenae when he discovered the Grave Circle and the royal graves with all their astonishing treasures. This, as he said, opened out a new world for archaeology: this was the beginning of Aegean Archaeology and the first landmark in the revelation of the prehistoric civilization of Greece. The second landmark came with the opening of Evans' excavations at Knossos in 1900, when he first discovered the clay tablets inscribed in Linear Script B, as he called it. The third landmark came in 1952 when Michael Ventris announced

<sup>1</sup> Actually in 1809 Thomas Burgon picked up at Mycenae 'south of the southernmost angle of the wall of the Acropolis' some fragments of Mycenaean pottery. These he published in 1847 in a coloured plate in his paper 'An Attempt to point out the Vases of Greece Proper which belong to the Heroic and Homeric Age' (*Transactions of the R. Society of Literature*, Vol. II, New Series, pp. 238ff., pl. IV, A, B, C) which in some respects foreshadows the results of modern research.



that he had succeeded in deciphering the Linear B script as Greek. These are the three main stages in the unveiling of the earliest ages of Greece.

In the years between these landmarks much patient archaeological work was carried out, especially by Tsountas, but the results of this were not immediately seen in their correct perspective. In 1884 Schliemann and Dörpfeld excavated the fortress of Tiryns and discovered the Mycenaean palace there. Unfortunately the interest of the architectural remains was allowed to overshadow the purely archaeological side of stratigraphy, and the ruins of the palace itself were interpreted in the light of the assumptions of Homeric critics about the plan and appearance of a Homeric house. In the years 1896 to 1899 the British School at Athens excavated a prehistoric island site at Phylakopi in Melos which gave the successive phases of the Bronze Age culture in the Cyclades. In 1901 the excavations at Dimini in Thessaly brought the first knowledge of the Neolithic Age of Greece, and subsequent research began to find a place in the series for various finds from many sites which had not been properly evaluated before.

The point which archaeologists were slow in recognizing was the all-important one of stratification. Furtwängler and Loeschke, publishing in 1879 and 1886 the pottery from Schliemann's excavations at Mycenae and pottery of similar types which had been found elsewhere, had recognized that the matt-painted pottery was probably older than the pottery with lustrous paint, but practically no excavator up to 1900 in southern Greece at least had endeavoured to disentangle the order of the strata that had preceded the Mycenaean Age, as it was called. It was customary to label everything as pre-Mycenaean, and though much of interest had come to light at important sites like Eleusis and Thorikos, no stratigraphic study was attempted; even the sequence of burials in the chamber tombs which were found at many sites was not noted. Moreover, the pottery from the chamber tombs excavated by Tsountas at Mycenae itself was not studied or even mended. Much valuable evidence was thus lost.

Gradually, with the beginning of the new century and after Evans' discoveries at Knossos, a fresher spirit entered into Greek prehistoric archaeology. The stratification of the Thessalian sites provided a guide, and the Bavarian work at Orchomenos and the Greek work in Boeotia and Phokis showed something of the earlier periods of the Bronze Age before the greatness of Mycenae.<sup>1</sup> The stratigraphic sequence was at last provided by Blegen's excavations at Korakou near Lechaëum in 1915 and 1916, where the sequence of what we

<sup>1</sup> Finnen's *Kretisch-mykenische Kultur*, published in 1920, is a good conspectus of our knowledge down to 1915.



now call Early Helladic, Middle Helladic and Late Helladic was clearly revealed.<sup>1</sup> Four years later came the new excavations at Mycenae, which at last began to reveal the true history of the site, and other evidence accumulated from new excavations at sites like Asine, Eutresis and Eleusis, where the sequences illustrated by Korakou proved of invaluable assistance. In 1939 Blegen discovered in the Palace of Nestor at Pylos several hundred clay tablets inscribed in the Linear B script, which when analysed by Bennett proved of inestimable value in the decipherment studies of Ventris.

By 1930 the archaeologists had, by studying the successive strata, come to accept generally the thesis that the Greeks must have first entered Greece with the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, deducing this from the following archaeological facts. The first stage of civilization in Greece is represented by the prehistoric mounds of Thessaly and contemporary sites in Central and Southern Greece. The earliest layers are Neolithic, and though we cannot as yet suggest even an approximate date, they probably are not later than the fourth millennium B.C. Their earliest inhabitants had reached a pottery stage of development and (to judge by the presence of Melian obsidian) were able to cross the narrow seas. We know nothing of their origin, which is still a matter of archaeological debate. They were succeeded at the beginning of the Bronze Age by a new people who, to judge from their artefacts, were racially dissimilar.<sup>2</sup> This new people used copper and later bronze and made pottery of a more sophisticated type, but had not yet learnt the potter's wheel. It would appear that this people introduced into Greece many words, mostly place and plant names, ending in *-nthos*, *-assos*, *-ttos* and *-ene* which are recognized as non-Indo-European: such words are Korinthos, *terebinthos*, *asaminthos*, Parnassos, Hymettos, Mykene. The original home of the Early Helladic people is usually placed in south-western Asia Minor, where similar place-names occur, but there is as yet no proof for this. This folk was akin to the contemporary Bronze Age peoples of the Cyclades and of Crete, and thus we can recognize that the cultures of the Early Bronze Age in these areas were not only contemporary but closely related. These cultures may not have been actually sisters, but were probably at least first cousins.

The Early Helladic people overran the Mainland, and presumably did not extirpate the Neolithic folk but coalesced with the survivors. In any case, as far as we can tell, they were not Indo-European. Some German

<sup>1</sup> Wace and Blegen, *BSA*, xxxi, pp. 175 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Some writers (Matz, *Historia*, i, p. 173) believe that the early stage of the Early Helladic period overlapped with the later stage of the Neolithic period. There is, however, so far no stratigraphic evidence in favour of this, and the stratification at Lianokladi, Hagia Marina, Tsani, Prosymna and Orchomenos is against it.



scholars,<sup>1</sup> however, wish to see in the Early Helladic period two strains, one Indo-European and one non-Indo-European, basing their ideas on the tectonic and syntactic character of some of the ornament on the patterned pottery. To extract ethnological conclusions from psychological speculations of this type is, to say the least, unwise: archaeology, especially prehistoric archaeology, should be as factual as possible and not imaginative to this extent.

With the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age on the Mainland of Greece in the nineteenth century B.C. a new element appears. In the stratification of excavated sites such as Korakou, Eutresis and Lianokladi it is obvious that there is no transition or evolution from the Early Bronze Age culture to that of the Middle Bronze Age. It is clear that a new factor at this time came into Greece; and since the material signs of its culture, pottery (which was made on the wheel), house plans, tombs, and in general all artefacts, differ markedly from those of the preceding Early Bronze Age, we assume that these differences mean a difference of race. This new racial element presumably in its turn also overran and amalgamated with the survivors of the Early Helladic inhabitants. From this time onwards there is no similar sign of any cultural break: the Middle Bronze Age develops slowly and naturally into the Late Bronze Age. This can be seen clearly in the pottery from the late Middle Helladic grave circle at Mycenae recently excavated by Dr Papademetriou and Professor George Mylonas.<sup>2</sup> Likewise at the end of the Late Bronze Age there can be observed, in spite of the more or less general destruction of the principal sites like Mycenae and Tiryns, a similar *gradual* change in culture (visible most of all in the pottery) from the end of the Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age. From the Early Iron Age henceforward there is no break in the development of culture in Greece: the Early Iron Age evolves naturally into the Orientalizing and Archaic periods and so into the great Classical Age of Greece. Thus by a process of elimination we deduce that since neither the Neolithic nor the Early Helladic people were Indo-Europeans, that is Greeks, then the Middle Helladic people who introduced into Greece the mysterious pottery called Minyan Ware (the characteristic pottery of the Middle Bronze Age) were probably the first Greeks to enter Hellas. So far no sign of their presence in the north of the Balkan peninsula can be found, and apart from Troy we have no indications of their presence in Asia Minor. The original home of the Greeks still remains a problem awaiting solution.

The Middle Helladic people apparently did not immediately come into contact with Crete and the Minoan culture; they met however in Melos,

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Marz, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, II, p. 203. He develops similar ideas in his *Torsion*.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeology*, v, pp. 194ff.



where at Phylakopi Kamares ware and Minyan ware are found side by side in the same Middle Cycladic strata. Towards the end of the Middle Bronze Age some of the painted Middle Helladic pottery shows signs of Cretan (Kamares) influence, but actual imports from Crete are rare. During the transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age the Mainland people became at last fully aware of the Minoan culture, which influenced the Mainland in much the same way as that in which classical Greek culture influenced Etruria. Just as in Crete the latest Middle Minoan products almost abruptly change into the new style of Late Minoan I, so on the Mainland the last style of Middle Helladic gives way rather suddenly to the bloom of Late Helladic I. The oversea connexions of the Mainland in this and the following period are to be seen in the fact that the 'Aegean' pottery found in Egypt at this date is Late Helladic and not Late Minoan.<sup>1</sup> Little or no Middle Helladic pottery has been observed in Crete;<sup>2</sup> but Melian vases of Middle Cycladic III date were found in the Knossian temple repositories of Middle Minoan III, and a small vase of Knossian faience of the same period in Shaft Grave A of the new Middle Helladic grave circle at Mycenae.<sup>3</sup> At all events from Late Minoan I/Late Helladic I onwards the contacts between Crete, Knossos in particular, and the Mainland (as exemplified at Mycenae) were frequent and intimate. The trained eye can, however, nearly always distinguish between Cretan and Mainland vases. The Zakro cups, for instance, are quite different in fabric from their contemporaries on the Mainland. In the succeeding Late Minoan II or Palace Period, actual Mainland vases are found at Knossos<sup>4</sup> and imitations of them are common, for instance the Ephyræan goblets of Knossos.<sup>5</sup>

As pointed out below, it was the fashion down to the beginning of Evans' excavations at Knossos to call the remains of the prehistoric age of Greece Mycenaean or pre-Mycenaean; and thus the Late Bronze Age remains of Crete were designated as Mycenaean, the Middle Bronze Age in Crete was called the Kamares period, and so on. Gradually Evans by 1905 evolved the Minoan system of sequence dating, and so thenceforward he and others working in Crete began to speak of Early, Middle and Late Minoan for their three phases of the Cretan Bronze Age. As Evans developed his theory that the Late Bronze culture of the Greek Mainland was due to a Cretan or Minoan

<sup>1</sup> Wace and Blegen, *Klio*, xxxii (1939), pp. 145 ff. Even the famous Marseilles ewer is Late Helladic II. We re-examined it in 1952. It was in the collection of Clot Bey which was formed in Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> Evans notes only one sherd of Minyan ware as found at Knossos (*PM*, ii, p. 309).

<sup>3</sup> Excavated by Dr Papademetriou and Professor Mylonas.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Evans, *PM*, ii, p. 481, fig. 291 *d* and *e*.

<sup>5</sup> Evans, *PM*, iv, p. 360, figs. 301, 302, 306.



conquest and colonization, he began to call the Late Bronze Age remains of the Mainland Late Minoan; this nomenclature has persisted in some cases, such as in the writings of Myres, down to the present time. After the resumed excavations at Mycenae in 1920, it became clear to archaeologists such as Karo working on the Greek Mainland that the culture of the Mainland, though undoubtedly influenced by Crete, was largely independent of it; thus the system of Early, Middle and Late Helladic was proposed as a parallel series for the development of the culture of the Greek Mainland. Evans naturally was opposed to this because he refused to the last to modify his views about the relationship of Crete and the Mainland. He called those who refused to accept his views preposterous and perverse. His pan-Minoan theories are everywhere prominent in his *Palace of Minos*.<sup>1</sup>

With the impulse of excavations such as Korakou and the new work at Mycenae, students of prehistoric Greek archaeology began to recognize certain facts which emphasize the differences and likenesses of Knossos and the Greek Mainland in the second phase of the Late Bronze Age (Late Minoan II and Late Helladic II).

In Crete at this time, which Evans called the Palace Period at Knossos, it must be observed that Knossos differed much from the rest of Crete. The Palace Style, as such, is practically non-existent in the rest of Crete outside Knossos, and if examples of it are found they are generally considered as imports from Knossos. It has long been recognized that in East Crete, for instance, the Late Minoan II Palace Style period does not exist, but that there is instead a prolongation of the Late Minoan I style which gradually evolves into the Late Minoan III style. It should also be remarked that the Linear B script is so far known in Crete only at Knossos, whereas the Linear A script is known both at Knossos and in the rest of Crete. The Linear B script is the only script so far found on the Mainland, and it is far more widespread there than in Crete, where it occurs only at one site, for it is known at Orchomenos, Thebes, Eleusis, Tiryns, Mycenae and Pylos.

In the excavations at Korakou a type of pottery was first noticed to which the name of Ephyraean was applied. This belongs to the Late Helladic II period and is characterized by a class of well designed and proportioned goblets of fine, smooth, buff fabric painted with floral and marine patterns. They are easily distinguished by their patterns and fabric and are remarkable for their simplicity and dignity. In 1920 it was observed that a class of vases similar to

<sup>1</sup> Evans always refused to recognize any distinction between the Late Bronze Age pottery of the Mainland and that of Crete. He called it all Late Minoan and thus obscured much of the historical value of his discoveries.



the Ephyraean vases of the Mainland was found at Knossos belonging to the same general date, the second phase of the Late Bronze Age. The Knossian examples, however, are less well made and less well designed; they also lack the simplicity of the Mainland examples and the patterns on them are too large in proportion. Further, it became apparent that the type of vase called by Evans an *alabastron*, which occurs throughout the Late Bronze Age, is far more common on the Mainland of Greece than in Crete. Because vases of this shape in actual alabaster were found in the ruins of the throne room at Knossos<sup>1</sup> it was assumed that it must be a Cretan shape; there are, however, from chamber tombs at Mycenae excavated by Tsountas, two vases<sup>2</sup> of this shape in gypsum which may well be of Mainland manufacture. The tombs<sup>3</sup> in Crete in which clay alabaster are found are of this Late Minoan II period, the period which is characterized by the so-called Palace Style of decoration for pottery.

Vases of the Palace Style, large amphorae, are on the Mainland a notable feature of the Late Helladic II period, especially in the beehive tombs. Kurt Müller long ago pointed out that those found at Kakovatos were of local and not of Cretan fabric, in opposition to the then current belief that all Palace Style vases were Cretan imports, a view which some apparently still hold.<sup>4</sup> All the large Palace Style jars found on the Mainland are definitely of local manufacture: those found at Vaphio, for instance, are of the same pinkish clay as the later Laconian vases of the Orientalizing period. Careful study of these three classes of vases indicates that in all probability their occurrence in Crete is due to influence from the Mainland.

Other Mainland influences can be discerned. The beehive tombs so characteristic of the Mainland, especially in Late Helladic II, are represented by a few examples at Knossos; and at Knossos alone in the whole of Crete at this time, so far as our present knowledge goes. On the other hand, on the Mainland between forty and fifty beehive tombs are known: thus if number is the principal test beehive tombs seem to be a feature of the Mainland, where their structural development can be followed, rather than of Knossos.

The three palaces so far excavated on the Mainland at Tiryns, Mycenae and Pylos have throne rooms. Knossos has a throne room which belongs to the latest part of the palace and seems to be a later insertion into an earlier plan;<sup>5</sup> the other Cretan palaces have not so far revealed throne rooms. At

<sup>1</sup> *BSA*, vi, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> National Museum at Athens, No. 2769, from a chamber tomb at Mycenae 1887-88, and No. 3163 from Tomb 88 at Mycenae.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. xxv.

<sup>4</sup> Picard, *Religions Préhelléniques*, p. 282.

<sup>5</sup> According to Evans (*PM*, iv, pp. 901f.) it is a 'revolutionary intrusion' of the early part of LM II.



Knossos several fragmentary examples of friezes carved with rosettes or with the Mycenaean triglyph pattern have been found. Evans wished to attribute these to Middle Minoan III and to regard them as the models for similar friezes from Mycenae and Tiryns, which are of Late Helladic III date. The stratification of the fragments from Knossos is by no means secure: they belong to the upper strata of the palace, and are probably due to Mainland influence. There are fluted columns at Knossos, but these again belong to the Late Minoan II period and we know now that fluted columns were used at Mycenae and also at Pylos; fluted columns are not known at Phaestus and other Cretan sites outside Knossos.

Two other points call for mention. It has been observed that the style of the frescoes<sup>1</sup> of the last palace at Knossos is much more akin to that of the frescoes of Mycenae, Thebes, Tiryns and other Mainland sites than to the style of the frescoes found at Phaestus and other Cretan sites. The Cretan frescoes are naturalistic in character; those of Knossos and the Mainland are more interested in the human figure and in warlike scenes. Evans noted the military spirit of Knossos in this time, Late Minoan II.

In the palace at Knossos Evans found a store of blocks of green porphyry, *lapis Lacedaemonius*, the only source of which is Krokeai in Laconia, half-way between Sparta and the sea. This stone was popular at Mycenae and other Late Helladic centres for making stone vases, and the raw material seems to have been brought from Laconia to Mycenae to be worked. This porphyry is then yet another hint of Mainland influence on Knossos in Late Minoan II.

It was from a study of such points that several archaeologists had come to the conclusion that Knossos at this time, the Palace Period, stood apart from the rest of Crete and had more kinship with the Mainland. They suggested that the factors which Evans had interpreted as proofs of a Minoan colonization and conquest of the Mainland really pointed in the opposite direction, and that they indicated strong Mainland influence on Knossos as opposed to the rest of Crete. They at the same time emphasized the necessity for distinguishing between Late Minoan and Late Helladic pottery, especially at such sites as Phylakopi in Melos and Ialysos in Rhodes. At Phylakopi Cretan influence is first to be observed in the Middle Bronze Age, when Middle Minoan pottery (Kamarea ware) was freely imported at the same time as Minyan ware from the Mainland makes its appearance in the island. With the Late Cycladic period both Late Minoan I and Late Helladic I pottery are found at Phylakopi, by Late Cycladic II the quantity of Mainland Late Helladic II pottery outstrips the Late Minoan II, and by Late Cycladic III

<sup>1</sup> Basti in Γέρας 'Αντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου, pp. 119 ff.



Mainland Late Helladic pottery is dominant and there is little if anything from Crete. In the early days before Aegean archaeologists recognized that it was possible to distinguish between Late Minoan I and Late Helladic I pottery (and the importance of doing so), practically all imported Late Bronze Age vases at Phylakopi were called Minoan, even some which we now know are obviously of Late Helladic II fabric.<sup>1</sup> This gradual displacement of Cretan influence by Mainland influence is a point to which too little attention has been paid.

At Ialysos<sup>2</sup> the earliest Aegean settlement seems to have taken place at the end of the Middle Bronze Age, for late Middle Minoan pottery has been found there. With the opening of the Late Bronze Age both Late Minoan and Late Helladic vases are present, with perhaps the Cretan in the lead. By the second phase of the Late Bronze Age the story of Phylakopi is repeated and Late Helladic II influence becomes dominant, and by that time the occupation or perhaps colonization of Rhodes from the Mainland was so strong that 'Mycenaeen' pottery was by then being made on the island.

At Knossos actual Late Helladic II vases have been found,<sup>3</sup> and the recently discovered tombs also show Mainland influence. The new warrior graves, apart from weapons, contain Palace Style vases, alabastra and Knossian imitations of Ephyraean ware;<sup>4</sup> the other graves of the same date recently discovered at Katsamba near Knossos show the same characteristics.<sup>5</sup> Thus Aegean archaeologists had deduced that the relations between Mycenae and Knossos were not as believed by Evans, but rather the reverse, that the Mainland had strongly influenced or dominated Knossos. Evans had pointed out<sup>6</sup> that in his Palace Period (when he suggested that a new dynasty with strong military tendencies was in power at Knossos) other Cretan centres were overthrown; he attributed this to the dominance of Knossos over the rest of Crete, and at the same time he believed that this strong military Knossos had extended its power to the Mainland and had established a colonial empire there. The inherent natural strength of the Middle Helladic tradition, which persisted all through Late Helladic in spite of any influences absorbed from Crete or else-

<sup>1</sup> *BSA*, xvii, Pl. XI.

<sup>2</sup> Monaco, *Clara Rhodes*, x, pp. 41 ff. Furumark's paper (*Acta Inst. Rom. R. Sueciae*, xv, pp. 150 ff.) on the Ialysos discoveries was written without his ever seeing the actual pottery, which my wife and I have been allowed to study in the Rhodes Museum by the kindness of Dr Kontes.

<sup>3</sup> Evans, *PM*, ii, p. 485, fig. 29: *d* and *e*. The Palaikastro ogival canopy jug (*ibid.* p. 490, fig. 296 *a*) is of Cretan fabric.

<sup>4</sup> *BSA*, xlvii, pp. 246 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *BCH*, 1954, pp. 150 f., figs. 50, 51. The vases include Knossian Ephyraean goblets, Palace Style vases and alabastra. Compare *Antiquity*, xxviii, pp. 183 f.

<sup>6</sup> *PM*, iv, pp. 884 f., 944 f.



where, shows clearly to those who have eyes to see that the Mainland and Crete during the Late Bronze Age are basically and essentially different.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the general belief was spreading among those who had devoted serious study to the problem and knew the actual objects (in short, the excavators and field archaeologists) and who had already deduced that the Mycenaeans must be Greeks, that at this time Knossos must have been at least under strong Mainland influence, perhaps even under the rule of a Mainland prince.<sup>2</sup> It was consequently suggested that the destruction of Knossos at the close of the fifteenth century (at the end of Late Minoan II) was not due to an invasion from overseas or an earthquake, but to a revolt of the native Cretans, the 'Minoans', against the intruding Greek dynasty or overlords. The deductions about Mainland influence at Knossos<sup>3</sup> were based on facts, archaeological facts, the value of which far outweighs all theories and hypotheses about Minoan empires and colonies.

The Aegean archaeologists naturally believed that the 'Mycenaeans' of the Mainland were Greeks, and that they would have spoken and written Greek. Thus the discovery of the Pylos tablets in 1939 and their obvious similarity in script and probably in language with the Linear B tablets from Knossos posed an entirely new problem, which could only be solved by the decipherment of the script. The 'Minoans' naturally held that the Pylos tablets proved the Minoan conquest of the Mainland. One scholar even suggested that the tablets were loot from Knossos! The 'Mainlanders' believed that the Pylos tablets ought to be written in Greek, and toyed with the idea that the Knossos tablets might be Greek also, though even they did not then see the wider implications of the result of all this. 'Whether the language of the Mainland, probably then Greek, was the same as that of Crete we cannot yet determine.'<sup>4</sup>

In 1952, as explained below, Mr Ventris announced his decipherment of the Linear B script as Greek,<sup>5</sup> and many things thereupon became clear and the archaeological deductions received linguistic confirmation, a great triumph for both methods. Working independently, the archaeologists and the linguists had come to the same conclusions. It is not often that learned researches support one another so decisively or so neatly.

Thus at one stroke what is practically a revolution has taken place in Greek

<sup>1</sup> Compare Furumark, *op. cit.* pp. 186 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pendlebury, *Archaeology of Crete*, p. 229. This suggestion was rejected by Matz, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, II, p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.*

<sup>4</sup> Wace, *Mycenae* (1949), p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> If the Linear B script which is that of the Mainland represents Greek, then the Linear A script, known so far only in Crete, probably represents the Minoan language.



studies. The prehistoric period of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages on the Mainland (Middle and Late Helladic) must now be recognized as Hellenic; we cannot include Crete, because we cannot yet read the Minoan Linear A script, which represents a different language from the Linear B script, and thus the Minoan culture cannot be called Hellenic. We must in future differentiate between the Linear A *Minoan* script and the Linear B *Mycenaean* script; for the latter is far commoner on the Mainland, where it is found from Orchomenos in the north to Pylos in the south, than it is in Crete.

We must in future speak of pre-Classical and Classical Greek art and culture. From the beginning of Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenae the conservatism of classical archaeologists has obstructed progress in the study of Greek civilization as a whole. Because the pre-Classical Mycenaean culture was in many ways naturally unlike the culture of Classical Greece of the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries B.C., archaeologists refused to believe that it could possibly be Greek. They could hardly have expected that the culture of Mycenae, one thousand years older, and that of Periclean Athens would be the same. The more, however, we study Mycenaean art and culture, the more we find in it elements that anticipate Classical Greek art.

From the first, because Mycenaean art was unlike Classical Greek art, it was dismissed as oriental. Even when it was admitted that the Greeks might have arrived in Greece at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, it was stated that Greek art did not develop until one thousand years later, after an interregnum of chaos. One writer for example says: 'When the sun of Homer rose out of the darkness of this wild time, it shone over the ruins of Cretan-Mycenaean culture; but the new life of pure Hellenism grew up out of its ruins.'<sup>1</sup> We are told that the first creation of Greek art was the Geometric style, as though it had suddenly descended from Olympus about 1000 B.C. These 'orthodox' archaeologists never reflected for one moment on the growth and evolution of the Geometric style. We now know that it evolved gradually from the pre-Classical culture of the Late Bronze Age, just as that in its turn evolved from the culture of the Middle Bronze Age. Nature does not work *per saltus* but by slow and sometimes painful processes of growth and change and development. In any study of Greek art to concentrate on the Classical period alone is a fatal mistake. The true student of Greek art must begin his studies with the Middle Bronze Age at least; also, he must not end his studies with the death of Alexander, as so many do, and refuse even to look at Hellenistic art.

Schliemann in the enthusiasm of his first discoveries was overawed by the

<sup>1</sup> Pfuhl, *Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting*, pp. 10f.



'experts', who insisted that his finds could not be Greek but must be Phoenician, Asiatic and so on. When he found frescoes at Mycenae, the 'experts' insisted that they could not possibly be prehistoric and deterred him from publishing them. Other 'experts' have held that there is a great chasm between pre-Classical and Classical Greece. An Oxford professor wrote<sup>1</sup> as late as 1911: 'The chasm dividing prehistoric and historic Greece is growing wider and deeper; and those who were at first disposed to leap over it now recognize such feats are impossible.' It is this spirit which has impeded progress in our studies of pre-Classical Greece. Now, with the revelation of a pre-Homeric Greek going back to the fifteenth century B.C., we have before us a great opportunity to discard old assumptions and the shibboleths once regarded almost as sacred dogma.

The history of Greece and of Greek culture will have to be rewritten from the outlook of our present knowledge, and as more pre-Classical texts are found and deciphered, so our knowledge will grow. Greek art is one and indivisible, and has a continuous history from the first arrival of the Greeks. A fresh examination of the legends of early Greece must also be undertaken to estimate their archaeological and historical value.

There are three points, at least, which future discoveries and study will undoubtedly make clearer. The orthodox view of classical archaeologists is that there was a 'Dark Age', when all culture in Greece declined to barbarism, at the close of the Bronze Age and in the early period of the ensuing Iron Age. Even now, when it is admitted that the Greeks of the Late Bronze Age could read and write with the Linear B script, it is still believed by some that in the transition from the Age of Bronze to that of Iron the Greeks forgot how to read and write, until about the eighth century when they adopted the Phoenician alphabet. It is incredible that a people as intelligent as the Greeks should have forgotten how to read and write once they had learned how to do so. It is more probable that the Linear B script continued in use, and perhaps even overlapped the first appearance of the Greek adaptation of the Phoenician alphabet. This would have taken place in much the same manner as that in which the native Cypriot syllabary continued in use until the third century B.C. and overlapped the Greek alphabet in the island. The Cypriot syllabary seems to be a development of the local so-called Cypro-Minoan script, examples of which have been found at Enkomi and Ras Shamra. Future discoveries may well reveal to us that the Linear B script continued into the Early Iron Age and was then gradually replaced by the Phoenician alphabet, which the Greeks found more convenient for writing their language.

<sup>1</sup> P. Gardner, *JHS*, 1911, p. lix.



The clay tablets with the Linear B Mycenaean script so far found at Pylos, Knossos or Mycenae are all inventories of one kind or another. No documents such as letters or anything of a literary character have yet been found. We can hardly doubt that such existed, though they were probably written on materials less able to survive disaster than clay: the inventories of clay were baked and so preserved by the violent fires which destroyed so much. Letters or literary texts may well have been on wooden tablets or some form of parchment or even papyrus; some fortunate discovery will possibly one day reveal them to us. So elaborate a system of writing cannot have been employed only for recording inventories of goods or payments of taxes, things in themselves ephemeral; the Linear B script was probably also used for letters, treaties and even literary texts.

Evans<sup>1</sup> long ago suggested that perhaps the earliest Greek epics had been written in 'Minoan' and then translated into Greek. There is now no longer any need to imagine this, since we know that the Linear B tablets are in Greek and an early epic poet, had he been so minded, could have recorded his masterpieces on clay. Homer is the earliest existing monument of Greek literature and the *Iliad* can hardly have been the first Greek poem ever composed: its very perfection in language, composition, style and metre shows that it is not the work of a mere prentice hand, but that of a master who must have learned his art from a long succession of predecessors. We need not therefore be surprised if excavation or some casual find in Greece gives us an early document—a letter, or a literary text, a history or a poem—from some long-forgotten forerunner of Homer.

As we have said, historians and archaeologists are accustomed to speak of the period of transition from the Bronze Age to that of Iron, and of the early years of the Iron Age, as a 'Dark Age' and to assume that culture in Greece then underwent a severe recession; thus they assert that literacy was forgotten, civilization declined, all was turmoil and barbarism. Actually the principal reason why this is called a 'Dark Age' is that we have little or no evidence for it in archaeology, in history or in literature. No inhabited site of this period or of the Geometric period has been excavated. Our earliest sites are sanctuaries like the Orthia site at Sparta and like Perachora. The evidence of the cemeteries which have been excavated (as at the Kerameikos) shows that from

<sup>1</sup> See Evans' paper in *JHS*, 1912, pp. 277 ff., especially p. 288. In this paper he rightly says (p. 277): 'The scientific study of Greek civilization is becoming less and less possible without taking into constant account that of the Minoan and Mycenaean world that went before it.' He throughout emphasizes the pre-Classical survivals in Classical Greek art, which in the light of the decipherment of Linear B as Greek is almost prophetic. The reader should, however, remember that Evans makes no distinction between Minoan and Mycenaean.



the close of the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age there was no violent archaeological break, only a gradual transition or evolution from one age to the next. Likewise in Dorian Argolis, as in non-Dorian Attica, evidence is slowly accumulating to show that a similar process of evolution took place. As exploration proceeds, evidence of the same kind will no doubt come to light from the other areas of Greece. Tombs do not usually, even at the height of the Classical period, yield much if any epigraphical material.

But what of the Dorians and the so-called Dorian Invasion? The effects of the Dorian migration into the Peloponnese have been exaggerated by historians. To the Greeks of the Classical period there was no great Dorian Invasion. They called it the 'Return of the Herakleidai', and we know from Homer that even at the time of the Trojan war Herakleidai were in power in Greece: Tlepolemus,<sup>1</sup> the son of Herakles, the great Dorian hero, led the contingents from Rhodes and the southern Sporades. The Dorians, according to Thucydides, came into the Peloponnese with the returning Herakleidai. There is nowhere in the Greek tradition any hint that the Dorians were different except in dialect from any other Greek tribe. The Dorians were Greeks and found Greeks already thoroughly established in Hellas. There is no suggestion that they introduced any new or foreign culture: all efforts to find in the archaeological remains things specifically Dorian have failed completely. There are undoubtedly changes and developments in the artefacts from the close of the Bronze Age down into the Iron Age and the Geometric period, but these are natural developments and not revolutionary changes: we must not deny to the intelligence of the Greeks any touch of inventiveness or originality. Matz<sup>2</sup> who says 'Das wirklich Neue beginnt erst mit dem Proto-Geometrischen' overlooks the clear evidence of the evolution of proto-Geometric from the latest Mycenaean wares. The Dorian migration brought about not a cultural but only a political change in Greece. The return of the Alkmaionidai and their clients is a parallel event and we need not imagine that the Dorians altered in Laconia, for instance, anything but the political structure of the country. The Dorians on the Return of the Herakleidai to the Peloponnese obtained political control of Corinth, Argos, Laconia and Messenia. Pausanias' notes on the gradual occupation of Laconia by the Dorians suggest no more than the slow winning of political control. In Argolis Mycenae remained independent until some time after her co-operation in the victory of Plataea.

<sup>1</sup> Some Homeric critics call him a Dorian interpolation, e.g. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, p. 47. He occurs, however, in the Homeric Catalogue inscription of the late third century B.C. from Chios (*JHS*, 1954, p. 162).

<sup>2</sup> *Handbuch der Archäologie*, II, p. 395. Compare Furumark, *Acta Inst. Rom. R. Sueciae*, x (*Op. Arch.* m), p. 195 n. 1.



At Tiryns the palace was destroyed some time in the third phase of the Late Bronze Age (Late Helladic III), but the megaron was rebuilt on a smaller scale;<sup>1</sup> it presumably continued in use for some time thereafter. Unluckily, owing to the circumstances of the excavation of the palace at Tiryns, we have no archaeological evidence to tell us when the megaron was destroyed or when it was reoccupied.

The importance of Mr Ventris' decipherment can hardly be over-estimated, for it inaugurates a new phase in our study of the beginnings of classical Hellas. We must recognize the Mycenaean culture as Greek, and as one of the first stages in the advance of the Hellenes towards the brilliance of their later amazing achievements. We must guard against the facile assumptions of the past and look at everything afresh from the new point of view. In culture, in history and in language we must regard prehistoric and historic Greece as one indivisible whole. The way has been prepared for us by the pioneer archaeological work of Schliemann, Tsountas and Evans, and we must follow boldly in their footsteps under the guiding light now provided for us by Mr Ventris and Mr Chadwick.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Blegen's suggestions (*Korakou*, pp. 130 ff.) are undoubtedly right. The German ideas that the reconstructed megaron was a classical temple are untenable.

<sup>2</sup> This Introduction was written in the winter of 1954-5 while I was a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. It owes much to the collaboration of my wife and to the criticism of several friends in America who read it in first draft.

A. J. B. W.





PART I

SCRIPT, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE





## CHAPTER I

# DISCOVERY AND DECIPHERMENT

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### 1. THE HOMERIC AGE AS MYTH

THE Hellenes of the classical period preserved no clear memory either of a system of writing earlier than the Greek alphabet, or of a time when they and their language were not firmly rooted on the Greek mainland.

The source of the alphabet is clearly acknowledged by Herodotus (v, 58-9, in Rawlinson's translation):

Now the Phoenicians who came with Cadmus, and to whom the Gephyraei belonged, introduced into Greece upon their arrival a great variety of arts, among the rest that of writing, whereof the Greeks till then had, as I think, been ignorant. And originally they shaped their letters exactly like all the other Phoenicians, but afterwards, in course of time, they changed by degrees their language, and together with it the form likewise of their characters. Now the Greeks who dwelt about those parts at that time were chiefly the Ionians. The Phoenician letters were accordingly adopted by them, but with some variation in the shape of a few, and so they arrived at the present use, still calling the letters Phoenician, as justice required, after the name of those who were the first to introduce them into Greece. Paper rolls also were called from old *διφθέρα* by the Ionians, because formerly when paper was scarce they used, instead, the skins of sheep and goats—on which many of the barbarians are even now wont to write. I myself saw Cadmeian characters engraved upon some tripods in the temple of Apollo Ismenias in Boeotian Thebes, most of them shaped like the Ionian. One of the tripods has the inscription following:

*Me did Amphitryon place, from the far Teleboans coming.*

This would be about the age of Laius, the son of Labdacus, the son of Polydorus, the son of Cadmus.

The ease with which Herodotus was able to read this and two other inscriptions in the same temple, allegedly written some four generations or so before the Trojan war, may have left him with some suspicion that their great antiquity was only a pious fraud; and a more general feeling that writing was wholly out of place in the heroic age is reflected in Homer, whose only reference to a visual message is couched in such vague terms as to leave doubt whether true writing is intended at all (*Il.* vi, 155-70):

Now Glaukos was the father of blameless Bellerophon, whom the gods had endowed with beauty and manly grace, but whom Proitos, his overlord, expelled from Argos in



murderous anger. Proitos' wife Anteia had conceived a passionate desire to go to bed with him secretly, but was unable to prevail on the prudent and high-minded Bellerophon. So she went with a lying story to King Proitos: 'May death be yours if you do not kill Bellerophon: he has tried to rape me.' The king was seized with fury when he heard this; taboo restrained him from killing him on the spot, but he dispatched him to Lycia with a folded board, scratched with many malevolent symbols designed to bring him ruin: he had only to show them to the king's father-in-law for his doom to be sealed.

But although Agamemnon, Odysseus and Nestor might have been illiterate, and although their ancient palaces and cities had long since crumbled into dust, it was in ancient times accepted without question that the Homeric heroes had been Greeks in language, religion and every other distinguishing feature, and that among their subjects were to be numbered the ancestors of most, if not all, of the classical population. Homer possessed no term which could be used without anachronism to refer to this linguistic unity (though the Carians are called βαρβαρόφωνοι in *Il.* II, 867); but for Herodotus the Trojan war was a clear-cut struggle between Ἕλληνες and Asiatics, and a direct antecedent of the rivalry which was to culminate in the Persian invasions (I, 3-5).

Both Homer and Herodotus agreed, however, that among the segmented and constantly-shifting population of the early Aegean there had also been elements which did not speak Greek. This is clear from the description of Crete in *Od.* XIX, 172-7: 'There is a land called Crete, in the middle of the wine-dark sea, beautiful and rich, with water on all sides; on her are innumerable men and ninety cities, and one language jostles another: there are Achaeans, and great-hearted True-Cretans, Cydonians, Dorians divided into their three tribes(?), and excellent Pelasgians.'

In a significant passage (I, 57-8) evidently based on personal investigation, Herodotus concludes from the speech of the 'Pelasgians' living in his time on the Hellespont, on Lemnos and in the problematical city of 'Creston' (who in earlier times had inhabited Thessaliotis and Attica, where they had built the wall round the Acropolis) that this widespread people had spoken a barbarous tongue. In order to reconcile Pelasgian and Athenian claims to autochthony, he argues that the Athenians must have been Pelasgians who at some time adopted the Greek language; and goes on, with a disregard for his own previous argument and for our own more careful discrimination between 'race' and 'language', to describe the Hellenic race as one which had never changed its language, but had been 'severed' (ἀποσχισθέν) from the Pelasgians and had increased its numbers at their expense. The same ambiguities are



present in his description of the Ionians (vii, 94): 'When they dwelt in the Peloponnese and inhabited the land now called Achaea (which was before the arrival of Danaus and Xuthus in the Peloponnese) they were called, according to the Greek account, "Pelasgians of the sea-shore", but afterwards, from Ion the son of Xuthus, they were called Ionians.' Both Sophocles (in his *Inachus*) and Thucydides (iv, 109, 4) use 'Tyrrhenian' as a synonym for 'Pelasgian', in allusion to the widespread belief in a Pelasgian migration from Thessaly and the North Aegean to Italy, associated or identical with the Etruscan migration derived from Lydia by Herodotus. This theory, found in Hellanicus of Lesbos (fifth century B.C.), Andron of Halicarnassus, Varro, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and others, has been subjected to detailed but inconclusive criticism both by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in antiquity ('Πρωτ. Ἀρχ. i, xxv-xxx) and recently by Pallottino (1947). A germ of historical truth is indicated by the discovery at Kaminia on Lemnos in 1885 of a sixth-century stele inscribed in what is almost certainly a language closely related to Etruscan.

The classical picture of a Greece inhabited since the birth of mankind by a number of Greek-speaking tribes, living side-by-side with Pelasgians, Eteocretans, Leleges and other obscure peoples, was to be undermined by the Jewish-Christian cosmogony which, while retaining a finite date for the Creation, dismissed the possibility of local autochthony in favour of a diffusion of all languages and peoples from a common centre in Asia. A long period of unprofitable speculation on the mutual relationship of languages, in which Hebrew played a pernicious role, continued until 1796, when Sir William Jones gave first public expression to the view that Sanskrit, Latin and Greek had 'sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists'.

In the next twenty years Franz Bopp and Rasmus Rask were able to show conclusively that the Greek language, like its relatives, was in fact the result of a continuous evolution from a common 'Indo-European' ancestor, and that it must therefore at one time have been brought into Greece from some more central location somewhere on the great plains which stretch from Poland to Turkestan. The age in which the hypothetical parent language had begun to differentiate into separate dialects, and the date at which the first Greek-speakers had entered the Balkan peninsula, could not however be determined by any existing historical evidence; and the obvious unhistoricity of the greater part of Greek legend made any classical testimony to the language situation before the eighth century B.C. appear entirely untrustworthy.

The same uncertainties veiled the process by which the classical Greek dialects, whose study was stimulated by progress in linguistic theory and in the search for inscriptions, had reached their geographical distribution. It was



clear that a large and definite movement of population was necessary to explain the occupation of the Peloponnese by the Dorian-speakers, keeping in subjection a helot class, and cutting off the Arcadians entirely from the sea-coasts from which their nearest relatives the Cypriots had evidently emigrated. But it would have been rash to accept as historical fact Thucydides' account of the 'Return of the Herakleidai' (1, 12), or Eratosthenes' precise dating of it to 1104 B.C., eighty years after the fall of Troy.

## 2. MYCENAE AND KNOSSOS: THE PIONEERS

In the brilliantly perceptive first twelve paragraphs of his history Thucydides sketched the early development of Hellas, from a conglomeration of migrating tribes without cities, commerce or security of communication, down to the rallying of the Greek forces under Agamemnon for the Trojan war.

Mycenae was certainly a small place, and many of the towns of that period do not seem to us today to be particularly imposing; yet that is not good evidence for rejecting what the poets and the general tradition have to say about the size of the expedition. Suppose, for example, that the city of Sparta were to become deserted, and that only the temples and foundations of buildings remained, I think that future generations would, as time passed, find it very difficult to believe that the place had really been as powerful as it was represented to be. We have no right, therefore, to judge cities by their appearances rather than by their actual power, and there is no reason why we should not believe that the Trojan expedition was the greatest that had ever taken place.

But most nineteenth-century historians (particularly in Germany) were inclined to dismiss Troy and Mycenae as mere figments of poetic imagination; preferring to telescope Thucydides' narrative, by the omission of the Heroic Age, to read as if the development of the classical city-states had been the first interruption of that primitive state of barbarism that he so vividly described.

The first proof that a golden age of Mycenae had really existed was due to the vision and persistence of one man, Heinrich Schliemann. Born in 1822, the son of a poor North German pastor, he was fascinated in boyhood by the story of Troy (which in daydreams he already saw himself excavating) and enthralled by the cadences of Homer's Greek, first heard on the lips of a drunken miller. At the age of forty-six, having amassed a fortune in Russia and having learnt fifteen languages, he retired from business, married a sixteen-year-old Greek girl and devoted himself to archaeology—for which, even in those early days of the science, he began with few technical qualifications apart from great enthusiasm and a common-sense appreciation of stratification. After three seasons at Troy, where the ancient settlement was triumphantly laid



bare, he began in August 1876 to excavate the citadel of Mycenae, whose great Gate of the Lions had ever since prehistoric times been clearly visible above ground.

Rich hoards of gold, massive architecture and sophisticated art forms soon proved that the 'Mycenaeans' had reached a level of civilization which was indeed far removed from primitive barbarism, and which fully justified Homer's reminiscence of it. The chronology of his finds was not at first exactly appreciated, but the Mycenaean age appeared to be approximately contemporary with the Egyptian New Kingdom (c. 1580-1100 B.C.). Schliemann was equally vague about the race to which his 'Mycenaeans' had belonged. At the time of his excavations he was confident that he was indeed recovering the burials of Agamemnon and of the other Achaeans of his dynasty; but in a letter to Virchow nine years later (18 June 1885) he says:

I have been at pains to demonstrate that Tiryns and Mycenae must necessarily have been built and inhabited by the *Phoenicians*, who in a remote prehistoric age flooded Greece and the islands of the Ionian and Aegean seas with colonies, and who were only finally expelled, around 1100 B.C., by the so-called Dorian Invasion.

This view, perhaps pressed on Schliemann by the 'experts', was still being held by Dörpfeld in 1936. Reconsidering Schliemann's discoveries, Tsountas (1897) insisted that, although the Mycenaeans were illiterate (since no sign of indigenous writing had apparently been found on the Mainland), they were nevertheless Greeks; so too did Leaf in his introduction to Schuchhardt's *Schliemann* (1891):

Now we should rather suppose that the original dialect (of the Homeric poems) was that of the ancestors of these Asiatic Aeolians, the Achaeans of the eleventh century. What the form of their speech was we cannot now pretend to say. It must have differed greatly from Fick's 'Aeolic'; it was the common parent of Thessalian, Arcadian and Cyprian, in all of which we see various points of connexion with the Epic language. These affinities do not allow of an even approximate reconstruction of the parent speech; but they do allow us to assume that there was once a *common Achaean language* spoken by the dwellers in Mycenae and Tiryns, and over the greater part of the Greek mainland.

In a letter (1 January 1889) written two years before his death, Schliemann confided that 'I would like to end my life's labours with one great work—the prehistoric palace of the kings of Knossos in Crete'. Since its description by Buondelmonti in the fifteenth century, this ancient site had been known to lie at the village of Makrotikhos or Makritikhos, six kilometres south of Candia (now Iraklion) in a sheltered valley leading into the interior, and out of sight



of the sea. In 1877 the Spanish consul Minos Kalokairinos, a native of Candia, had made a small dig on the top of the Κεφάλι Τσελεμπή, 'Squire's Knoll', during which he had uncovered some of the magazines with their large *pithoi* and had recovered an inscribed tablet, now Ga34 (Evans later found others in Kalokairinos' spoil-heaps); one of the *pithoi* then found is in the National Museum at Athens. Three years later the American W. J. Stillman, who had noticed the double axe signs on the masonry, applied in the name of the newly-founded Archaeological Institute of America to the Imperial Ottoman Government for a *firman* to excavate at Knossos. He was allowed to anticipate the arrival of permission and began to dig; but the *firman* never materialized and he was forced to stop. Schliemann in 1886 confirmed the 'Mycenaeen' character of the remains; in 1889 he tried to buy the knoll from its multiple owners, but found their price too high for a site which 'I had satisfied myself I would easily be able to excavate in a week with a hundred workmen'. In addition to the rapacity of the proprietors Schliemann met with the usual obstruction from the Ottoman authorities, as always highly suspicious of archaeologists whom they suspected of subversive designs, and discouragement from the native Syllogos that administered the Candia Museum, who were afraid of what might happen to any treasures unearthed in the prevailing state of political unrest. His plan to excavate Knossos was postponed in favour of another season at Troy and cut short by his death: for this narrow escape Evans was lastingly thankful.

In 1886 Evans, then keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, was presented by Greville Chester with a seal-stone from Crete of a type recently publicized by Milchhoefer, engraved with unfamiliar 'hieroglyphs'. His intuition that Crete held the clue not only to a widespread system of writing among the 'Mycenaeans', but also to the origins of their civilization, brought Evans to Athens in 1893. He was there able to buy further specimens of Cretan seal-stones, and also to show that among the Mycenae finds there were in fact two vessels bearing writing. His travels to Crete in the following spring brought sufficient new evidence of writing (largely in the form of seal-stones similar to that shown in fig. 1, worn as γαλόπτερες or milk-charms by the women of the villages) to decide him to buy a part share of the Kephala site, thereby forestalling Joubin of the French School; and to publish his preliminary conclusions (1894). He argued that the 'Mycenaeans' must, in view of their advanced civilization, have been literate; and distinguished two phases, an earlier 'pictographic' script and a later linear or 'quasi-alphabetic'.

There is the strongest presumption for believing that in Crete at least the race among whom the earlier Aegean characters were originally rife was of non-Hellenic stock.



But if, at any rate towards the close of the Mycenaean period, there was already a Greek population in Crete, it becomes probable that the mysterious characters with which we are dealing may also have been used by men of Greek speech.

Further travels through Crete in 1895 and 1896, partly in company with the young Myres, gave material for a further article (1897) which included the inscribed libation table from Psychro (Linear A). In November 1899 the Turks finally evacuated Crete; at the New Year Evans was able to buy the whole Kephala site; and permission was given for a Knossos excavation, under the auspices of the British School, to be partly financed by the new Cretan Exploration Fund.



Fig. 1. Three-sided cornelian seal-stone from eastern Crete (P. 49\* in Evans, *Scripta Minoa I*, p. 159).

The first of six seasons, in which Evans was assisted by Mackenzie with Fyfe as architect, began on 23 March 1900. Within a week the first of a very large number of inscribed tablets (Linear B) were found: some of these depicted vessels similar to those illustrated among foreign offerings in an Egyptian tomb of the reign of Queen Hatshepsut (1516–1481 B.C.), which gave an approximate indication of their date. Later evidence showed that the tablets had been written just before the final destruction of the palace, which further Egyptian parallels proved to have occurred early in the reign of Amenhotep III (1414–1378 B.C.).

Evans also found, under a staircase adjoining the magazines, a deposit of clay documents inscribed with 'hieroglyphs' and bearing the impressions of seal-stones of the γαλόπειτρα type. In the excavation report for 1900 he recorded the 'hieroglyphic' and linear tablets as being contemporary; explaining the first as the product of the native Eteocretans who had been responsible for the 'Kamares' pottery of the earlier period, the second as evidence of 'the intrusion of a new element' which had brought with it the Mycenaean civilization from the Mainland.

In the 1902 report the sequence *Kamares—Palace Style* was amended to *Middle Minoan—Proto-Mycenaean—Mycenaean*, with an indiscriminate use of the terms 'Mycenaean' and 'Minoan' as a general label for the palace and its



treasures. From 1903 onwards the term 'Mycenaean' was dropped by Evans, to be replaced in due course by the now canonical division into the nine periods from *Early Minoan I* to *Late Minoan III*. The civilization of Crete had proved to be both more ancient and more autonomous than had been realized when the earlier terminology was evolved, as he emphasized in his presidential address to the Hellenic Society (1912):

When we come to regard the Minoan remains themselves as stratified by the various catastrophes, it becomes evident that they are the results of a gradual evolution. There is no break. The unity of the whole civilization is such as almost to impose the conclusion that there was a continuity of race. If the inhabitants of the latest Palace structures are to be regarded as 'Achaean', the Greek occupation of Crete must, on this showing, be carried back to Neolithic times—a very improbable conclusion.

How Evans' Knossocentric view had come to affect his perspective on the Mycenaean civilization itself is shown a page later, where he describes it as no more than 'a Minoan plantation' and as 'a Mainland branch of the Minoan culture':

We must clearly recognize that down to at least the twelfth century B.C. the dominant factor both in Mainland Greece and in the Aegean world was still non-Hellenic, and must still unquestionably be identified with one or other branch of the old Minoan race. But this is far from saying that even at the time of the first Minoan conquerors in the Peloponnese, or approximately speaking the sixteenth century B.C., they may not have found settlers of Hellenic stock already in the land.

Simultaneously with Evans' discoveries at Knossos, tablets in a somewhat different script (Linear A) were found at Agia Triada in the south of Crete by Halbherr (not published till 1945) and also in smaller numbers at other Cretan sites. In 1908 Pernier found the unique Phaistos disk, stamped in clay from movable pictographic 'type': its Cretan origin is still disputed. Keramopoullos in 1921 discovered twenty-eight stirrup-jars in a storeroom of the Mycenaean palace at Thebes, lettered in a script which proved to be identical with the Linear B of Knossos: these greatly extended the evidence for the character of Mainland writing, previously confined to a few uncertain inscriptions with variable forms on pots from Mycenae, Tiryns, Eleusis and Orchomenos.

### 3. THE YEARS OF STAGNATION

Evans' *Scripta Minoa I* (1909) contained his collection of inscribed seal-stones, the hieroglyphic and Linear A material from Knossos, and fourteen of the Linear B tablets (five had already appeared in the 1900 dig report). No further



publication of the Linear B tablets, of which well over 3000 pieces are known to have been excavated, was made until the fourth volume of his *Palace of Minos* (1935), where a total of 120 were illustrated in line drawings with a short commentary and sign-lists. At the same time (1932, 1936) Sundwall added thirty-eight more which he had copied himself in Iraklion at the cost of Evans' displeasure. At the time of Evans' death in 1941 his notes for *Scripta Minoa II*, which was to contain the Knossos Linear B archives, were still in disorder; and the originals in the museum at Iraklion, which had never been properly examined for joins and which had in some cases disappeared, were no longer available for study and were exposed to destruction by war. The task of completing their publication from Evans' drawings and photographs, fifty years after their discovery, was then heroically undertaken by Myres.

Two generations of scholars had been cheated of the opportunity to work constructively on the problem. Though it is difficult to forgive Evans for his failure to complete or to delegate publication, we are now in a position to appreciate that, even if he had made known all the tablets in an orderly way at the time of their discovery, they would probably not by themselves have provided sufficient material for a successful decipherment. Evans himself realized that the chances of reading them without a bilingual were almost non-existent, since he thought that they were written in an unknown 'Eteocretan' or 'Anatolian' language where the words, even if one knew how they were to be pronounced, would remain meaningless.

The only certain facts were established by Evans at the outset: the tablets were all inventories of persons, animals and commodities; these were indicated by pictorial 'ideograms' and counted by a decimal system of numbers, while the introductory wording of the tablets consisted of sign-groups of two to seven letters which were evidently words of the 'Minoan' language. Since there were about ninety of these phonetic signs, far too numerous for an alphabet, they in all probability represented syllables (*ta te ti to tu*, etc.). This arrangement is clearly seen on a typical tablet from the 'Armoury' (fig. 2) which lists 'three CHARIOTS' after a descriptive specification of twelve words written syllabically.

The problem of decipherment posed by this new writing was too fascinating to be resisted, in spite of the fact that the published material was too small either for the breaking of the code or for the proof of a successful solution. During the half-century 1901-51 continual attempts were made by reputable scholars, by talented amateurs and by cranks of all kinds from the lunatic fringe of archaeology. Most of these followed Evans' lead in treating the 'hieroglyphs', Linear A and Linear B (and even the Phaistos disk) together



as varying expressions of the same language; most of them took as their starting-point apparent similarities between 'Minoan' signs and those of the classical syllabary used for writing Cypriot Greek (whose values had been known since the seventies); and all attempted to read into the tablets a form of some language which was already known. The search for possible candidates spread over an absurdly wide area, and included Hittite, Egyptian, Basque, Albanian, Slavonic, Finnish, Hebrew and Sumerian. Apart from Evans' own work, nearly every attempt to discuss the script prior to 1944 may safely and decently be consigned to oblivion (critical bibliography by Deroy, 1948 and 1953).

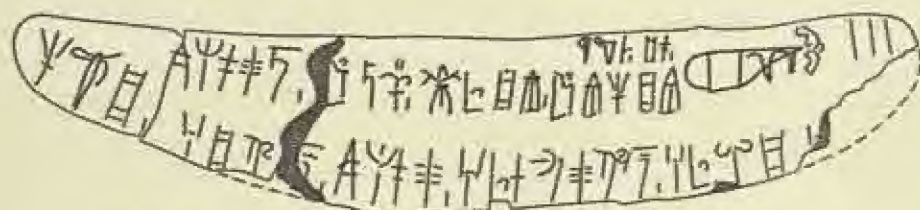


Fig. 2. Linear B 'chariot' tablet found in the Knossos 'Armoury', 1904 (for a translation, see 265 = *Sd0403*, p. 366).

Notable exceptions are an article by Cowley (1927) in which he showed that Knossos totals are introduced by either  $\overline{\text{r}}\text{q}$  or  $\overline{\text{r}}\text{y}$ , and that  $\text{q}\overline{\text{m}}$  and  $\text{q}\overline{\text{n}}$  mean 'boy' and 'girl', conceivably a phonetic indication 'as if for  $\text{ko}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{-pos}$  and  $\text{ko}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{-p}\eta$ ' (which we now know to be correct); and the long series of articles by Sundwall, stretching from 1914 to the present. In these he has recognized the need to examine the context of the tablets by purely internal comparisons, to identify the objects represented by the ideograms, and to explore the system of numbers, fractions and measures. His suggestions for interpretation have, however, followed a somewhat lonely path due to his belief in the predominantly religious context of the tablets.

The Greek readings of the script prematurely made by Persson (1930), Hempl and Stawell (1931) appeared doubtful enough for Linear B at Knossos, in view of Evans' prevailing theories of 'Minoan supremacy'; but they were doubly suspect (as they would still be today) for the earlier Linear A and for the 'hieroglyphic' seal-stones.

Towards the end of his life the Czech orientalist Hrozný, who in 1915 had brilliantly established cuneiform Hittite as an Indo-European language and had later played a less responsible part in the reading of hieroglyphic Hittite, began to lose his critical faculties and embarked on a wholesale attack on the



remaining undeciphered scripts of the world. His readings of the then-published Linear B tablets (1940-9) are a painful hotch-potch of Hittite and Babylonian words, which has proved only too easy to discredit. From this occupational disease of decoders we may all wish to be preserved.

More scholarly work was done by Fick (1905), Meillet (1909), Cuny (1910), Kannengiesser (1911), Huber (1921), Hammarström (1921) and others in trying to determine, from sources other than the Minoan-Mycenaean inscriptions, what the early languages of the Aegean might be expected to be like. They drew up lists of Greek vocabulary which seemed to have no Indo-European etymology (at least according to the evolutionary rules normal to Greek), and catalogued the many indigenous place-names of the area. Both these series are characterized by the endings *-nthos* and *-ssos* and show certain controversial analogies, not only with early names in Anatolia, but also with Etruscan; suggesting, together with the evidence of the stele from Kaminia on Lemnos, that a language in some way related to Etruscan may have been among those spoken in the Aegean before the arrival of the Greeks.

Ventris' interest in the problem dates from the 1936 exhibition arranged for the jubilee of the British School at Athens, when Evans lectured on his Minoan section of the exhibits; he tested the theory of an Etruscan relationship on the Knossos tablets in an adolescent article (1940), and did not entirely abandon it until 1952.

Kretschmer (1925) suggested that other Indo-European speakers had probably inhabited Greece before the arrival of the Greeks themselves. The Bulgar Georgiev reconstructed a 'pre-Hellenic language' (1941, 1945) similar to van Windekens' 'Pélasgique' (1952), in which the aberrant Greek words which had previously been taken as 'Aegean' borrowings are explained as Indo-European forms which have followed different evolutionary rules. In his later attempts to read the Linear B tablets in terms of this language (1949, 1950, 1953) Georgiev describes it as an 'Aegean-Asianic dialect related to Hittite', but in fact many of his readings are explained by Greek forms. In view of his recent (1954) switch to the view that the tablets contain a specifically Greek dialect identical with that described in the present book, it is as well to emphasize that his earlier quasi-Greek readings nowhere coincide with ours, and that they appear to have been arrived at by quite arbitrary and unscientific procedures.

Defying both Evans (for whom the Mycenaeans were merely Minoan invaders from Crete) and the linguists (who wished to turn them into Pelasgians, Etruscans, Illyrians or Hittites), a number of archaeologists had arrived independently at the same conclusion as Tsountas and Leaf—that the Mycenaeans



had spoken (and possibly written) Greek, and that they had not been subject to any foreign domination. Disagreement with Evans contributed to Wace's retirement from the direction of the British School at Athens in 1923 and to his temporary exclusion from archaeology in the field. The articles by Buck (1926) and by Blegen and Haley (1928) emphasized the historical evidence for placing the arrival of the Greeks about 1900 B.C., and regarded the pre-Hellenic place-names in *-nthos* and *-ssos* as a legacy not of the Mycenaeans but of the Early Bronze Age pattern of settlement in the third millennium B.C. Nilsson (1927, 1932, 1933) argued that Greek religion and myth, and not only the Greek language, had firm roots in the Mycenaean age; and Blegen and Wace (1939) marshalled the archaeological evidence against a domination of Mycenae by Knossos in the Late Minoan period, with arguments further reinforced by Kantor (1947) and discussed by Wace in the Foreword to the present book.

#### 4. THE AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION: PRELUDES TO DECIPHERMENT

In 1939, during the course of a joint Greek and American reconnaissance of western Messenia, Blegen discovered the site of a large Mycenaean palace at Ano Englianos, ten kilometres north of the classical Pylos (Koryphasion). The immediate indications were that this palace, set on an olive-covered ridge with a panoramic view over the bay of Navarino to the south and of mount Aigaleon in the east, was to be identified with the Pylos described in the third book of the *Odyssey* as the seat of the aged Nestor. By good fortune Blegen's trial trenches passed through one half of the archive room, from which over six hundred pieces of clay tablet were carefully extracted (later reduced by joins to 566). These were cleaned and mended in Athens, and admirably photographed by Alison Frantz before being buried away at the approach of war. These photographs were taken to America in June 1940 by Mrs Wace on the Italian declaration of war by the last American ship to leave the Mediterranean. The eventual editing of the tablets was entrusted to Emmett L. Bennett Jr. (without whose contributions to Mycenaean epigraphical studies this book could not have been written), but preliminary work in Cincinnati was interrupted by his cryptographic duties in the U.S. armed forces.

The seven photographs published by Blegen (1939) showed clearly, however, that the Pylos tablets were identical in script, layout and language with the Linear B documents which Evans had found at Knossos, even though the associated pottery dated them to c. 1200 B.C., towards the very close of



the Mycenaean age. This could perhaps be explained as the survival of a Minoan scribal language or *lingua franca* (similar to the use of Latin in the Middle Ages) and as confirmation of Evans' views of Cretan influence on the Mainland: Nilsson consequently refused to believe that the tablets had been written at Pylos at all. The alternative possibility, that both the Pylos tablets and the Knossos tablets might be written in Greek, was not generally considered, least of all by Ventris.

'In attempting to decipher documents written in an unknown language with an unknown script, the first step is to establish the facts that are obvious from an inspection of the available documents. The second step in the decipherment is to find, by careful analysis and logical deduction, what conclusions can be drawn from these fundamental facts.' This prim but necessary programme, purposely stopping short of the third and crucial step (the attempt to substitute actual sounds and words), was undertaken by Alice Kober of Brooklyn in a series of fundamental articles on Linear B published between 1943 and her premature death in 1950.

The first necessity was an accurate list of the phonetic signs, arranged in a convenient and generally-accepted order for indexing. Though she pointed out some of Evans' errors, neither Kober nor the editors of the Pylos tablets were able to influence the awkward and unreliable signary later published by Myres (1946) and included in *Scripta Minoa II*.

She did, however, undertake for Myres a systematic classification of the Knossos tablets according to their commodity ideograms (included in *SM II*, pp. 77-89, but now superseded by Bennett's classification); and she rightly emphasized the danger of studying words or tablets in isolation without reference to these wider contexts with which they are associated.

Her chief contribution was to show that the tablets contained, as might reasonably be expected, a language with grammatical inflexions; this conclusion was unaccountably resisted by Myres (*SM II*, p. 50). Her first example was the varying description of CHARIOTS on some tablets from the 'Armoury' (now known to be a difference between dual and plural):

Sd0401: 𐀓𐀗𐀓, 𐀓𐀗𐀓𐀓, 𐀓𐀗𐀓𐀓, 𐀓𐀗𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓

Sd0403: 𐀓𐀗𐀓, 𐀓𐀗𐀓𐀓, 𐀓𐀗𐀓𐀓, 𐀓𐀗𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓

and she suggested that 'it is highly likely that the forms in -𐀓𐀓 and -𐀓𐀓 are verbal' (they are in fact passive participles). From a number of published tablets she gathered a series of words which significantly appear in three alternative forms (that the basic word is really the same in each case is proved by



the fact that they recur in lists together, or in identical positions on the same class of tablets):

	TYPE A	TYPE B	C	D	E
CASE I:	𐀶𐀶𐀭𐀮	𐀶𐀶𐀭𐀮	𐀶𐀶𐀭𐀮	𐀶𐀶𐀭𐀮	𐀶𐀶𐀭𐀮
CASE II:	𐀶𐀶𐀭𐀮	𐀶𐀶𐀭𐀮	𐀶𐀶𐀭𐀮	𐀶𐀶𐀭𐀮	𐀶𐀶𐀭𐀮
CASE III:	𐀶𐀶𐀮	𐀶𐀶𐀮	𐀶𐀶𐀮	𐀶𐀶𐀮	𐀶𐀶𐀮

Of these triplets Case III is the shortest form, whereas Case I and Case II regularly add the signs -𐀮 and -𐀶 respectively; in this process the -𐀶 of all the Type A words is changed to -𐀭-, and the -𐀶 of Type B to -𐀭-; similar changes are seen in Types C, D and E. Kober pointed out the interesting implications of this phenomenon by the analogy of another inflected language, Latin (not necessarily related, of course), where words of the second declension would appear in syllabic spelling as:

<i>ser-vu-s</i>	<i>a-mi-cu-s</i>	<i>bo-nu-s</i>
<i>ser-vu-m</i>	<i>a-mi-cu-m</i>	<i>bo-nu-m</i>
<i>ser-vi</i>	<i>a-mi-ci</i>	<i>bo-ni</i>
<i>ser-vo</i>	<i>a-mi-co</i>	<i>bo-no</i>

Like the ablative endings -*vo* -*co* -*no* so too the series of parallel endings 𐀶 𐀶 𐀶 𐀶 𐀶 might be expected to share the same vowel but different consonants; whereas 𐀶/𐀭 𐀶/𐀭 etc. are probably pairs sharing the same consonant but different vowels, like *vo/vu*, *co/cu* and *no/nu*. This result can be tabulated in a diagrammatic form labelled by Kober 'the beginning of a tentative phonetic pattern', and known familiarly as 'the grid' among the team of decoders. This diagram has been of fundamental importance throughout the process of decipherment. Other examples of inflexion, as well as other variations and errors in spelling, give evidence of further pairs of signs which evidently share either the same vowel or the same consonant; and with these the 'grid' can be extended in both directions as far as the number of possible vowels or consonants will allow (in our case five vowels and thirteen consonants, as it turned

	VOWEL	
	1	2
CONSONANT 1	𐀭	𐀶
CONSONANT 2	𐀭	𐀶
CONSONANT 3	𐀶	𐀶
CONSONANT 4	𐀶	𐀶
CONSONANT 5	𐀶	𐀶

out). During this process, the grid conveniently takes the form of a wooden board covered with a regular pattern of nails, on which square labels bearing the signs of the syllabary can be hung and frequently rearranged to suit the developing evidence. In the end we are left with a well-covered chequerboard



of some sixty-five squares, from which all that is lacking is the actual pronunciation of the vowels and consonants themselves (fig. 3). This method of attack precludes random attempts to give a premature vocalization to isolated words (since every assumed syllabic value automatically leads to a 'chain-reaction' among the signs which are grouped with it on the same vertical and horizontal columns), and makes it easy to disprove any such arbitrary attempts by others.

Also of great importance was Kober's demonstration (1949) that the words for 'total' 𐀓𐀔 𐀓𐀕, like those for 'child' identified by Cowley 𐀓𐀔 𐀓𐀕, are masculine and feminine variants of the same words. Of the surviving languages with which that of Linear B might be compared, the Indo-European are almost alone in forming feminines by a change of vowel in the ending rather than by the addition of an extra syllable: some I.-E. languages, such as Hittite and its relatives, anticipate the evolution of English and Danish in having no feminine forms at all, while the Semitic dialects add *-(a)tu*, Egyptian *-(e)t*.

Kober recognized that *-ṭ* was a frequent ending in the descriptions of WOMEN, but did not see the feminine function of her Case I; it was left to Sundwall (1948) to recognize in the *-ṭ/-ṛ* endings of Case I and Case II an adjectival formation meaning 'belonging to'.

A parallel analysis of the Pylos material was summarized by Bennett in his unpublished doctoral dissertation at Cincinnati (1947), which we have not seen. The publication of the *The Pylos Tablets* (spring 1951) contained a detailed grouping of the texts according to their ideogram context by means of prefixes *Aa- Ab-*, etc., and the first reliable sign-lists (whose order is preserved in figs. 9 and 10). Both these advances were later extended to the Knossos material in his *Minoan Linear B Index* (1953). In his first published article (1950) Bennett brilliantly explained and codified the Linear B system of written weights and measures (see below, pp. 53-5), and added them to the evidence for believing with Kober (1948) that Linear B at Knossos represents a new language introduced from without.

The seven further Pylos tablets which thereby received advance publication in 1950 encouraged Ventris to begin a new series of analytical studies of his own, for which the material had previously seemed too small. These were continued in twenty mimeographed *Work Notes* (of which no spare copies remain) circulated for discussion among two dozen colleagues between January 1951 and June 1952. Several of these were taken up with the unproductive testing of 'Aegean' and Etruscan parallels (Greek readings still being regarded as out of the question, in spite of a hint by Bennett); but other Notes which now seem to have been on the main line of progress may perhaps be mentioned



here. They no doubt re-trod much of the ground covered in his dissertation by Bennett, with whom a fruitful exchange of views on decipherment technique was maintained over the period.

Notes 2 and 10 showed that the ending -⊕ found linking groups of Linear B words is an enclitic conjunction 'and', and that ⚡⊕ (now 'and not') has a similar function.

Note 8 gave statistics for the frequency of each phonetic sign at Pylos, broken down by position into initial, medial and final; this necessary calculation was repeated independently by Bennett (1951*b*) and later extended to Knossos by Ktistopoulos (1954). The great frequency of ⚡- ⚡- ⚡- as initials suggested, on the analogy of the statistics resulting from other known syllabaries, that they were the signs for simple vowels by themselves; and for the first two the values *a*- (already guessed privately by Kober, Chadwick and Ktistopoulos) and *i*- were considered.

Note 11 drew attention to two alternating phrases ⚡⚡⚡, ⚡⚡⚡ and ⚡⚡⚡, ⚡⚡⚡ on the long series of Pylos *E*- tablets (see nos. 108-154 below) and showed them to be male and female variants of a title meaning something like 'manservant' and 'maidservant of the ⚡⚡-'. A possible *do-we-lo* (cf. δοῦλος) for ⚡⚡⚡ was thrown in as a wild guess, always of course on the assumption that the 'Minoan' word had been later borrowed by Greek. The personal names which were qualified by ⚡⚡⚡ and ⚡⚡⚡ clearly had distinct endings (as on the Knossos lists of personnel accompanied by the MAN or WOMAN sign, pointed out by Evans, *PM*, IV, pp. 714-15), the males characteristically in -⚡ -⚡ -⚡ -⚡, the females in -⚡ (cf. Kober's Case I). That ⚡⚡ meant 'boy, son' and not 'girl, daughter' was shown by such Pylos tablets as Ad03:

⚡⚡⚡⚡⚡ ⚡⚡⚡⚡.⚡⚡⚡⚡⚡.⚡⚡ ⚡<sup>III</sup> ⚡⚡<sup>III</sup>

where three MEN and nine 'boys' are all described as 'sons of the Such-and-such women'; the words used to describe the women, which on the *Aa*- and *Ab*- tablets with a WOMAN ideogram are spelt ⚡⚡⚡.⚡⚡⚡, here have a -⚡ (-i??) added, which is evidently the mark of the genitive plural for feminines.

Note 12 attempted a functional classification of the Pylos sign-groups, purely on the basis of an exhaustive comparison of their contexts, into:

- (a) Apparent personal names of men and women.
- (b) Apparent names of departments, institutions or places.
- (c) Names of trades and titles applied to men and women.
- (d) General vocabulary, including adjectives, verbs, etc.

As typical of category (b) were quoted the nine names which are repeatedly listed at Pylos (e.g. on 75 = Cn02, 257 = Jn09, 250 = Vn01), and which, as we



afterwards discovered, Blegen and Bennett had already tentatively compared either with the nine towns tributary to Nestor in the Catalogue of Ships or with the nine ἔδραι in which the men of Pylos sacrificed on the seashore (*Od.* iii, 7).

It was pointed out that the characteristic 'inflexion' in -ΑΗ, -ΑΥ of Kober's triplets seemed to be confined to words of category (b), and might therefore be an adjective formation of a departmental or geographical kind.

Notes 1, 13, 14 reviewed the now much fuller evidence for inflexion, and showed that men's names are declined in at least six different 'declensions', generally predictable from the last syllable of the nominative:

NOMINATIVE:	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓
GENITIVE:	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓
'PREPOSITIONAL':	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓

The same rules of declension evidently applied to sign-groups of categories (c) and (d), names of trades and other vocabulary; and where there were numerals on the tablets it was possible to distinguish between singular and plural forms:

SINGULAR:	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓
PLURAL:	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓	𐀓𐀓

The four examples on the right show an added syllable in the spelling, conceivably the written indication of an inflexion such as the Greek

SINGULAR:	τέκτων = <i>te-ko-to-ne</i>	or	<i>tek-ton?</i>
PLURAL:	τέκτορες = <i>te-ko-to-ne-se</i>	or	<i>tek-ton-es?</i>

But the lack of change shown by the first four plurals was surprising. If 𐀓𐀓 really was κοῦρος (\*κόρρος) as Cowley had guessed, then the spellings could only be justified by assuming that *kor-wos* and *kor-woi* were written with exactly the same letters, and not distinguished as they would be by the fuller Cypriot spelling *ko-ro-vo-se* and *ko-ro-vo-i*. The lack of a regular written sign to indicate the expected nominative ending -s in men's names and vocabulary nouns seemed in fact to militate against Greek or a related Indo-European language.

Note 9 listed scribal variations in spelling such as 𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓/𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓, 𐀓𐀓𐀓/𐀓𐀓𐀓, etc., which enabled the alternating letters to be given adjacent positions on the grid. This note also considered how the inflexions could be explained in terms of Etruscan declension, which began to appear more and more unsuited.



Notes 1, 15, 17 illustrated successive stages in the build-up of the grid, and gave the criteria by which the different columns were arranged. A detailed summary of evidence for grid equations was printed in *JHS*, 1953, pp. 87-8, and may now be supplemented from the new Pylos material published by Bennett (1955). Fig. 3 shows the state of the grid in February 1952. There was still uncertainty about the number of vowel columns to be allowed, and some signs were put into two alternative squares; but in spite of its incomplete nature the grid had the virtue of being founded entirely on internal evidence dispassionately sifted, and not on any biased attempt to identify the language or give values to the signs.

But almost inevitably certain 'hunches' about possible phonetic values lurked at the back of Ventris' mind.  $\eta$  and  $\xi$  were simple vowels, and initial  $\eta$ - was almost certainly *a*-. The ending of the feminine adjectives in Kober's Case I in  $\eta\xi$ , etc., might well be *-i-ja* (since derivative women's names in *-ia* occur in Greek, Lycian and Etruscan): in this case Vowel 3 (in  $\eta, \xi$ , etc.) was *-i*, and Vowel 1 was *-a*. Vowel 2 might be *-e*, if the very numerous men's names in  $\eta\xi$   $\eta\xi$   $\eta\xi$ , etc., were ancestral to Greek  $\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  (Note 16); and Vowel 4 might then be left with the value *-o*.

The value of the consonants was much more difficult to guess. It was tempting to compare Cypriot values (see fig. 12), but clearly unrealistic:  $\dagger$  might be taken at its Cypriot value of *pa*, but then it was impossible to read  $\zeta$ , in quite another line of the grid, as *pe* by the same analogy. Consonants 11-12 might, however, be *l*- or *r*-, since they seemed to enter into inflexional variations of spelling involving two successive syllables, possibly of the type *-tro-/-tri-*, etc., which Cypriot would have to spell *-to-ro-/-ti-ri-*, etc.

	Vowel 1 <i>-a?</i>	V2 <i>-e?</i>	V3 <i>-i?</i>	V4 <i>-o?</i>	V?
C1	$\eta$		$\xi$		
C2	$\oplus$	$\Lambda$	$\Psi$		
C3	$\dagger$ $\mathbb{X}$			$\S$	
C4	$\boxplus$	$\boxminus$			
C5	$\boxplus$	$\mathbb{X}$	$\mathbb{X}$	$\mathbb{V}$	
C6	$\dagger$	$\mathbb{W}$ $\mathbb{E}$		$\mathbb{V}$	
C7	$\mathbb{W}$	$\mathbb{E}$	$\mathbb{V}$	$\mathbb{V}$	
C8	$\bar{\eta}$	$\bar{\eta}$	$\bar{\eta}$	$\mathbb{W}$	
C9	$\dagger$	$\mathbb{W}$	$\mathbb{W}$		$\mathbb{V}$
C10		$\oplus$		$\dagger$	$\mathbb{E}$
C11	$\mathbb{W}$		$\mathbb{E}$		$\dagger$
C12	$\eta$	$\eta$	$\mathbb{E}$	$\dagger$	$\mathbb{W}$
C13	$\eta$	$\mathbb{E}$	$\mathbb{E}$	$\eta$	
C14		$\mathbb{E}$	$\mathbb{E}$	$\dagger$	$\mathbb{W}$
C15	$\mathbb{W}$	$\mathbb{E}$	$\mathbb{E}$	$\dagger$	$\mathbb{E}$
C?		$\eta$ $\mathbb{E}$ $\mathbb{W}$	$\eta$ $\mathbb{E}$		

Fig. 3. The state of the 'grid' prior to decipherment (February 1952).



## 5. JUNE 1952: THE LANGUAGE IS GREEK

Myres' edition of the Knossos tablets appeared in February 1952, two years before his death. That *Scripta Minoa II* is incomplete, unwieldy and in many respects inaccurate is not due to any lowering of his own high standard of scholarship, but results from the enormous difficulty of interpreting and reconciling Evans' notes after his death, from the inaccessibility of the Cretan originals during the war years, and from his own failing eyesight. Although a few corrections provided by the first of Bennett's two long visits to Iraklion in 1950 and 1954 were included in *SM II*, the edition cannot safely be used without taking into account Bennett's privately-distributed *Corrections of Scripta Minoa II* (1952) dealing with errors in page, tablet and sign numbering; his revised Knossos vocabulary incorporated in the *Index* (1953), which also references a thousand more fragmentary tablets not recorded by Evans; some three hundred joins made by Bennett between Knossos tablets in 1954; and the discovery of some further fragments at Iraklion by Chadwick in 1955. The latter have now been incorporated in *The Knossos Tablets* (1956).

Though relatively little new evidence for inflexion could be found on the Knossos tablets now added to the material, nearly all of it tended to confirm the arrangement of the grid shown in fig. 3. There was one puzzling feature: while some vocabulary words (like  $\zeta\psi\chi\eta/\zeta\psi\chi\eta$ ) showed a reasonable spelling variation in their ending between  $-\eta$  ( $-ja?$ ) and  $-\psi$  ( $-a?$ ), there were also others of the same type (like  $\chi\psi\eta/\chi\psi\eta$  on the CHARIOT tablets) which showed an apparently indifferent variation between  $-\eta$  ( $-jo??$ ) and  $-\psi$  ( $-i?$ ). In an effort to introduce a more satisfactory symmetry into this corner of the grid Ventris took up again the value  $jo$  for  $\eta$ , which had been summarily rejected in Note 9, and assumed the following pattern:

$\psi$     $a$     $\eta$     $ja$     $\psi$     $o$     $\eta$     $jo$

This would have three important consequences. The frequent  $-\eta$  or  $-\eta\eta$  in the ending of men's names in the genitive (Note 14) would become  $-(o)jo$  and  $-(i)jojo$  and recall Homeric forms like  $\text{Αὐτολύκοιο}$  and  $\text{Ἰκαρίοιο}$ ; the feminine genitive plural ending  $-\eta\psi$  (Note 11) would become  $-(i)ja-o$  and suggest the archaic  $\gammaαῖάων$ ,  $\thetaεάων$ , etc.; and it would be possible to transcribe the first five of Kober's triplets quoted on p. 16 (using numbers 'algebraically' for the unknown consonants) as:

$L_{-8i-14i-ja}$	$^9a_{-2i-14i-ja}$	$\dots li_{-13i-ja}$	$^6a_{-8o-13i-ja}$	$A_{-7i-8i-13i-ja}$
$L_{-8i-14i-jo}$	$^9a_{-2i-14i-jo}$	$\dots li_{-13i-jo}$	$^6a_{-8o-13i-jo}$	$A_{-7i-8i-13i-jo}$
$L_{-8i-14o}$	$^9a_{-2i-14o}$	$\dots li_{-13o}$	$^6a_{-8o-13o}$	$A_{-7i-8i-13o}$



It did not require very great imagination to realize that if one substituted the values  $6=k$ ,  $7=m$ ,  $8=n$ ,  $9=p$ ,  $13=s$ , and  $14=t$ , one would be left with the names of five of the most important Cretan towns (including the capital) in the bottom line, and above these the feminine and masculine adjectives derived from them:

Λύκται	Φαίσται	Τυλίσαι	Κνώσαι	Ἀμνίσαι
Λύκτιοι	Φαίστιοι	Τυλίσιοι	Κνώσιοι	Ἀμνίσιοι
Λύκτος	Φαιστός	Τυλίσός	Κνωσός	Ἀμνισός

By the inevitable 'chain-reaction' thirty-one of the signs on the grid would thereby receive fixed phonetic values. Note 20 (June 1952, the last of the series) discussed this new line of attack and suggested a small number of vocabulary identifications:  $\text{Q}\pi$  = κόρφος,  $\text{Q}\bar{\pi}$  = κόρφα,  $\text{Q}\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}$  = κορίαννον 'coriander',  $\text{Q}\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}$  = κορίαννα,  $\text{F}\eta$  = τόσσοι 'so many',  $\text{F}\bar{\eta}$  = τόσσαι, and  $\text{H}\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}$ ,  $\text{H}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$  on the CHARIOT tablets = ἄραρυῖαι ἄνιافي 'fitted with reins'. It ended, however, with the admission that these Greek words were probably a mirage, and that the proposed spelling rules, according to which final -s -n -r were not indicated at all, seemed contrary to reasonable expectation.

But while Note 20 was still in the post Ventrism realized, from the application of the new phonetic values to a larger number of tablets, that the unexpected Greek solution was inescapable. Not only could vocabulary words be identified (like the trades *po-me*, gen. *po-me-no*, 'shepherd', *ka-ke-u* 'smith', *ke-ra-me-u* 'potter', *ka-na-pe-u* 'fuller', *i-e-re-u* 'priest', *i-je-re-ja* 'priestess') which exactly tallied with their functions as predicted in Note 12 (see p. 18); but the inflexions codified over the past eighteen months could immediately be explained in terms of archaic Greek declension; and some sense could already be made of complete sentences, notably on Pylos 31 = Ae04, 28 = An42, 253 = Jn01 and 252 = Vn06. It was at this stage that Myres put Ventrism in touch with John Chadwick, who had been working independently on Linear B in Oxford for six years and whose cryptographic flair and specialist knowledge of the Greek dialects have been invaluable in all our subsequent collaboration.

Largely through the good offices of T. J. Dunbabin (whose tragic early death has occurred since this chapter was drafted) space was found in *JHS* for a detailed article (*Evidence, etc.*), completed in November 1952. In this we identified the Linear B language as a Greek dialect ancestral to Arcado-Cyprian, proposed a large number of interpretations, and published a table of sign values which, apart from a few additions, is identical with that here printed in fig. 4.



As we wrote then (p. 90), 'with no bilingual or other external aids to decipherment available, the reality of a proposed transliteration can only be tested by applying it to the material as a whole. If consistent series of vocabulary and grammatical forms result, which are in agreement with the probable context of the tablets, then we may be justified in believing that even those features which remain intractable will eventually be accounted for.'

Basic values										Homophones	
a	𐀀	e	𐀁	i	𐀂	o	𐀃	u	𐀄	a <sub>2</sub> (ka)	𐀅
da	𐀆	de	𐀇	di	𐀈	do	𐀉	du	𐀊	ai	𐀋
ja	𐀌	je	𐀍	—	—	jo	𐀎	ju	—	ai <sub>2</sub> ?	𐀏
ka	𐀐	ke	𐀑	ki	𐀒	ko	𐀓	ku	𐀔	ai <sub>3</sub> ?	𐀕
ma	𐀖	me	𐀗	mi	𐀘	mo	𐀙	mu	𐀚	*87 (kwe?)	𐀛
na	𐀜	ne	𐀝	ni	𐀞	no	𐀟	nu	𐀠	nu <sub>2</sub>	𐀡
pa	𐀢	pe	𐀣	pi	𐀤	po	𐀥	pu	𐀦	pa <sub>2</sub>	𐀧
—	—	qe	𐀨	qi	𐀩	qo	𐀪	—	—	pa <sub>3</sub> ?	𐀫
ra	𐀬	re	𐀭	ri	𐀮	ro	𐀯	ru	𐀰	pe	𐀱
sa	𐀲	se	𐀳	si	𐀴	so	𐀵	su	𐀶	pu <sub>2</sub> ?	𐀷
ta	𐀸	te	𐀹	ti	𐀺	to	𐀻	tu	𐀼	ra <sub>2</sub> (ri-ja)	𐀽
wa	𐀾	we	𐀿	wi	𐁀	wo	𐁁	—	—	ra <sub>3</sub> (rai)	𐁂
za	𐁃	ze	𐁄	zi	—	zo	𐁅	zu?	𐁆	ro <sub>2</sub> (ri-jo)	𐁇
*32	𐁈	*47	𐁉	*49	𐁊	*63	𐁋	*64	𐁌	*85 (ii-ja?)	𐁍
*65	𐁎	*71	𐁏	*82	𐁐	*83	𐁑	*86	𐁒	tu <sub>2</sub> (ti-ja)	𐁓

Fig. 4. Proposed values of the Mycenaean syllabary.

Similar reservations must be made today, for the much larger number of texts discussed in the present book. It may be difficult to assess the point at which ultimate scientific proof can be conceded, but a relative degree of certainty must be granted to the theory when we try to estimate the odds against its results having been obtained by chance, and when we consider the success with which it has been used by independent researchers to interpret new texts, unknown when it was first formulated.



## 6. THE WIDENING OF THE RANKS

The reception of our proposed Greek decipherment by our fellow linguists and archaeologists was immeasurably more favourable than might have been expected, considering the enormous number of ill-considered attempts which had been prematurely publicized over the past fifty years. Already before the publication of *Evidence*, lectures and an advanced summary had secured the allegiance of Björck and Furumark at Uppsala and of Palmer at Oxford: their many valuable contributions to the readings of the signs and to the interpretation of the tablets (together with those put forward by other scholars mentioned below) are fully referenced in our bibliography for the period up to May 1955, and are as far as possible evaluated and acknowledged in the commentary and vocabulary of the present book. Welcome encouragement was also given at this stage by Barnett, Döring, Gelb, Myres, Page, Sjöflund and others.

Three other works, already in manuscript or proof when *Evidence* appeared, independently came to a similar conclusion from a different approach to the evidence. Dow (1954) in a long survey of *Minoan Writing*, devoted largely to delimiting the extent of Linear A and Linear B literacy, described 'the reasonings which in spring 1953 forced themselves upon me as decisive in favor of the then (otherwise) unproved hypothesis that Linear B was Greek'. Miss Henle's dissertation (1953) argued on historical grounds that 'the language of Class B is probably Greek', and supplied a comparative analysis of syllabic frequencies in Linear B and in Homeric Greek. It did not arrive at any useful phonetic values, due to her failure to undertake any detailed study of inflexion and context, or to recognize the usefulness of the grid procedure. Wace (1953, written 1951) hinted that the Pylos and Knossos tablets might both be written in Greek and that 'perhaps in Late Minoan II a Mainland Dynasty had gained power in Crete'—a suggestion already made by him in 1938 (Pendlebury (1939), p. 229). He was therefore particularly ready to accept the conclusions published in *Evidence*; so too were Stubbings, to whom a similar view of Knossos had occurred, and Marinatos (1953). Criticism from a 'Minoan' partisan was levelled in a review by Platon (1954), director of the Iraklion Museum.

Although Ventris' first 1952 proposals had received encouragement from Blegen as fitting his own view of the Mainland language and of the probable contexts of the tablets, he was cautious about accepting them in detail. Bennett too reserved judgment: 'I think there is not yet enough material available to make a deciphering of these tablets certain one way or the other. Michael



Ventris' theory that the language of the Minoan tablets is very early Greek is a tempting possibility; that is all I would say at this stage' (interview 20 November 1952).

Their caution was justified by a new factor which now had to be taken into consideration. That summer Blegen had resumed excavation at Pylos, and the material had been extended by a large number of new tablets (eventually 333 when mends and joins had been made); these had not yet been cleaned sufficiently for study. Smaller finds of tablets were repeated at Pylos in 1953, 1954 and 1955. At Mycenae, too, a tablet had been found on the surface by Petsas in 1950. In 1952 Wace unearthed thirty-eight more in the 'House of the Oil Merchant' (significantly the first series to be found apparently outside of the royal palaces), later edited by Bennett (1953). These were followed in 1953 by one tablet from the 'House of Shields' and inscribed seal-impressions from the 'House of Sphinxes'; the latter in 1954 yielded ten more tablets, edited by Bennett (1956) with vocabulary notes by Chadwick.

On his return to Athens in the spring of 1953 Blegen examined the new Pylos tablets in detail, and was able to send us (16 May 1953) exciting news of tablet 236 = Ta641 which 'evidently deals with pots, some on three legs, some with four handles, some with three, and others without handles. The first word  $\overline{\text{m}}$  by your system seems to be *ti-ri-po-de*, and it recurs twice as *ti-ri-po* (singular?). The four-handled pot  $\overline{\text{q}}$  is preceded by *qe-to-ro-we*, the three-handled  $\overline{\text{q}}$  by *ti-ri-o-we-e* or *ti-ri-jo-we*, the handleless pot  $\text{Q}$  by *a-no-we*. All this seems too good to be true. Is coincidence excluded?'

Almost simultaneously (22 May 1953) and without knowledge of Blegen's discovery, Sittig announced to us the generous abandonment of his own previous attempt to decipher Linear B (1951), and by a remarkable coincidence drew attention to the ideogram  $\text{Q}$  on Knossos 232 = K 875: this is there described as *di-pa a-no-wo-to*, which he rightly suggested reading as  $\delta\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\nu$  'goblet without a handle'.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\upsilon\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\nu$  and the Pylos *a-no-we* =  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\phi\epsilon\varsigma$  could easily be explained as variants of the same compound adjective, and gave additional force to Blegen's identifications.

Blegen gave 236 = Ta641 advance publication (1953) and it was further discussed by Ventris (1954a). This striking new evidence reinforced the arguments of *Evidence*, and brought agreement in principle from Bennett, Carratelli, Chantraine, Daux, Dumézil, Friedrich, Georgiev, Lejeune, Meriggi, Peruzzi, Sundwall and others. In January 1954 London University's new Institute of Classical Studies followed Uppsala's example in beginning (under Turner and Webster) a useful seminar on Linear B studies, which among other subjects has debated the phonological theories advanced by Andrews (see p. 46), and



has produced duplicated editions of the Pylos and Knossos tablets in transcription. Later in the year a similar seminar was instituted in Paris by Lejeune and Chantraine, who with Gelb had given generous support at the international congress for classical studies in Copenhagen in August 1954; and similar interest was taken in Switzerland. In Russia Tiumenev (1954) invoked the new decipherment in an attack on Georgiev's earlier theory of the Mycenaean language situation.

Bennett's edition of the 1952, 1953 and 1954 Pylos tablets (*PT II*, 1955) provided much new material for study, special interest being aroused by the other tablets of the *Ta* group to which the 'tripods' belong (see 235-247, ch. x); this series, with its vivid descriptions of Mycenaean furniture, was discussed in an article by Ventris (1955). Meanwhile Evans and Myres' edition of the Knossos tablets was corrected from the originals in Iraklion Museum in successive visits by Bennett, Chadwick and Ventris, during which a large number of joins were made, and over two thousand unpublished fragments were cleaned and catalogued (nos. 5000-6068 and 7000-8075).

The welcome co-operation of so many specialists will inevitably take the interpretation of the Mycenaean documents far beyond the tentative translations printed in Part II of this book. But in case too optimistic a picture may seem to have been painted of the prospects of 'total decipherment', it may be as well to end this historical survey with a summary of the limitations to our understanding which are likely to remain in force unless a much larger number (and preferably a different kind) of texts can be unearthed in the future.

1. Since the tablets are without exception administrative records of a summary and abbreviated kind (inventories, catalogues, accounts and nominal rolls, consisting largely of proper names), we must resign ourselves to the complete absence of literary or historical matter; to a very one-sided vocabulary deficient in verbs, adverbs, prepositions and pronouns; and to only the simplest patterns of syntax.

2. For a sign to be allotted a fixed syllabic value it must occur in a vocabulary word (not merely in a personal name!) whose Greek identification is absolutely certain from the context; or be found in a larger number of words whose identification is at least probable; or else be shown to alternate regularly with a sign whose value is already known. There are obviously a number of syllabic signs, especially those confined to proper names, to which we may never be in a position to assign a value; these are shown in the bottom section of fig. 4.

3. Even when we can transliterate our text mechanically into syllables, we are still a long way from reading it. Owing to the latitude allowed by the spelling rules (see pp. 42-8) the same sign-groups may often with equal justification be read as quite different Greek words: thus *pa-te* as either *πατήρ* or *πάντες*, *pa-si* as *ᾤσι* or *πάνσι*, and so on.



4. Though we will probably not be justified in invoking the presence of many 'Minoan' or 'Aegean' loan-words on the tablets (*-inthos* and *-ssos* do not seem to be any commoner than in later times), their vocabulary inevitably contains many word-stems, derivatives and compounds which are very much further removed from 'normal' classical Greek than the unfamiliar glosses recorded by Hesychius as late as the fifth century A.D. To have to interpret them is rather like trying to read Chaucer with only a knowledge of twentieth-century English. Comparative philology is of great use in helping us to infer the probable Mycenaean forms of known classical words, but is notoriously misleading (as has been proved in the study of Hittite, Phrygian and Messapian) in suggesting meanings for unfamiliar words on the basis of analogies in other Indo-European languages.

5. Except where they are clearly pictorial (like *MEN*, *WOMEN*, *CHARIOTS* and *TRIPODS*) the meanings of the ideograms and other abbreviations are impossible to guess unless there are generous clues in the context.

6. Even where the dictionary meaning of the words on the tablets can be established with certainty (for example in a phrase like 'the smiths do not give' on 176 = Mal2), this is no guarantee that we can understand the full significance of such a remark; and the actual situation or transaction which the scribe is recording can sometimes only be guessed at with the aid of very distant analogies.

7. The inherent difficulty of reading these ancient syllabic texts can be appreciated by comparing the results achieved on the classical Cypriot inscriptions (see Mitford, 1952). Though written in a known Greek dialect and in a syllabary whose values have been established since the 1870's, many of them are still as full of uncertainties as, for instance, the notorious Golgi inscription (Schwyzer, *Dial.* 685<sup>1</sup>):

*ka-i-re-te ka-ra-si-ti va-na-xe ka-po-ti ve-po-me-ka me-po-te-ve-i-se-se*  
*te-o-i-se po-ro-a-la-na-to-i-se e-re-ra-me-na pa-ta-ko-ra-i-to-se*  
*o-ro-ka-re-ti e-pi-si-ta-i-se a-to-ro-po te-o-i a-le-tu-ka-ke-re*  
*te-o-i ku-me-re-na-i pa-ta ta-a-to-ro-po-i po-ro-ne-n-i ka-i-re-te*



## CHAPTER II

# THE MYCENAEAN WRITING SYSTEM

### 1. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

HIEROGLYPHS	c. 2000 B.C.	Foundation of palaces at Knossos and Mallia.
	c. 2000-1925	MIDDLE MINOAN Ia.
	c. 1925-1850	MIDDLE MINOAN Ib.
	c. 1850-1700	MIDDLE MINOAN II (Knossos and Phaistos only).
	c. 1700	1st destruction level at Knossos (Evans).
	c. 1700-1660	MIDDLE MINOAN IIIa.
		1st destruction level at Mallia (Chapouthier), Phaistos (Banti). Minor earthquake at Knossos (Evans).
LINEAR A	c. 1660-1580	MIDDLE MINOAN IIIb.
	c. 1600	2nd destruction level at Knossos only.
	c. 1580-1510	LATE MINOAN Ia.
	c. 1510-1450	LATE MINOAN Ib.
		2nd destruction level at Phaistos, Agia Triada, Mallia?
LINEAR B	c. 1450-1405	LATE MINOAN II (Knossos only).
		3rd destruction level at Knossos.
	MAINLAND:	
	c. 1405-1340	LATE HELLADIC IIIa.
		LATE HELLADIC IIIb.
		Destruction of Pylos, and Mycenae sites outside citadel.
?	c. 1200-1100	LATE HELLADIC IIIc.
		Destruction level at Mycenae (citadel).

### 2. ORIGINS: THE CRETAN 'HIEROGLYPHIC' SCRIPT


It is not easy to arrive at a detailed understanding of the way in which the earlier Minoan scripts originated and developed. The 'hieroglyphic' and Linear A inscriptions are few and undeciphered, and archaeologists are not in full agreement on the relative dating of objects and events in different Cretan palaces. In the absence of historical records, the Minoan 'periods' are primarily intended to differentiate pottery styles: one of the styles in the sequence may be lacking at a particular site, or several may be found in use together.


It is certain, however, that the Minoan 'hieroglyphic' seal-stones—the first



evidence found by Evans in the nineties—represent the beginnings of writing in Crete. Since most of these signets are surface finds from various parts of the island, their dating cannot be exact; but the earliest 'hieroglyphic' seal-impressions from the pre-Palatial 'Vat Room deposit' are assigned by Evans to MM Ia (*PM*, 1, p. 171). Seal-stones engraved with groups of one to six signs of a more advanced 'hieroglyphic' script ('Class B') came into general use in MM II; and a cursive form of this script began to be incised on clay, mostly in the form of circular labels or rectangular bars, both of these being pierced for attachment by strings.

In its early use the script thus served mainly as a means of identification, discharging more efficiently the function of the owners', potters', bronze-founders' and masons' marks of an earlier period; such marks, like those in use down to the classical period, must be clearly distinguished from writing in the true sense of the word, and their forms generally have only a fortuitous resemblance to alphabetic or linear writing signs. In their shapes the Cretan 'hieroglyphs' probably show some influence from Egyptian models, either by way of imported scarabs and other small objects, or resulting from the actual observations of merchants travelling in the wake of the Kamares pottery now being exported in quantity (Kantor, 1947, p. 18). There are few specific identities, however, and we need not suppose that the actual principles of Egyptian writing were uncritically adopted—that unwieldy combination of ideographic, phonetic and determinative signs within the same word, common to those writing systems which remained in the 'word-syllabic' stage (Gelb, 1952, p. 194), e.g.

EGYPTIAN:  *wšr-s-r* 'activity' = *wšr* 'strong'.

HITTITE:  *god* -STORMGOD-*hu-ta-s* = 'Storm god Tarḫuntas'.

From c. 2200 B.C. onwards Syria and Palestine were the scene of successive experiments in the design of a writing system which was eventually to oust all its competitors. From the beginning this West Semitic model was entirely phonetic, without ideograms; and from the quasi-syllabic stage of the Byblos script (Dhorme, 1948) it rapidly passed, influenced by the structure of the Semitic languages, to the stage of the Phoenician and Ugaritic 'consonantal alphabets' or, as Gelb prefers it, 'syllabaries without vowels'. Evans is probably right in deducing from the small number of signs that the Cretan 'hieroglyphs' were also predominantly phonetic in value (*SM I*, p. 247). The earliest Minoan script may have been deliberately designed as a syllabary; but it is useless to



argue, as many have done, a direct Minoan influence on the Phoenician scripts, which are earlier in origins and more sophisticated in principle.

From the small number of 'hieroglyphic' inscriptions found, Dow (1954) argues that 'there is no ground for imagining that literacy existed in any developed sense'. Though the absence of durable and monumental records, so strikingly in contrast with most of the contemporary cultures, is a characteristic of all periods of Minoan-Mycenaean life, his conclusion may well be valid for this early period.

An incomplete list of 'hieroglyphic' signs was printed by Evans in *SM I*, p. 232 and *PM*, i, p. 282. To the use of an embryonic syllabary for spelling out names and titles, the requirements of the palace administration added two mechanisms which were to remain characteristic of all later Aegean inscriptions:

1. The development of a list of standard *ideograms* as abbreviations for the commodities being counted, and as a more graphic indication of the tablets'



Fig. 3. 'Hieroglyphic' tablet from Phaistos.

contents to the non-literate members of the household. With doubtful exceptions, ideograms (in the sense of symbols which stand for a definite word-meaning rather than for a conventional sound-value) *only occur with numerals* in all three Aegean scripts, never in the spelling of ordinary words or sentences. Evans and Myres were often deluded by the more naturalistic signs into giving them a symbolic value, which their frequency and use in different positions render most unlikely.

2. A written system of numerals and fractions. In this respect the 'hieroglyphic' script differs in its conventions from those of the Linear Scripts.

1,234 is written  $\phi \backslash \vdots \vdots \vdots$

and the fractional quantities appear in the forms  $\ell \ell \ell$  (or  $\rho \rho$ ), which may represent  $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$  ( $\ell$  and  $\rho$  are ideograms).

The tablet illustrated in fig. 5 was an unstratified find at Phaistos (Pernier, 1935, p. 425). After a word of two signs, the top line records quantities of



20½(?) units of each of the commodities  $\oint \uparrow \nabla \nabla$ . These four staples, which there is reason to believe represent WHEAT, OIL, OLIVES and FIGS, recur with similar symbols in both Linear A and Linear B (see p. 35). The second may be a simplification of Evans' 'jug and olive-spray' sign.

The Knossos 'hieroglyphic archives' consist of nineteen lumps of clay sealed with inscribed signets, and of sixty-three clay sealings tablets, bars or labels, found in the earth fill of a chamber under the staircase at the north end of the long corridor to the magazines (*R* on fig. 13, p. 115). First assigned by Evans to 'within the limits of MM III' (*SM I*, p. 21, dating the fill of the chamber to the second destruction), the documents were later placed entirely within MM II, the use of the 'hieroglyphs' ceasing abruptly with the end of this period (*PM*, I, p. 612). This conclusion is doubted by Chapouthier (1930), and is based on no very certain stratigraphic evidence.

### 3. LINEAR SCRIPT A

Both the cause and date of the introduction of Linear A are uncertain. A desire to simplify the naturalistic forms of the 'hieroglyphs' for hurried writing on clay is hardly sufficient reason, since even Linear B still contains a fair proportion of complex signs, of a dozen strokes or more, which perhaps reflect a calligraphic use of the script on other more perishable materials.

The earliest Linear A inscriptions were believed by Evans (*PM*, I, p. 612) to be those written in ink on two Knossos cups, which he dated by their shape to MM IIIa. The archives deposit from Mallia, discovered by Renaudin and Charbonneaux in 1923, apparently dates from the reoccupation of the palace at the beginning of MM IIIb, and is significant in showing a late use of the 'hieroglyphs' side by side with incipient Linear A, in one case on two sides of the same tablet. The numeration of both Mallia scripts still uses dots for the tens (a peculiarity recurring on some Agia Triada tablets) but circles for the hundreds. It is difficult to reconcile the Knossos and Mallia evidence with the discovery of two dozen tablets at Phaistos in 1953 and 1955, in a level of the First Palace dated by the excavators to MM Ia, which allegedly show a transition from the 'hieroglyphic' to the linear script; for an illustration, see *Annuario della scuola archeologica italiana di Atene*, 30-32 (n.s. 14-16), p. 418.

The latest and largest group of surviving Linear A documents comprises 150 rectangular clay tablets and a number of sealings (*cretule*) found in the 'Royal Villa' at Agia Triada associated with remains of LM Ia frescoes and stone jars. They cannot at any rate be later than the destruction of the villa, ascribed by Evans (*PM*, IV, p. 786) to 'the new and aggressive dynasty' which



he believed took power at Knossos at the beginning of LM II. Carratelli similarly dates the Agia Triada tablets to before 1450 B.C.; but Pendlebury (1939, p. 228) and the Italian excavators regard the destruction of Agia Triada as contemporary with that of Knossos itself in c. 1405 B.C.

With very minor exceptions, all other Linear A inscriptions appear to be of MM IIIb date. They include tablets and sealings from Knossos, Phaistos, Tylissos, Zafer Papoura, Zakro and Palaikastro, and libation tables and ritual objects from these and a number of other sites (see Carratelli, pp. 590-602 and Dow, 1954, p. 113). Their total number is very small compared to the Linear B material, but the language appears to be identical throughout. Carratelli points to the word  $\text{𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓}$  which occurs both on a steatite libation table from Palaikastro and on the stone ladle from near Arkhanes (Dow, p. 100), and to the word  $\text{𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓}$  or  $\text{𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓}$  which occurs on no less than five religious objects from different parts of the island. But of the words written entirely in signs paralleled in Linear B, there are only one or two which recur on a Knossos Linear B or Mycenaean mainland inscription. A solitary example of a possible grammatical variation may be seen by comparing  $\text{𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓}$  on the fragment of a steatite libation-bowl found by Marinatos at Apodoulou (Carratelli, *Ap 1*) with  $\text{𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓}$  on the piece of a steatite libation-table perhaps from Petsofa (*Pc 10*): if mechanically transcribed with their apparent Linear B values, these words would read *no-pi-na-ma-* and *no-pi-na-mi-na*.

In spite of considerable disagreement, we are probably justified in inferring that the standardized form of Linear A came into general use at the beginning of MM IIIb, and that it did not survive the introduction of Linear B at Knossos. It is difficult to visualize the *Pa-i-to* = Phaistos of our Linear B tablets as conducting its records and its correspondence with the capital in Linear A; Dow's statement (1954, p. 120) that to the end of LM II 'the rest of the island continued to use Linear A' can, perhaps, only be true of unattested writing in the native 'Minoan' language outside the offices of the royal administration.

The Agia Triada tablets, being latest and most numerous, probably show Linear A in its most representative form: they have been used as the basis for the list of seventy-five syllabic signs published here (fig. 6), from which a few rare Agia Triada signs of doubtful form and function have been omitted. The possible similarities which have been shown with 'Hieroglyphs' (H) or with Linear B signs (B) should not be taken to argue an identical sound-value; such an identity could only be proved by a cogent decipherment, which in view of our complete ignorance of the 'Minoan' language is probably impossible. The signs are numbered *L 1*, etc., in accordance with Carratelli (pp. 467-74); to which is added Myres' inconvenient numeration, whereby *AB 1*, etc., represent




H	A	B	H	A	B	H	A	B		
	L 1 AB 18				L 44 AB 11			L 76 AB 40		
	L 2 AB 4				L 45 AB 61			L 77 AB 38		
	L 6 AB 44				L 47 A 103			L 78 AB 10		
	L 9; cf. 28 AB 12				L 50; cf. 92			L 79 A 119		
	L 10 AB 9				L 51 AB 59			L 81 AB 45		
	L 15 A 75				L 52 AB 49			L 82 AB 22		
	L 16 AB 54				L 53 AB 51			L 83 AB 62		
	L 21				L 54 AB 31			L 84/48 A 93		
	L 22 AB 2				L 55 AB 32			L 85 AB 63		
	L 23 AB 57				L 56 AB 12			L 86 AB 39		
	L 24				L 57 AB 30			L 87 A 53		
	L 25/7 AB 19				L 58 AB 26			L 88 A 70		
	L 26 AB 58				L 59 AB 13			L 91 AB 24		
	L 27				L 60 AB 46			L 92 AB 5		
	L 28; cf. 56 AB 12				L 61 AB 33			L 93/17 AB 56		
	L 29 AB 23				L 62 AB 35			L 94 AB 25		
	L 30 AB 1				L 63 A 72			L 95 A 40		
	L 31 AB 27				L 64 AB 55			L 97 AB 60		
	L 32 AB 20				L 65 A 81			L 98 AB 41		
	L 33 AB 8				L 66 A 97			L 99/128 A 89		
	L 34 AB 29				L 68/96 A 61			L 100/38 AB 37		
	L 36 AB 69				L 69 AB 16			L 101 AB 36		
	L 37; cf. 62 AB 35				L 72; cf. 94 AB 25			L 102 AB 48		
	L 39 AB 7				L 74 AB 14			L 103 AB 53		
	L 43 AB 67				L 75 AB 21			L 120 A 116		

Fig. 6. The Linear A syllabary in use at Agia Triada (after Carratelli), with possible cognates in the 'hieroglyphs' (H) and in Linear B (B).



signs he imagined to be identical in A and B, while *A 40*, etc., refer to signs peculiar to A. The same syllabary, with the addition of a few local variants, underlies all the other inscriptions in Linear A. Since the signs are purely phonetic, and since the language from which any acrophonic principle might be derived is unknown, no useful purpose is served by discussing the objects which the signs may originally have represented; in so far as the Mycenaean signs are derived from Linear A, the same is true of them.

L. 42 etc.																
L. 89 etc.																
L. 67		L. 49 etc.						L. 71 etc.								
L. 60		L. 90				L. 82 etc.										
L. 35 etc.		Lc29 etc.							Lc43							
L. 66		Lc32				Lc44 etc.										
L. 70		Lc33				Lc45										
L. 73 etc.		Lc38-9					Lc46									
L. 88		Lc40				Lc50 etc.										
L. 99 etc.		Lc41-2					Lc64-5									

Fig. 7. The commonest Agia Triada ideograms.

The Agia Triada tablets are all of the 'page' shape, with space for four to nine short lines, rather than of the frequent Mycenaean 'palm-leaf' shape enclosing one or two long lines. The layout is consequently cramped, with entries and even individual words often divided from one line to another. The word-divider is written as a single dot in the middle of the line-height; the direction of writing, which had been variable in the 'hieroglyphs', is now uniformly left-to-right. The different mechanisms for indicating the commodities by means of ideograms already show considerable conformity with Mycenaean practice (see fig. 10):

1. The use of pictorial and conventional symbols restricted to an ideographic function.

2. The employment of single phonetic signs as ideograms, presumably starting from an acrophonic principle.



3. The telescoping of two or more phonetic signs into a 'monogram'.
4. The attachment of single phonetic signs in and around an existing ideogram in order to differentiate its meaning ('ligatures').

On some tablets whole words appear in small letters as 'adjuncts' over or after ideograms (e.g. with the tripods and cups of HT 31), whereas these qualifications would normally be written out before the ideogram in Linear B.

A single syllabic sign, most often  $\pi$  or  $\neq$ , frequently stands alone after the first word on the tablet. Myres regards these occurrences as 'transaction signs' (i.e. abbreviations for some such words as 'has received', etc.), and they come near to forming an exception to the general rule 'no ideograms unless followed by numerals'. Proper names may occasionally be subject to a similar abbreviation or telescoping.

Most of the tablets from Agia Triada appear to record rations of various agricultural products issued to named individuals: there are no visible equivalents to the Linear B ideograms denoting persons or animals. Five of the most frequently recorded commodities are generally listed in the order  $\bar{\pi}$   $\rho$   $\phi$   $\psi$   $\chi$  (compare HT 14, reproduced in fig. 8): four of these are the descendants of the 'hieroglyphic'  $\bar{\pi}$   $\rho$   $\phi$   $\psi$  (see fig. 5), whose Mycenaean equivalents  $\pi$   $\rho$   $\phi$   $\psi$  also tend to appear in the same order. Note the progressive deformation in the shape of the signs, which in Linear B has reached a purely graphic symbolism—a warning against trying to translate ideograms entirely on the basis of their external appearance. The identification of  $\pi$ , the product which bulks largest on both the Linear A and Mycenaean household accounts, as 'poppy-seed' (Sundwall, accepted by Myres), appears to be poppycock; the same objection to large amounts of a laboriously-harvested substance applies in the case of Evans' identification of  $\psi$  as 'saffron' (*PM*, iv, p. 718; this identification may yet hold good for the Linear B ideogram  $\Psi$ ). The ideogram  $\bar{\pi}$ , apparently derived from the Knossos 'hieroglyph'  $\Xi$ , Mallia  $\bar{\pi}$ , occurs on the rim of a two-handled vase and on a pithos from the ninth magazine at Knossos, and has been shown to represent a liquid in Linear B (Bennett, 1950). Sundwall's suggestion 'wine', comparing the corresponding Egyptian  $\pi\pi$ , *lrp*, is very plausible.

The greatest number of 'ligatures' are added to the ideograms  $\pi$  and  $\rho$ , as

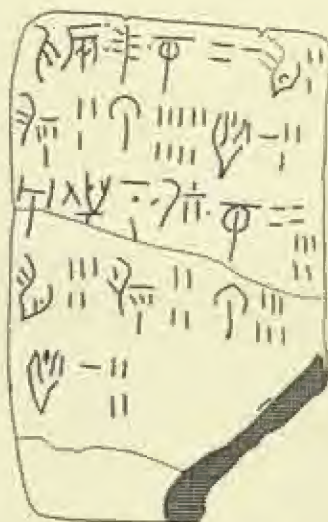






Fig. 8. Agia Triada tablet HT 14.



can be seen from fig. 7. How they in fact differentiate the 'grain' and 'oil' is obscure, but the distinction cannot be very fundamental, since the various ligatured amounts are totalled under the simple commodity sign (e.g. on HT 116b).

Two of the Agia Triada ligatures, in  and  on HT 38, recur with the same ideogram at Knossos, and the 'monogram'  becomes the Mycenaean . Since these Mycenaean ideograms were evidently taken over from Linear A as they stood, it is useless to look for a Greek word to round out the component syllables; and the same possibility must be faced in the case of other composite signs.

Totals are introduced at Agia Triada by the word 𐀓𐀓 (*ku-ro* ??), cumulative totals by 𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓 (HT 122b); Georgiev's (1954) reading as *u-lo* = οὐλον ignores the fact that the Common Greek form should be \**holwon*. Subsidiary amounts, totalled separately, are sometimes introduced by 𐀓𐀓 (*ki-ro* ??); this may have a function analogous to the Mycenaean *o-pe-ro* 'owing, missing'.

Except for the possible use of  $\overline{\text{M}}$  to mean 'by weight' or to indicate a unit weight, all Agia Triada ideograms are directly followed by whole numbers and fractions, without the metrical symbols characteristic of Mycenaean accounts.

1,234 is written  $\odot 8 = \parallel$  or  $\odot 8 : \parallel$

The signs for the fractions comprise the following, singly or in combination:

4727 111 222 中

Attempts to assign absolute values have been made by Sundwall (1942), Carratelli (1946), Bennett (1950) and Stoltenberg (1955); but the summations on HT 8, HT 9a, HT 13 and HT 123+124 do no more than make it likely that  $L = \frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\gamma = \frac{1}{2}$  and  $\delta = \frac{1}{2}$ . As for the other symbols, it appears probable that they represent a series of aliquot parts decreasing in size from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{1}{16}$  or less; that smaller terms are combined with larger in order to express fractions like  $\frac{3}{4}$  and those larger than  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; and that their descending order of size corresponds very approximately to the order in which they have been printed above. There is probably a direct connexion between  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$  and some of the Mycenaean signs for weights and measures (see pp. 54-60). If we assume that the fractional signs have been adapted to units with similar ratios, we may guess for instance that  $\frac{1}{2}$  may have represented something like  $\frac{1}{16}$  in Linear A.



## 4. THE DERIVATION OF LINEAR SCRIPT B

Before it was recognized that the Linear B tablets are written in Greek, the usual view of their script was that expressed by Evans (*PM*, iv, p. 683) in 1935:

Although Class B covers a somewhat later period and illustrates in many of its features a more developed stage in the Art of Writing, it cannot be regarded as simply a later outgrowth of A. It is on the whole of independent growth, though both systems largely go back to a common prototype (namely, the 'hieroglyphs'). . . . Apart from the absence of ligatures, however, the general arrangement of the script remains the same, except that in the B system it is clearer. . . . Moreover, the language itself is identical. . . . We have not here the indications of a violent intrusion at the hands of some foreign Power. Equally with the other, the new system is rooted in the soil of Crete itself and is part and parcel of its history. Rather the evidence may be thought to point to a change of dynasty.

The discovery of tablets at Pylos (1939) and Mycenae (1950 and 1952), Wace, Blegen and Kantor's discussions of the relation of LM II Knossos to the Mainland, and his own work on Mycenaean weights and measures (1950) enabled Bennett to state positively in 1953, even before the publication of a decipherment:

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the difference between the Linear A and the Linear B scripts is a serious one; not a matter of gradual development, nor of an elegant variation, but of a radical adaptation of the old to the new; or perhaps even a new construction following roughly an older model. The language also, and the names appearing on the accounts, are clearly different, and where the same sign is used in both Linear A and B there is no guarantee that the same value is assigned to it. At the same time the affinity of Knossos in LM II in script and in methods of book-keeping is clearly shown to be with the Mycenaean mainland rather than with the rest of Crete. Is it possible that we should speak of the *Minoan Linear Script* and the *Mycenaean Linear Script* rather than of Minoan Linear A and B? We cannot be sure where Linear B was created, or when, but it need not have been at Knossos. Yet it was clearly longer and more widely known in the Mycenaean than in the Minoan civilization, and so might well deserve a new and distinctive name.

Dow (1954), in an article written at the same time, devoted five pages to a discussion of this problem and arrived at a similar conclusion.

Knossos tablet 231 = K 872 was believed by Evans (*PM*, iv, p. 729) to have been oven-baked and was assigned, from the similar fabric of the Linear A tablets and from the style of its cups and bulls' heads, to LM Ia. With this doubtful exception, the Linear B tablets are merely sun-dried, if dried at all, and owe their survival to the fact that they were baked hard in the conflagrations which destroyed their storage rooms. Since such tablets must have been



periodically thrown away or pulped, Myres (*SM II*, p. 40) is no doubt correct in assuming that 'they belong to the very latest days of the Palace occupation, and probably represent little more than the last year's vouchers before the catastrophe'. This is equally true of the archive room at Pylos, destroyed at the beginning of Late Helladic IIIc, and of the tablets found in the row of private houses ('Shields, Oil Merchant, and Sphinxes') at Mycenae, consigned to the flames at the end of Late Helladic IIIB. Unless the destruction of Knossos is to be set later than 1405 B.C. (a possibility suspected by Blegen), these accidentally-preserved tablets thus bracket a period of a full 200 years, from which no intermediate examples of writing survive except a few short inscriptions on Mainland vases, notably on the twenty-eight paint-inscribed stirrup jars of Late Helladic IIIa date (c. 1360 B.C.?) found by Keramopoullos in the Kadmeion at Thebes (*PM*, iv, p. 740; Björck, 1954). If it were possible to extend the area of excavation at Thebes, tablets might well come to light there too, and possibly from this intermediate period. Myres' view (*SM III*, in MS.) that the inscribed jars from Tiryns are considerably earlier than the Knossos tablets is probably based on a misunderstanding.

The initial stimulus to devise a writing system for the Greek language may well go back to the events of c. 1580 B.C., which initiated the specifically Mycenaean culture of the Mainland and the rise of Mycenae and its satellites at the expense of Knossos—however these events are to be interpreted historically (both Karo and Schachermeyr assume a Greek invasion of Crete, not followed by an occupation). Linear B could have been devised at Mycenae itself at any time after 1580, but Dow (1954, p. 117) suggests Knossos as the most plausible place of origin, since the script is first attested there and a native bureaucracy would have been at hand to furnish the model.

The most likely period for the occupation of Knossos by a Greek-speaking ruling class is the beginning of LM II, which sees the appearance of Evans' 'New Dynasty of Aggressive Character' (*PM*, iv, pp. 884 ff.), the introduction of the 'Palace Style' and of other features with Mainland connexions (see Professor Wace's foreword to this book, p. xxiv), and the drastic remodelling of part of the western section of the palace into a Throne Room suite. Evans' dating of the beginning of LM II is confirmed by the recent discovery that one panel in the Theban tomb of the vizir Rekhmara, that which depicts 'the peaceful embassy of the princes of the land of *Kftju* (Crete) and of the Islands which are in the middle of the sea', was deliberately repainted between 1470 and 1450 B.C., apparently with the intention of replacing the traditional 'Minoan' dress of the Cretan envoys by costumes showing a more specifically Mainland character. That this final period was not very long is shown by the



fact that a renovation of the Domestic Quarter, regarded by Evans (*PM*, iv, p. 889) as springing from the same impulse as the construction of the Throne Room, was actually in process at the moment of final destruction. But though the Knossos tablets may prove only to date from within one or two years of that catastrophe, a reasonable period of experiment and experience must be assumed for the script before its recorded appearance, in order to account for the astonishing uniformity which the Knossos tablets show with those of Pylos and Mycenae, in script, spelling and arrangement.






The signs of the Mycenaean syllabary which show an unmistakable similarity to Linear A phonetic signs in use at Agia Triada are shown in the third columns of fig. 6 above. These identifications do not entirely agree with the AB list proposed by Myres (*SM II*, Table I), whose intended function as a standard signary order is further vitiated by not distinguishing phonetic signs from ideograms. Of the eighty-seven known syllabic signs on Mycenaean tablets (eighty-four if we exclude possible variants) forty-five have close equivalents in Linear A, while ten have more doubtful parallels; leaving twenty-nine Mycenaean signs (or exactly a third) as apparent innovations. The last category includes many of the rarer signs, and in a comparison of running texts the proportion of divergent signs may be as little as 15 per cent.

What is the reason for these apparent innovations in the Mycenaean syllabary? One might assume that its inventors, like St Cyril adapting the Greek alphabet to the needs of a Bulgarian gospel, devised new symbols for the Greek syllables whose vowel or consonant sounds had no equivalent in 'Minoan'; but this does not fit the values of the signs as deciphered (or indeed as arranged dispassionately on the grid, fig. 3). Thus for the syllables expressing the Greek labio-velar sounds  $q^u$  and  $g^u$ , which we might expect to be foreign to 'Minoan', we admittedly have innovations in 𐀓 *qo* and 𐀔 *qi*, but 𐀕 *qe* is a frequent sign at Agia Triada; 𐀖 *mo* and possibly 𐀗 *me* are new, but 𐀘 *ma* and 𐀙 *mi* are not; and so on. Such an explanation of the need for innovation might presuppose that the value of the existing Linear A signs had suffered a wholesale reshuffling in the process; although from its great frequency as an initial it is likely that 𐀀, at any rate, already had its later value (*a*) at Agia Triada, and 𐀁 (Mycenaean *ja*) probably represented a closely-related syllable.

A feature of the system of Mycenaean syllabic values as revealed by decipherment is the presence of a considerable number of 'homophones' (*pa<sub>2</sub>*, etc.), which are listed in the right-hand column of fig. 4, p. 23. Palmer suggests that these are a relic of a series of symbols for 'Minoan' sounds foreign to Greek, probably of a palatalized nature, which have been adopted for various special uses (see also p. 46).



There is no trace in our syllabary of the practice occasionally seen in Hittite and regularly in Japanese and the Indian scripts, whereby two related syllables may be formed from a single basic sign by the addition of diacritical marks.

Evans' and Myres' theory that the modifications and innovations of Linear B represent 'a re-selection from the same older repertory' is difficult to control. Though a few seal-stones or libation-tables inscribed with 'hieroglyphs' may have survived into Late Minoan times, it is unlikely that the scribes retained any real familiarity or facility with their script. The forms of many of the Mycenaean signs are undoubtedly more ornate and curvilinear than their Agia Triada counterparts, the sign  *ku* showing, for example, some re-elaboration as the naturalistic 'flying bird' which the Linear A  may once have represented. But there are a greater number of examples where, far from harking back to a 'hieroglyphic' prototype, the Mycenaean form has made the naturalistic pattern quite unrecognizable. Thus the Linear A , in which Evans and Carratelli recognize the 'cat's head' hieroglyph, becomes  (*ma*) in Linear B, and is taken by Myres as a flower. Only one Mycenaean syllable,  *nwa*, has a close parallel in the 'hieroglyphs' (P 117a, *SM I*, p. 177) but none in Linear A, and even here the omission from A may be due to the accidents of discovery.

The alternative source of innovations suggested by Evans, the repertory of masons' and potters' marks in use in Crete and neighbouring areas, is even more uncontrollable: attempts to bring these marks into systematic connexion with regular scripts are very uncertain, since their common denominator is generally no more than the fact that they are the patterns most easily made by a limited number of straight strokes. We may have to conclude that some of the Mycenaean signs may have had no external 'derivation' at all, other than in the calligraphic fantasy of their inventors. An attempt to explain the innovations by the initial syllables of specific Greek words is not likely to be any more fruitful.

The Mycenaean syllabic signs are printed in fig. 9 in the order of Bennett's numeration (see fig. 4, p. 23, for an alphabetic arrangement according to their phonetic values); this indicates the main variations in their shape which have been found at Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae, and on the Theban vases. These variations give little evidence for a chronological development of the script, and discoveries of new tablets have tended to show that forms we had believed characteristic of a particular time and place are in fact only permissible variations of style, which may be shown at any period by the graduates from the evidently conservative scribal schools. The signs painted on vases show few features that can be attributed to their different writing materials, but some



K P M T				K P M T				K P M T						
1	𐀀	𐀁	𐀂	𐀃	30	𐀄	𐀅	𐀆	𐀇	59	𐀈	𐀉	𐀊	𐀋
2	𐀌	𐀍	𐀎	𐀏	31	𐀐	𐀑	𐀒	𐀓	60	𐀔	𐀕	𐀖	𐀗
3	𐀘	𐀙	𐀚		32	𐀛	𐀜	𐀝	𐀞	61	𐀟	𐀠	𐀡	𐀢
4	𐀣	𐀤	𐀥	𐀦	33		𐀧			62	𐀨	𐀩	𐀪	𐀫
5	𐀬	𐀭	𐀮	𐀯	34	𐀰	𐀱	𐀲		63		𐀳		
6	𐀴	𐀵	𐀶	𐀷	35	𐀸	𐀹	𐀺		64	𐀻	𐀼		
7	𐀽	𐀾	𐀿	𐁀	36	𐁁	𐁂	𐁃	𐁄	65	𐁅	𐁆	𐁇	𐁈
8	𐁉	𐁊	𐁋	𐁌	37	𐁍	𐁎	𐁏	𐁐	66	𐁑	𐁒	𐁓	𐁔
9	𐁕	𐁖	𐁗	𐁘	38	𐁙	𐁚	𐁛	𐁜	67	𐁝	𐁞	𐁟	𐁠
10	𐁡	𐁢	𐁣	𐁤	39	𐁥	𐁦	𐁧	𐁨	68	𐁩	𐁪	𐁫	𐁬
11	𐁭	𐁮	𐁯	𐁰	40	𐁱	𐁲	𐁳	𐁴	69	𐁵	𐁶	𐁷	𐁸
12	𐁹	𐁺	𐁻	𐁼	41	𐁽	𐁾	𐁿	𐂀	70	𐂁	𐂂	𐂃	𐂄
13	𐂅	𐂆	𐂇	𐂈	42	𐂉	𐂊	𐂋	𐂌	71	𐂍	𐂎		
14	𐂏	𐂐	𐂑	𐂒	43	𐂓	𐂔	𐂕		72	𐂖	𐂗	𐂘	𐂙
15	𐂚	𐂛	𐂜	𐂝	44	𐂞	𐂟	𐂠	𐂡	73	𐂢	𐂣	𐂤	𐂥
16	𐂦	𐂧	𐂨	𐂩	45	𐂪	𐂫	𐂬	𐂭	74	𐂮	𐂯	𐂰	𐂱
17	𐂲	𐂳	𐂴	𐂵	46	𐂶	𐂷	𐂸		75	𐂹	𐂺	𐂻	𐂼
18	𐂽				47	𐂾	𐂿	𐃀		76	𐃁	𐃂	𐃃	𐃄
19	𐃅				48	𐃆	𐃇	𐃈		77	𐃉	𐃊	𐃋	𐃌
20	𐃍	𐃎	𐃏	𐃐	49	𐃑				78	𐃒	𐃓	𐃔	𐃕
21	𐃖	𐃗	𐃘	𐃙	50	𐃚	𐃛	𐃜	𐃝	79	𐃞	𐃟	𐃠	𐃡
22	𐃢				51	𐃣	𐃤	𐃥	𐃦	80	𐃧	𐃨	𐃩	𐃪
23	𐃫	𐃬			52	𐃭	𐃮	𐃯	𐃰	81	𐃱	𐃲	𐃳	𐃴
24	𐃵	𐃶	𐃷	𐃸	53	𐃹	𐃺	𐃻	𐃼	82	𐃽	𐃾		𐃿
25	𐄀	𐄁	𐄂	𐄃	54	𐄄	𐄅	𐄆	𐄇	83	𐄈	𐄉		
26	𐄊	𐄋	𐄌	𐄍	55	𐄎	𐄏	𐄐	𐄑	84	𐄒			
27	𐄓	𐄔	𐄕		56	𐄖	𐄗	𐄘		85	𐄙	𐄚	𐄛	
28	𐄜	𐄝	𐄞	𐄟	57	𐄠	𐄡	𐄢	𐄣	86	𐄤	𐄥		
29	𐄦	𐄧	𐄨	𐄩	58	𐄪	𐄫	𐄬	𐄭	87	𐄮			

Fig. 9. The Mycenaean syllabary (after Bennett). K = Knossos, P = Pylos, M = Mycenae, T = Thebes.



of them are evidently careless or semi-literate. The incised design on the rim of a jar from Asine, interpreted by Persson (1930) as a Greek invocation to Poseidon in a form of the Linear Script, is probably not to be regarded as intelligible writing at all, though some of the shapes may have been suggested by Mycenaean signs. The complete omission of a rarer Mycenaean sign from one or another site is not significant, and is continually being corrected as new material is unearthed.

Except where they can be shown to derive from the initial sounds of a Greek word, the bulk of the Mycenaean ideograms or 'commodity signs' (see fig. 10, p. 50) were probably adapted directly from their Linear A prototypes as used by the earlier Knossos bureaucracy. The omission of the symbols for men, women and animals from the surviving Linear A tablets is evidently accidental; the survival of the ideograms for some of the main agricultural staples has been noted above (p. 35); even though their shapes, like those of some of the syllabic signs, have been subjected to a graphic distortion which removes them still further from their prototypes in the 'hieroglyphs' and in nature. Some commodities which are themselves innovations in LM II, such as horses, chariots, body-armour and specific vessel types, naturally require new symbols: these, unlike the inherited ideograms, are markedly naturalistic and are often accompanied by their Greek descriptions in long-hand.

The system of numbers was taken over from Linear A without modification, but fractions as such have not been found on any Mycenaean tablet. The new symbols for weights and measures ('fractional quantities') are discussed below, pp. 54-60.

## 5. THE SPELLING RULES

The Ionic alphabetic inscriptions of the fifth century B.C. show a more faithful and economical adaptation to the contemporary pronunciation than any other form of written Greek before or since. At the same period, Cypriot Greek was still being written in an archaic syllabary (see fig. 12, p. 64) whose conventions do violence to Greek in several important respects:

1. There are single series of syllabic signs for  $\kappa\gamma\chi$ ,  $\pi\beta\phi$ ,  $\tau\delta\theta$ , so that  $\epsilon\text{-}ko$  may represent either  $\epsilon\gamma\omega$  or  $\epsilon\chi\omega$ .
2.  $\mu$  and  $\nu$  are omitted before a following consonant, so that  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$  is spelt  $pa\text{-}ta$ ; final  $-s$  shows several instances of omission.
3. Extra vowels have to be written to round out clusters of consonants:  $\pi\acute{\tau}\acute{o}\lambda\iota\nu$  becomes  $po\text{-}to\text{-}li\text{-}ne$ .

As might be expected, the earlier Mycenaean syllabary is even more imprecise and incomplete in its rendering of Greek: this is due largely to a closer



adherence to what appears to have been the initial principle in the development of syllabaries, that of writing *only one sign for each syllable of the pronunciation*.

The following notes summarize the conventions which we believe the Mycenaean scribe to have followed in reducing spoken Greek to a syllabic spelling. They will indicate the limits within which equivalents may be found for words in the texts transcribed in Part II of this book, and for the proper names and vocabulary listed in the appendices. More than one equivalent may often be possible within these rules, and the full range of possibilities may sometimes have escaped us; some details of the spelling rules may themselves still require modification.

We will postpone to pp. 67-75 the discussion of what conclusions may legitimately be drawn from these orthographical peculiarities as to the structure of the earlier 'Minoan' language, as to the precise relationships of the Mycenaean dialect, and as to the racial character of the scribes who were employed to record it. The following notes are based on the general assumption that the pronunciation behind the spelling is a normal though archaic form of East Greek, such as had already been inferred for the period by philologists.

### § 1. *Vowels*

The syllabary differentiates five vowels *-a -e -i -o -u* (for a possible sixth vowel, see §13). Long vowels are not specially indicated, nor are syllables beginning with an aspirate: *a-ni-ja* = *hāniai* ἡνία.

### § 2. *Diphthongs*

*au, eu, ou* (both long and short) are regularly indicated with the aid of the sign *u*: *na-u-si* = *nausi*, *ka-ke-u-si* = *khalkeusi*, *a-ro-u-ra* = *aroura*. This does not of course apply to classical *-ou-* where it is merely the graphic indication of a lengthened close *o*: 'they have' (Att. ἔχουσι, Arc. ἔχονσι) is written *e-ko-si*, and Att. τρίπους (Hom. τρίπους) appears as *ti-ri-po*.

The second element of *ai, ei, oi* (both long and short) is invariably omitted in the dat. sing. and nom. plur. of nouns and adjectives, and generally elsewhere too (except for the regular use of the sign *ai* initially). A fuller spelling with the aid of the sign *i* is found in the Knossos *ko-to-i-na* compared with Pylos *ko-to-na* = *ktoina*, and sometimes alternates on tablets of the same set: *a-na-ta* / *a-na-i-ta* on the Knossos 'chariot' tablets, *ko-no* / *ko-i-no* on the Mycenae 'spice' tablets. Dative singulars in *-e-i* are disyllabic from names in *-ēs*: *E-u-me-de-i* = *Eumēdeī*. The spellings *mi-to-we-sa-e* (269 = Sd0404, nom. plur. fem.), *e-ge-ta-e* (29 = As821), *to-e* (Eb842, τῶ?) are exceptional and probably erroneous.



From the example of *Pa-i-to* = Phaistos we had concluded that the dative plurals in *-a-i* and *-o-i* were to be read *-ais*, *-ois*. The *-ois* of the instr. plur. masc. is, however, spelt simply *-o* on the Pylos 'furniture' tablets (see below, p. 334): Merlingen and Andrews suggest that the datives should be vocalized *-āhi*, *-oihi*, with loss of intervocalic *-s-*.

### § 3. 'Glides'

Vowels following *-i-* are generally spelt with a *j*-syllable: *i-ja-te* = *iātēr*, *i-je-ro* = *hieros*, *i-jo* = *iōn*; those following *-u-* with a *w*-syllable: *ku-wa-no* = *kuanos*. This rule is invariable in the endings of adjectives in *-ios*: *ko-no-si-ja* = *Knōsia*, *ku-wa-ni-jo* = *kuanios*. In the middle of a word *a<sub>2</sub>* may replace *ja*: *a-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ro* = *Amphialos*, *pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra* = *phialai*; sometimes even on the same tablet: *ko-ri-ja-da-na* / *ko-ri-a<sub>2</sub>-da-na* on Mycenae Ge605 (cf. *ti-ri-o-we-e* / *ti-ri-jo-we* on 236 = Ta641).

A diphthong followed by a vowel may be written with the glide syllable alone: *a-ra-ru-ja* = *ararūai*, *i-je-re-ja* = *hiereia*, *e-wa-ko-ro* = *Eug(o)ros* (but also *e-u-wa-ko-ro*, *e-u-we-to* = *Euētōr*), unless an etymological *\*s > h* intervenes: *E-u-o-mo* = *Eu-hormos*.

### § 4. P, K, T and D

*p-* can represent *p-* or *ph-*: *pa-te* = *patēr*, *pa-ka-na* = *phasgana*. The only words so far identified with *b* are *pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-u* = *basileus*, *po-pa<sub>2</sub>* = *phorbā?*, *te-pa<sub>2</sub>-de* = *Thēbans-de?*; for *pa<sub>2</sub>* see § 13.

*k-* can represent *k-*, *g-*, *kh-*: *ka-ko* = *khalkos*, *ka-ra-we* = *grāwes*. *t-* can represent *t-* or *th-*: *te-ko-to* = *tektōn*, *te-o* = *theos*; *d-* is invariably indicated by its own syllabic series: *ti-ri-po-de* = *tripode*, *di-do-si* = *didansi*, *e-pi-de-da-to* = *epi-dedastoi*.

### § 5. L and R

*l-* and *r-* are written with a single syllabic series, here transliterated *r-*: *ti-ri-po* = *tripos*, *tu-ri-so* = *Tulisos*; *tu-ro<sub>2</sub>* = *turoi*, *pi-ti-ro<sub>2</sub>-we-sa* = *ptilowessa*; *ku-ru-so* = *khrusos*, *ku-ru-me-no* = *Klumenos*. Attempts to apportion the numerous homophones exclusively to either *l* or *r* have not met with success.

### § 6. Z

*z-* spells a Greek *z* from *\*gj* in *me-zo* = *mezōn* μέζων, *wo-zo* = *worzōn* ρέζων; from *\*dj* in *to-pe-za* = *torpeza* τράπεζα; from *\*j* in *ze-u-ke-u-si*; but there are puzzling alternations with the *k-* series: Knossos *a-ze-ti-ri-ja* / *a-ke-ti-ri-ja*, Pylos *ze-i-ja-ka-ra-na* / *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na*. Palmer regards the *z-* series as inherited from a Minoan palatalized *k*, and used for a variety of Greek affricates and spirants, including on occasion *l* (*me-za-ne* = *melanes* 'black'?).



## § 7. Labio-velars

*q-* may represent *q<sup>u</sup>* (>Attic τ or π) or *g<sup>u</sup>* (>Attic δ or β): *qe* = *q<sup>u</sup>e* τε, *a-pi-qo-ro* = *amphiq<sup>u</sup>oloi* ἀμφίπολοι, *qo-u-ko-ro* = *g<sup>u</sup>oukoloi* βουκόλοι. The only apparent instances of an aspirated *q<sup>u</sup>h* (>Attic θ or φ) are a few names in *-qo-ta/* *-qo-i-ta* which may represent -φόντης or -φοίτης; and the word *qe-te-a*, which may be related to θέσσασθαι.

\**q<sup>u</sup>u* has probably become *ku*: *pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka* = Πρεσβύ-αναξ. No sign is known for *q<sup>u</sup>a*, which may already have become *pa*: cf. the spelling *pa-ra-jo* 'old' (probably from \**q<sup>u</sup>ala-*, cf. τῆλε) and *pa-te* 'all' (from \**kwantes*, cf. ἄπας/Skt. *śāśvant-*). The name of the horse *i-qo* = *iqq<sup>u</sup>os* (from \**ekwos*) already shows transference to a labio-velar; the ending of the perfect participle (e.g. *te-tu-ko-wo-a* = *tetukhwoa*) is preserved from this development, as in the classical dialects. The classical -βάτης, -βατος has a different vocalism in Mycenaean: *-qo-ta*, *-qo-to* (from \**g<sup>u</sup>nit-*).

Bennett has pointed out some irregularities at Pylos: the spelling *qi-si-pe-e* for *xiphee*; the variations *ra-qi-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>/ra-pi-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>* and *qe-te-qo-ta-o/pe-re-qo-ta* (116 = En659); and the names *e-ri-ko-wo* (masc.)/*e-ri-qi-ja* (fem.), possibly compounded with 'horse'.

## § 8. Final -L, -M, -N, -R, -S

At the end of a syllable these sounds are omitted from the spelling: *ka-ko* = *khal-kos*, *a-pi* = *am-pli*, *pa-ka-na* = *phas-gana*, *a-to-ro-qo* = *an-thrōq<sup>u</sup>os*, *pa-te* = *pa-tēr* or *pan-tes*, *a-ku-ro* = *ar-guros*. The clusters *-rg-*, *-rm-*, *-sm-* seem to receive fuller treatment on occasion: *we-re-ke* = εἰργει?, *we-re-ka-ra-ta* = *wergal-*?, *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* = *worgioneios*, *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* = *ararmo-*, *de-so-mo*, *do-so-mo*.

## § 9. Initial S and W

Before a consonant initial *s-* is generally omitted: *ta-to-mo* = *stathmos*, *pe-ma* = *sperma*, etc. A possible exception is *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* (KN Dv941), which recalls Sphakteria.

On the basis of the place-name *ri-jo* 'Plov' (\**wrison*?) and the trade *ra-pi* 'tailor' (\**wrap-*?) we had assumed that initial *w-* before a consonant is also omitted. Palmer (1954) denies this, adducing *wi-ri-ne-jo* = *wrineios* 'of leather' (ἑρινός), *wi-ri-za* = *wriza*. The passive participle *e-ra-pe-me-na* = *errapmena* 'stitched' revealed by the join of 221 = L 647 shows no trace of a digamma.

## § 10. Consonant clusters

Doubled consonants are not distinguished. Where a plosive consonant precedes another consonant, it is written with the vowel of the succeeding syllable:



*ka-na-pe-u* = *knapheus*, *ki-ti-me-na* = *ktimenā*, *ko-no-so* = *Knōsos*, *ku-ru-so* = *khrusos*. A few irregularities are found with *-kt-*: *wa-na-ka-te-ro* = *wanakteros* 'royal', *ru-ki-to* = *Luktos* (*ru-ki-ti-jo* = *Luktios* is regular). Otherwise the rule is preserved in declension (e.g. *ko-ri-ja-do-no* sing./*ko-ri-ja-da-na* plur.), and is extended to clusters of three consonants: *re-u-ko-to-ro* = *Leuktron*, *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* = *Alektruōn*.

*x* (ξ), *ps* (ψ) and *qs* are treated as *k-s-*, *p-s-*, *q-s-*: *ka-sa-to* = *Xanthos*, *ke-se-nu-wo* = *xenwos*, *ko-so-u-to* = *Xouthos*. When final, they shed the *-s* and take the vowel of the preceding syllable: *wa-na-ka* = *wanax*, *ai-ti-jo-qo* = *Aiθioψ*. An exception is the Knossos ox name *wo-no-qo-so* = *Olvoψ*.

*m* is preserved in *mn-*: *de-mi-ni-ja*, *a-mi-ni-so*, etc. *r* in *-ru-* is usually omitted: *ko-wo* = *korwos*, *pa-we-a* = *pharwea*; but it is retained in *a-ra-ru-wo-a* = *araruwoa* (cf. the feminine *a-ra-ru-ja*). The group *-nu-* is usually written *-nu-w-*: *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* = *xenwia*, *pe-ru-si-nu-wo* = *perusinwon*; the sign *nwa* sometimes replaces *-nu-wa-*: *pe-ru-si-ni-wa*, *pa<sub>2</sub>-nu-wa-so*/*pa<sub>2</sub>-nwa-so*, *a-mi-nu-za-ta*/*a-mi-nwa-*, *e-nu-wa-ri-jo*/*e-nuqa-ri-jo*.

### § 11. Polysyllabic signs

Nearly all the Mycenaean signs indicate a simple vowel (*a*, *e*, etc.) or a consonant-plus-vowel open syllable (*ta*, *ka*, etc.); there is no evidence for syllables of the types common in cuneiform, *at*, *ak*, etc., and *tar*, *kar*, etc.

But in addition to the special sign for *nwa*, \*62 appears to represent *pte*: *pe-te-re-wa*/*pte-re-wa* on the Knossos 'chariot wheel' tablets. Two other complex syllables are each confined to a single word on the same 'wheel' tablets, and are probably abbreviations resulting from long repetition: *o-da*-\*87-*ta* replaces *o-da-ku-we-ta* (also *o-da-ke-we-ta* and even *o-da-tu-we-ta*) and seems to represent *kwe*; *te-mi*-\*71-*ta* contains a sign which looks like a 'monogram' of *ne* + *ko* at Knossos (but *te* + *ko* in the later Pylos version), though this interpretation is contested.

### § 12. Polyphones

We have not so far been forced to assume any cases of a sign carrying two or more quite different phonetic values, a complication present to a high degree in cuneiform.

### § 13. Homophones

There are a number of signs which appear to duplicate values already covered, e.g. *a<sub>2</sub>* *ai<sub>2</sub>* *pa<sub>2</sub>* *pu<sub>2</sub>*? *ra<sub>2</sub>* *ra<sub>3</sub>* *ro<sub>2</sub>* *ta<sub>2</sub>* on the right-hand column of fig. 4. Andrews assumes that there is in fact a sixth vowel *schwa* (◌), and also allots signs for palatalized and labialized consonants; Palmer suggests that Linear A had a series of palatalized consonants whose syllables were taken over



by the Greeks for various abbreviating uses. A consistent pattern in the function of these supernumerary signs is not yet discernible.

$-i-a_2-$  alternates with  $-i-ja-$  in the middle of words (see § 3), especially where an  $-h-$  may be suspected of intervening:  $a-pi-a_2-ro = Amphihalos$ .  $a_2$  may also represent initial  $ha-$  in  $a_2-te-ro = haleron$ . But its most frequent use at Pylos and Mycenae is to represent the final  $-a$  of neuter  $-s-$  stems in the nominative plural:  $pa-we-a_2 = pharwe^ha$ ,  $ke-re-a_2 = skele^ha$ ,  $me-zo-a_2 = mezo^ha$  'larger',  $te-tu-ko-wo-a_2 = tetukhuwo^ha$ . Such words are spelt with  $-a$  at Knossos, with the exception of  $j-a_2$  on Le786-788 and Ld1009, which is perhaps to be restored as  $pa-we-a_2$  (as on the newly transcribed Knossos fragment L 7378). The usage may vary within the same set of tablets:  $we-a-re-ja/we-a_2-re-jo$  on the Pylos tablets.

$pa_2$  sometimes represents  $ba$  (see § 4), but note  $pa_2-ra-to-ro = spalathron$ ,  $ku-su-to-ro-pa_2 = xunstropha$ .

$ra_2$  probably represents  $-ria$  in the ending of female agent nouns such as  $a-ke-ti-ra_2/a-ke-ti-ri-ja$ , etc., but not necessarily in the Pylos man's name spelt indifferently  $Ta-ra_2-to$  and  $Ta-ra-to$ .

$ra_3$  seems to represent  $rai/lai$  in  $pi-je-ra_3 = phielai$  (plur.),  $e-ra_3-wo = elaiwon$ ,  $ku-te-ra_3$  and  $ze-pu_2?-ra_3$  (plur.),  $pe-ra_3-ko-ra-i-ja$ .

$ro_2$  appears to show no differentiation in  $tu-ro_2 = turoi$ ,  $ku-pa-ro_2/ku-pa-ro$ ,  $pi-ti-ro_2-we-sa = ptilowessa$ , but to represent  $rio$  in  $po-pu-ro_2$  cf.  $po-pu-re-ja$ .

$ta_2$  represents  $tia$  in Pylos  $ra-wa-ra-ta_2$  cf.  $ra-wa-ra-ti-jo$ ,  $a-^*85-ta_2/a-si-ja-ti-ja$ , probably not in the adjective  $ko-ro-ta_2$  cf.  $ko-ro-to$ . The vocalization of the Pylos man's name (gen.)  $o-ta_2-we-o/o-to-wo-o$  is quite uncertain.

#### § 14. Incomplete spellings

In repeated writing of long words in standard formulae, a middle or final sign may be omitted: this is probably to be regarded as a scribal error rather than as a valid part of the spelling rules.

It is common in the ending  $-me-na$ :  $a-ja-me-(na)$ ,  $ki-ti-me-(na)$ ,  $ke-ke-me-(na)$ . Note also  $A-(re)-ku-tu-ru-wo$ ,  $e-pi-(de)-da-to$ ,  $Te-qi-(ri)-jo-ne$ ,  $to-(so)-pe-mo$ ,  $a-(ra)-ro-mo-te-me-na$ .

#### § 15. The use of the divider

Word-division follows the classical pattern, with a few exceptions. The enclitic conjunctions  $-q^ue$  'and',  $-de$  'but', are always joined to the preceding word; the adverbs  $ou-$ ,  $ouki-$  'not' and  $hō-$  or  $hōs-$  'thus' (or 'how'?) to the word that follows. A few word-pairs recurring together in standard formulae may be written without division:  $a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja = Athānā potnia$ ,  $a-ne-mo-i-$



*je-re-ja*=*anemōn hiercia*, *to-so-pe-ma*=*tosson sperma*. Conversely compounds are occasionally split: *a-ju* / *ke-ka-u-me-no*=*apukekaumenos*, *e-ne-wo* / *pe-za*=*enne-wopeza*. The divider will be indicated by the absence of a hyphen in transcription.

Risch has suggested that the syllabary has an antipathy to words of only one sign, liable to be taken as ideograms: hence such spellings as *to-so-pa*=*tossos pans* (but *to-so* / *pa-te*=*tossoi pantes*), *qo-o* (for monosyllabic *g<sup>u</sup>ōns*?).

## 6. THE MYCENAEAN IDEOGRAMS

The objects and commodities being counted may sometimes only be written out long-hand, as on the Pylos 'furniture' tablets or on some of those from Mycenae which list condiments; but more often the numbers are preceded by an ideogram, either a purely visual symbol or a syllabic sign used in abbreviation. This is invariably the case with cereals, wine, oil and livestock; and where groups of tradespeople are being counted, the sign for MAN or WOMAN is always inserted. 'Thirty shepherds' will appear as '*poimenes* MAN 30', a visual parallel to the 'classifiers' obligatory in Chinese counting, e.g. *san ko jén*= 'three piece man', *i p'i lü*= 'one single-animal donkey', etc.


The Mycenaean ideograms known at Easter 1955 are listed on fig. 10 in the numbered order agreed with Bennett, which follows in principle, but not in detail, the referencing system proposed by Dow (1954, p. 88). These of course represent only a fraction of the ideograms which may have been in daily use in the palaces and merchants' houses; the syllabary evidently forms a virtually closed system, but new ideograms could at any time be extemporized to describe new objects. The Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae tablets show, however, that the signs for the staple commodities of Mycenaean life were completely standardized.

Evidence for the meanings of the ideograms will be discussed in the sections of Part II dealing with the tablets on which they mainly occur; let us concentrate here on the general principles of their use and derivation. The following classification into six types does not materially affect their status (and may have been differently appreciated by the scribes themselves), but merely indicates the basis on which they appear to us to have been devised:




### 1. *Naturalistic and self-explanatory pictorial signs*

The indication of 'foal' (*po-ro*) by omitting the mane from the HORSE ideogram finds an exact counterpart on the proto-Elamite tablets. CHARIOTS



are differentiated to show the presence or absence of bodywork and wheels, and the various types of vessels, implements and weapons are specified by detailed drawings. In all such cases a verbal description in long-hand generally precedes the ideogram. It has been thought odd that the words 'a small three-handled goblet' should require further illustration by the symbol , but no other explanation is possible where, as often, the same description occurs with the same ideogram on tablets from different sites. In the specification of such manufactured articles, the verbal description is probably the primary one, the ideogram being added partly as a habitual 'classifier', partly to aid the non-literate members of the household (which may have included the highest as well as the lowest) in seeing the contents of the tablets at a glance. The ideograms of this first type have of course given invaluable help to the decipherment by indicating the general context of the tablets and specific vocabulary equations.

### 2. *Conventionalized and abstract pictorial symbols*

The possible meaning of these ideograms may be guessed from the vocabulary context of the tablets, or from more naturalistic counterparts in Linear A and in the 'hieroglyphs', like the agricultural staples discussed on p. 35. But it is only proved certain where the Greek long-hand spelling is itself added, e.g. *pa-we-a* 'cloths' to  on 214 = Ld571, *ka-ko* 'bronze' to  on 253 = Jn01, or *e-ra<sub>3</sub>-wo* 'olive oil' to  on a new Pylos tablet (Gn1184). Though schematic, the MAN and WOMAN signs are unmistakable from their more detailed variants; but the difference of meaning intended by the more naturalistic MAN<sup>a</sup> and MAN<sup>c</sup> is unknown.

### 3. *Ideograms ligatured with a syllabic sign*

Where we find a pictorial symbol differentiated by a syllabic sign 'sur-charged' above or inside it, it is a reasonable assumption that we have to do with the abbreviation of a Greek noun or adjective; this is confirmed by cases where the same ideogram may also be described by words in long-hand. The A written within the AMPHORA symbol clearly stands for the *amphiphorēwes* of 233 = Ucl60; the KO within the HIDE sign differentiates it as a *kōwos*, 'sheepskin' (171 = Un718) from the HIDE + WI (*wrinos*, 'oxhide'); PIGS + SI evidently represents *sialoi*, 'fattened pigs' (75 = Cn02); and SHEEP + TA may be connected with the word *ta-to-mo* on Cn09.

But the ligatures CLOTH + ZO and CLOTH + KU already occur in the same form at Agia Triada (HT 38), and warn us against pressing the argument too far. The frequent division of CATTLE, PIGS, SHEEP, GOATS, HORSES



K P M				K P M			
People and animals							
100	A-	人	人	人	MAN	118	TALENT
101	A-	人	人	人	MAN <sup>c</sup>	*72 G-	Bunch?
102	A-	人	人	人	WOMAN	*74 S-	Pair
103	B	人	人	人	MAN <sup>b</sup>	*15 S-	Single
104	Cn	人	人	人	DEER	*61	Deficit
105	Ca S-	人	人	人	HORSE	By dry measure	
105 <sup>a</sup>	Ca	人	人	人	HE-ASS	120 E- F-	WHEAT
105 <sup>c</sup>	Ca	人	人	人	FOAL	121 F-	BARLEY
106 <sup>a</sup>	C- D-	人	人	人	RAM	122 F- U-	OLIVES
106 <sup>b</sup>	C- D-	人	人	人	EWE	F	OLIVES+A
	Cn	人	人	人	SHEEP+TA	F	OLIVES+TI
*21		人	人	人	SHEEP	*30 F-	FIGS
*75		人	人	人	Kind of sheep	*65 F-	FLOUR
107 <sup>a</sup>	C-	人	人	人	HE-GOAT	123 G- Un	CONDIMENT
107 <sup>b</sup>	C- Mc	人	人	人	SHE-GOAT	G-	Coriander
*22		人	人	人	GOAT	*70 G-	Coriander
108 <sup>a</sup>	C-	人	人	人	BOAR	*31 G-	Sesame
108 <sup>b</sup>	C-	人	人	人	SOW	*81 G-	Carmin
		人	人	人	PIG+S1	*9 G-	Celery
		人	人	人	PIG+KA	*80 G-	Fennel
*85	C-	人	人	人	PIG	124 G-	Cyperus
109 <sup>a</sup>	C-	人	人	人	OX/BULL	125 F-	Cyperus?
109 <sup>b</sup>	C-	人	人	人	COW	126 F-	Cyperus?
	C-	人	人	人	OX+S1	*34	Month's ration?
*23	C-	人	人	人	OX	127 Un	Fruit?
		人	人	人		128 G-	Safflower
Units of measurement				By liquid measure			
110		人	人	人	Volume	130 F-	OLIVE OIL
111		人	人	人	Volume	G	OIL+A
112		人	人	人	Dry	131 Fs U-	WINE
113		人	人	人	Liquid		
114		人	人	人	Weight	132 Un	?
*21		人	人	人	Weight	133 Un	Unguent?
*2		人	人	人	Weight	134 Un	?
115		人	人	人	Weight	135 Fs Gg	HONEY
116		人	人	人	Weight	Gg	Amphors of honey
117		人	人	人	Weight	*13 Un	Honey?



K P M

K P M

By weight							
140	J-		BRONZE	166	Oa		Silver ingot?
141	Kn		GOLD	167	Oa		INGOT
142	Mc		Beeswax?	168	Pp		Adze?
*53	Ma		?	169	Pa		?
*44	Ma		Beeswax?	170	Ch		?
*61	Ma		?	171	G Sn		?
*33	Np		SAFFRON	172	U		Beeswax?
143	La		Silver?	173	Mn U		?
By weight or in units				174	Gv		Seedling?
*31	N-		Linen	175	Gv		FIG TREE
145	L- O-		WOOL	176	Gv		OLIVE TREE
146	M-		A textile?	177	U		?
Counted in units				178	U		?
150	Mc		Agrimi goat?	179	U		?
151	Mc		Agrimi horn	180	U		?
152	M-		OXHIDE	181	U		Thong?
153	Un		SHEEPSKIN	182	U		?
154	On		?	183	U		?
155	G-		A container	184	U		?
156	Un		CHEESE	185	Wa		?
157	Un		?	186	Wa		?
158	Ld		Bundle	187	Xa		cf. 130?
159	L-		CLOTH	188			?
	L-		CLOTH+PA	Vessels			
	L-		CLOTH+TE	200-213	See Chapter 10, fig. 16		
	L		CLOTH+ZO	Furniture			
	L		CLOTH+PU	220	Ta		FOOTSTOOL
	L		CLOTH+KU	Weapons			
160	La		A kind of cloth?	230	R		SPEAR
161	L-		?	231	R		ARROW
162	Sc		CORSLET	232	Ta		?
	Sc		TUNIC+QE	233	Ra		SWORD
	L		TUNIC+KI	Chariots			
	L		TUNIC+RI	240	Sc		WHEELED CHARIOT
163	Sb		CORSLET (set)	241	Sd Sc		WHEEL-LESS CHARIOT
164	L		A kind of cloth?	242	Sf Sg		CHARIOT-FRAME
165	Sc		INGOT	243	Sa So		WHEEL
					Sa		WHEEL+TE

Fig. 10. The Mycenaean ideograms (after Bennett), with their most usual tablet contexts and suggested meanings.



and ASSES into two categories by a variation in the form of the upright (generally taken to be a sex distinction) is likely to have been inherited from Linear A, and even there it may not necessarily have been based on a ligature with phonetic signs.

#### 4. *Single syllabic signs used as ideograms*

Here, too, the derivation of the sign use from the initials of Greek words is proved by a number of examples.  $\circ$  and  $\circ$ -*pa-wo-ta* 'plates?' are equated on such Pylos tablets as 292 = Sh740; similarly  $\rho$ A with *parawaiō* 'pair of cheek-pieces', and  $\kappa\circ$  with *koruthos* (gen.) 'helmet'. On the Mycenae 'condiment' tablets (105–107) the commodities may be written long-hand as *koriandna*, *sāsama*, *kuminon*, etc., or counted by the abbreviations  $\kappa\circ$ ,  $\sigma$ A,  $\kappa$ U, etc.; 'coriander' is in addition found as  $\kappa\circ$  either before or inside ideogram no. 123.

Where the syllabic and ideographic uses of the sign have evidently developed side by side from Linear A and the 'hieroglyphs', the search for a Greek derivation is of course pointless: the syllable  $\Psi$  *nī* is also used as the ideogram for 'figs', but the pronunciation of the latter is probably indicated by the quite unrelated *su-za* (= *sūka*?). In some cases the 'syllabic' ideograms stand not for the commodity itself but for an *adjective* describing some subdivision of it which is being counted: they are in fact 'adjuncts' (see § 6) being counted apart from the ideograms to which they refer. This is the case with the secondary numbers associated with the symbol  $\circ$ , frequent on all classes of Mycenaean tablets and sometimes expanded to  $\circ$ -*pe-ro*, which probably stands for *ophēlontes*, *ophēlomena*, etc., 'things which ought to have been there but aren't'. It will be seen that the same syllabic abbreviations may stand for quite different meanings in different contexts.

#### 5. *Two or three syllabic signs telescoped into a 'monogram'*

The frequent 'monogram'  $\mathbb{W}$  (probably *wool*) is apparently inherited from Linear A, and may originally have represented a 'Minoan'  $\mu$ A +  $\rho$ U; but the process of forming such abbreviations from Greek words is clearly seen in the alternative spellings *ka-na-ko*/ $\kappa$ A +  $\eta$ A +  $\kappa\circ$  'safflower' on the Mycenae 'condiment' tablets, and in *me-ri*/ $\mu$ E +  $\rho$ I 'honey' on Knossos 206 = Gg705, etc. 'Honey' is still spelt in full *me-ri-to* (gen. *melitos*) on Pylos 171 = Un718, and this variability suggests that most of the 'monograms' are only optional abbreviations, which may be used at the scribe's discretion where time or space is short.

Pylos 171 = Un718 provides the surprising examples  $\tau$ U +  $\rho\circ_2$  'cheeses' and  $\Lambda$  +  $\rho$ E +  $\rho\circ$  (or  $\Lambda$  +  $\rho$ E +  $\rho$ A 'fat'?), which are actually introduced by the full



spelling of the words on their first occurrence—as if to say ‘in what follows,  $TU + RO_2$  is to be taken as an abbreviation for *tu-ro<sub>2</sub>*’. After being used for over 200 years one might have expected such abbreviations to be self-explanatory.

6. ‘Adjuncts’, small syllabic signs written before ideograms

Apart from the ubiquitous *o*.- (= *ophélomenon*, etc.), the ‘adjuncts’ are most frequently found categorizing *WOMEN*, *children*, *SHEEP* and *CLOTHS*; they are not included in fig. 10. They probably all stand for the initial syllables of Greek adjectives or nouns, intended to differentiate the meaning of the ideograms, but their identification is largely guesswork except where they can clearly be seen to replace a word spelt out in full. Thus *mi*. *CLOTHS* (distinguished from *pe*. *CLOTHS*) is proved by Knossos L 1568 to represent *mi-ja-ro* (‘dirty’ ?); and *di*. *WOMEN* and *di*. *children* are probably connected with the words *de-di-ku-ja* = *dedi*(*da*)*khuiai* or *di-da-ka-re* = *didaskal*- and refer in some way to training or education. In a number of situations *ne*.-, *pe*.- and *pa*.- may be suspected of standing for *newos* ‘young, new’, \**presgus*/*presguterós* ‘senior’ (or *perusinwos* ‘last year’s’ ?) and *palaios* ‘aged, old’; but proof is difficult. The adjuncts *e*.- and *ma*.- added to the enigmatic ideogram no. 177 on Knossos U 0478 may suggest some such contrast as *elakhus* ‘short’/*makros* ‘long’.

Ideograms indicating material or contents are occasionally added in a manner equivalent to adjuncts or monograms, e.g.: *GOLD* (?) joined to *CUPS*, etc., on 172 = Kn02 and 238 = Tn996, *BRONZE* linked with a *dipas* vessel on 230 = K 740, and *HONEY* with *AMPHORA* on Gg706.

## 7. NUMERALS AND METHODS OF MEASUREMENT




Such items as *MEN*, *WOMEN*, *SHEEP*, *JUGS* or *CHARIOTS* are naturally counted in units, their numbers being expressed by a simple decimal notation, by which







12,345 is written  $\diamond 8 \ 8^{\circ} \equiv \equiv \equiv$

This system is identical with that of Linear A, though the sign for 10,000 is not yet attested there. Dow (1954, p. 124) has described the most usual patterns for the strokes making up the tens and units. The sign for the numeral 1 is usually distinguishable from the word-divider by being lifted to the top of the line (<sup>1</sup>), and where a list of names is so divided, for example Jn725 or Knossos V 831 (Evans’ ‘contract or official pronouncement’, *PM*, iv, p. 698), we must in fact read aloud ‘one’ after each item. No signs for fractions have been found following numerals on the Mycenaean tablets, but this does not







prove their non-existence; if we happened to have a record of such things as '1½ loaves' or '3½ days' we might well see fractional symbols used, possibly identical with those of Linear A (see p. 36).

When the scribe counts CHARIOT-HORSES, DRAUGHT-OXEN, WHEELS and sometimes CORSELETS, the numerals are preceded by the signs ZE or MO. The numbers occurring with ZE vary from 1 to 462, but only 1 is found after MO, and this item always comes last if at all. Furumark (1954, p. 28) independently recognized that ZE represents *zeugos* 'a pair' and that MO stands for *monos* (Att. μόνος) 'a single one'. With 'one pair' and 'two pairs' the nouns and adjectives describing the commodity are written in the dual form (see p. 370). 'Five wheels' are written   , or 'two pairs and a single one'. The typical entry for the complement of a chariot on the Knossos Se-tablets (see pp. 379-81) is:

Man's name:      

Evans (*PM*, IV, pp. 797, 807) proposed to interpret ZE and MO symbolically, the 'saw' denoting carpentry-work and the 'whip' the function of the charioteer.

For the larger number of agricultural and industrial commodities measured by weight and by bulk, the Mycenaean scribe possessed a series of signs for *fractional quantities*, whose function and ratios have been brilliantly explained by Bennett (1950). A given weight of metal is expressed in the form

 1  22  2  6,

where the successively smaller measures are parallel to our '1 cwt., 3 qr., 20 lb., 10 oz.', and we may assume that the Mycenaean symbols stood, like ours, for the actual names of units. The Mycenaean practice is in striking contrast to that of Linear A, where no such subsidiary measures are found. The odd amounts are there expressed as fractions of the primary units, e.g.  $1 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8} = 1\frac{7}{8}$ ; and of these units only that for weight appears to have a distinguishing symbol. Bennett saw here a fundamental difference in methods of measurement. The Linear A fractions imply that odd amounts of, let us say, grain were estimated by pouring the residue once only into a number of smaller vessels scaled successively  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ , etc., of the primary unit; the Mycenaean stewards measured grain in vessels representing  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the unit, each of which was filled as many times as the residue allowed. He recognized in the Linear B weights and measures a system introduced, together with the new language, from outside Crete, probably from the Greek mainland or from its trading dependencies. It should be noted, however, that several of the



Mycenaean symbols are clearly derived from Linear A fractions (see p. 36), and possibly express analogous ratios.

The ratios of Mycenaean weights and measures established by Bennett (1950), and revised from more recent material, are as follows:

	DRY MEASURE				LIQUID MEASURE			
Unit:	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Symbol:	None	𐀓	𐀔, 𐀕, 𐀖	𐀗	None	𐀘, 𐀙	𐀔, 𐀕, 𐀖	𐀗
Fraction of the preceding:		$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{4}$		$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{4}$
Fraction of the whole:	1	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{60}$	$\frac{1}{240}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{18}$	$\frac{1}{72}$

It will be seen that the third and fourth terms have the same ratios and symbols in both series, and probably represent identical names and quantities: compare our own two series, which share *pint* and *quart* but diverge to *bushel* and *gallon*. 𐀓 and 𐀘 both represent six times 𐀔, and must also be equivalent, though probably with different names. The primary dry unit is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times the size of the liquid unit; neither of these has a distinguishing symbol, so that numbers directly following WHEAT or WINE apply to the appropriate largest unit.

	WEIGHT				
Unit:	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Symbol:	𐀀	𐀁, 𐀂	𐀃 (+)	𐀄, 𐀅, 𐀆	𐀇 (𐀈)
Fraction of the preceding:		$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	Probably $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$ or less
Fraction of the whole:	1	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{40}$	$\frac{1}{160}$	$\frac{1}{80}$ or less

The status of the rare symbols enclosed in brackets is uncertain. The commodity 𐀇 is generally measured in whole numbers, but on several Knossos tablets (e.g. 71=Dk1072) it is evidently weighed in units which are  $\frac{1}{10}$  of 𐀀 and are divided fractionally into 3 𐀁. Some commodities, like 𐀀1 on Pylos Ma03, occasionally occur in quantities like 𐀁63, not reduced to the primary unit.

Bennett's ratios are confirmed by the summations which occur on a number of tablets: the weight series especially by Pylos Jn845; the liquid series by 200=Fpl and 93=Fo101; and the dry series by F 51 (Bennett, *MT I*, pp. 446-8).

In order not to distort the transcriptions of the tablets in Part II, quotations of weights and measures will be printed with the original Mycenaean symbols; but for a fuller understanding of the texts in translation it is desirable to arrive at approximate conversion factors which will enable us to assess the actual quantities involved. Four types of evidence must here be reconciled:

1. The analogy of contemporary and classical systems of weights and measures, especially where they show parallel ratios.



2. Minoan-Mycenaean objects believed to be standards of weight or volume, or to show serial gradation of size. Logarithmic graph paper will be found useful in all these comparisons.

3. The use of contemporary and classical records to suggest 'reasonable' amounts of the commodities listed, especially where they appear to be rations for a fixed period.

4. Cases where the scribe himself appears to record a conversion factor, either of weight in terms of volume, or of weight or volume in terms of some standard object.

The following comparative data for weights and measures are subject to controversy and should be used with caution, as should those printed in works of reference, many of which perpetuate the confusion expertly introduced into the subject by Lehmann-Haupt and Sir Flinders Petrie. It is clear, too, that beside the official standards a great variety of local measures probably existed side by side for various special purposes.

*Babylonia and other areas using cuneiform script (c. 1400 B.C.).*

WEIGHT: 1 *biltu* (light talent of 30.1 kg.) = 60 *manû* = 3600 *siglu* (8.5 g.); but a *kakkaru* at Alalakh has only 1800 shekels.

VOLUME: 1 *qurru/gur* (c. 300 litres) = 3 *imêru* ('donkey-load' of c. 100 l.) or 5 *massiktu/pi* = 30 *sûtu/ban* = 300 *qa/sila* (c. 1.0 l.). Thureau-Dangin first suggested *qa* = 0.4 l., later concluded *qa* = c. 1.0 l., accepted by Lacheman (1939) and Goetze. Lewy (1944) argues that *qa* = 1.34 l.

*Egypt (c. 1400 B.C.).*

WEIGHT: 1 *dbn* (90.95 g.) = 10 *qdt* ('kit' of 9.09 g.).

VOLUME: 1 *hr* (80 l.) = 4 *oipe* (20 l.) = 16 *hkt* (5 l.) = 160 *hin* (0.5 l.).

*Biblical measures, with traces of a similar system at Ugarit (capitals).*

WEIGHT: 1 *kikkâr/kkr* (34.3 kg.) = 50 *mânêh/mn* = 3000 *segel/tkl* (11.42 g.).

DRY: 1 *hômêr* or *kor* (230-400 l.) = 2 *lêtek/LTH* = 10 *'efâ* = 30 *lê'a*.

LIQUID: 1 *baš* (= *'efâ* of 23-40 l.) = 6 *hln* = 18 *qab* = 72 *lôg/LG* (0.31-0.54 l.). The higher figures are based on traditional Roman equations, the lower are estimated from restored measuring vessels of the early period (Barrois, 1953) and confirmed by Lewy (1944).

*Classical Athens.*

WEIGHT: 1 *talanton* (c. 25.8 kg.) = 60 *mnai* = 3000 *stateres* (8.6 g.) = 6000 *drakhmai* (4.3 g.). Aeginetan standards heavier by  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

DRY: 1 *medimnos* (43.5 l.) = 5 *hektris* = 48 *khoïnikes* (0.906 l.) = 192 *kytylai* (0.227 l.). Spartan ('Pheidonian') *medimnos* perhaps larger by  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

LIQUID: 1 *metretres* (21.75 l.?) = 8? *khoes* = 96? *kytylai* (0.227 l.).



8. THE ABSOLUTE VALUES OF THE SYMBOLS  
FOR WEIGHT

Evans (*PM*, iv, p. 651) and Sundwall (1932) very plausibly identified the 'Palace Standard' of weight as a talent (cf. Greek  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$  'pair of scales'), equal in value to the gypsum octopus weight of 29,000 grams found in Magazine 15 at Knossos, or to the average weight of the nineteen copper ingots from Agia Triada (29,132 grams). The latter may admittedly not be LM II in date, but such a talent tends to remain constant, due to its limiting value as the largest ingot which can conveniently be shouldered by one man (compare the *Kftjw* tribute-bearers on the Egyptian wall-paintings), and as the largest unit weight which can be lifted on to the scales (which may explain the etymology of  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$ ). Two Knossos tablets in fact record the weight of ingots: Oa730 lists sixty ingots at a total of  $\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}$  52 $\frac{5}{8}$ , Oa733 lists ten ingots at a figure which may be completed as 6 or 8  $\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}$ . If the talent  $\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}$  has a value of exactly 29 kg., the absolute values will be as in the first column of the following table; but at the cost of a possible slight error, the more even figures of the last column will be used in the translations in Part II of this book.

$\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}$ 1 =	29 kg. (64 lb.)	$\approx$ 30 kg.
$\text{z}$ 1 =	967 g. (2 lb., 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.)	1 kg.
$\text{H}$ 1 =	242 g. (8 $\frac{5}{8}$ oz.)	250 g.
$\text{z}$ 1 =	20.2 g. (312 grains)	20.8 g.
$\text{f}$ 1 =	3.36 g. or less	3.4 g. or less

The commodity  $\text{w}$  is consequently measured in units of just under 3 kg. (6.4 lb.). As it appears frequently both on Knossos SHEEP and textile tablets, it probably represents WOOL (as suggested by Evans, *SM II*, p. 28) and 'woollen cloth'. On Alalakh tablet no. 361 (Wiseman, 1952, p. 100) 308 sheep yield ninety shekels weight (or 760 g.) of usable wool each: the measure  $\text{w}$  therefore represents approximately the wool from four sheep. Why such a unit should be chosen is not clear, but it is perhaps significant that the units of WOOL stipulated on the Knossos *Dk*-tablets are regularly  $\frac{1}{4}$  the number of sheep (e.g. 71 = Dk1072).

Little correspondence can be traced between our suggested weight values and the miscellaneous metrical objects, of varied place and date, listed by Evans (*PM*, iv, pp. 653-6) and Glotz (1925): these do not indeed form any consistent series among themselves. A striking exception is the gold coils and rings from the Mycenae Acropolis Treasure (see p. 359).

The Mycenaean talent is similar in value to the contemporary Babylonian light talent, and its subdivision into thirty may distantly reflect the sexagesimal



division of the latter; but note that the biblical and Ugaritic talent is divided into fifty minas, not sixty. Any similarity to the classical standards of weight is evidently due to the persistence of the 'talent' in the East Mediterranean under Phoenician trade domination, and not to the preservation of Mycenaean standards on Greek soil through the 'Dark Ages': the absence of any central authority capable of enforcing such standards makes a direct survival of weights or measures unlikely.

## 9. THE ABSOLUTE VALUES OF THE SYMBOLS FOR VOLUME

The smallest unit of volume is indicated by  $\varpi$ , clearly the measure of a 'cup', paralleled by the Greek *kotyle*, Egyptian '*hin*', Israelite *lóg* and Akkadian *qa*. If we assume that its value lies, like these, between 0.227 and 1.0 litre (roughly between  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint and 2 pints), then the primary dry unit will be 240 times larger, or between 54 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 240 litres.

Bennett (1950, p. 219) pointed out a parallel between the relative sizes of the Mycenaean dry and liquid units and the classical *medimnos* and *metretres*, but the proportion he quotes for the smallest unit of all, the *kyathos*, is incorrect. Sundwall (1953) identified  $\varpi$  as a *kotyle* of 0.227 litre, giving a dry unit of 320 *kotylai*=1 'Aeginetan' *medimnos* of 72.48 (?) litres, and a liquid unit of 96 *kotylai*=1 Attic *metretres* of 21.75 litres; but his number of  $\varpi$  is based on a divergent and probably erroneous scheme of ratios. He suggests a direct link between the Mycenaean and classical systems.

On the 'condiment' tablets from Mycenae (ch. vii, pp. 225-31) the commodity *knākos eruthrā* (the red florets of *Carthamus tinctorius*) is measured by weight, in some cases paired with dry measures of *knākos leukā* (the seeds of the same plant).

The weights of *eruthrā* vary from  $\mathcal{E}$  1 to  $\mathcal{E}$  3 (967-2900 g.), the volumes of *leukā* are regularly 4 1. If we assume for the sake of argument that *eruthrā* has a density of about 15 lb. per cubic foot (=240 g. per litre), and *leukā* of about 40 lb. (=800 g. per litre), and that the recorded amounts of both substances fall approximately within the same range, then two possible sets of limiting values for the primary dry unit are suggested:

1. If 4 1 of *leukā* is equal in bulk to  $\mathcal{E}$  1-3 of *eruthrā*, then the dry unit has a value of  $\frac{967 \text{ to } 2900}{240} \times 60 = 240-725$  litres.

2. If 4 1 of *leukā* is equal in weight to  $\mathcal{E}$  1-3 of *eruthrā*, then the dry unit has a value of  $\frac{967 \text{ to } 2900}{800} \times 60 = 72-216$  litres.



These wide limits, which are compatible with those deduced from the parallels of *kotyle*, etc., can be narrowed somewhat by considering the evidence for rations, in the light of the following parallels:

*Mesopotamia* (2100–1400 B.C.): The tablets from Ur (Legrain, 1947, nos. 894–1189) and Lagaš (Genouillac, 1909, p. xxxv) agree with the later Nuzi texts (Lacheman, 1939, p. 6) in fixing the monthly grain ration of women slaves and menial workers at 30 *qa* (40 l. on Lewy's equation, with a daily value of *c.* 2845 calories, 30 l. on Thureau-Dangin's), of their children at 20 or sometimes 10 *qa*, and of artisans at 40–120 *qa* according to skill and status. Lewy suggests that the 30 *qa* workers ate their grain roasted, while the higher social groups received a larger amount to allow for milling and baking; but the latter may equally have been designed for the support of families and for the privilege of bartering the surplus.

*Estimate for the Persian army* (Herodotus VII, 187): at least 1 *khoenix* of wheat a day = 27½ l. per month. This same figure is assumed as the Athenian daily ration, and implicit in the Homeric use of the term.

*Spartan army at Sphakteria* (Thuc. IV, 16): 2 *khoínikes* of barley a day, or 55 l. per month.

There are three Mycenaean contexts where groups of people, not individually named, have rations listed after them:

1. The Pylos Ab- tablets, where numbers of women and children are credited with equal amounts of WHEAT and FIGS. No exact ratio per person is observed, but though some groups receive up to 50 per cent more, the basic or minimum allowance seems to be T 2 per woman and T 1 per child (see p. 157). If this T 2 is equated with the Mesopotamian women's ration of 30 or 40 l., the primary dry unit will have a value of 150–200 l., within the range of our 'cup' and *knākos* analogies above; but a somewhat lower value may be suggested by the fact that most of the women actually get more than T 2, and a ration of figs as well.

2. Knossos 35 = Am819, where eighteen men and eight boys receive '*silos* CRESCENT I BARLEY 9½'. As hinted by Myres (*SM II*, p. 9) the CRESCENT may mean 'one month's work', for which each person receives an average of exactly T 3½, perhaps between 56 and 75 l. on the equation just proposed.

3. Pylos An31, where fifty-two men apparently receive 2½ units of WHEAT, 2½ of FIGS and 5½ of BARLEY; the combined cereal ration would be only T 1½ per man (perhaps between 22½ and 30 l.), which is on the low side and perhaps not the scale for a full month.

The most frequent size of Mycenaean stirrup-jar, such as have been found in quantity in the basements of the Mycenaean houses excavated by Wace since 1952, and at many other sites both in Greece and in the Near East, has



a capacity of approximately 12-14 l. Like our own quart and pint bottles, it is likely that this stirrup-jar represents a unitary quantity in the system of liquid measure, and the most probable value seems to be one liquid  $\aleph$  (equivalent to one dry  $\Gamma$ , which we have seen to have a possible value of 15 l. or less). In the translations of Part II, the value of  $\aleph$  will be taken at the convenient figure of 12 l.:

DRY MEASURE	LIQUID MEASURE
1 unit = 120 litres	1 unit = 36 l.
$\Gamma$ 1 = 12 l.	$\aleph$ 1 = 12 l.
$\delta$ 1 = 2 l.	
$\cup$ 1 = $\frac{1}{2}$ l. (approx. 1 pint)	

A more accurate determination must await further evidence; the 1954 Pylos tablet Gn1184 may conceivably be taken to show that the normal volume of the stirrup-jar in fact contains  $\aleph$   $1\frac{1}{2}$  (see p. 217), in which case all the above figures must be reduced somewhat. The difficulty which results from these conversion factors in interpreting *pe-mo* on the Pylos land tablets as 'seed corn' will be discussed below (pp. 237-8).

Evans (*PM*, iv, p. 648) states that the later *pithoi* in the Knossos magazines normally contain about 185 litres, or the contents of about fourteen stirrup-jars; but their recorded dimensions and illustrations suggest that their volume is in fact about 50 per cent larger than this, and nearer to that of the *pithoi* from the basement of the House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae.

It will be noted that the ratios and volumes of the biblical system for liquids show some analogy with the Mycenaean: there are reasons for regarding the former as survivals of a general Canaanite system, traces of which can be seen in use at Ugarit, but a direct influence on Mycenae is perhaps doubtful. The primary dry unit also corresponds, perhaps accidentally, with the Babylonian *imēru* or 'donkey-load', which is similarly subdivided into ten.

#### 10. POSSIBLE SURVIVALS: THE CYPRIOT SCRIPTS

No evidence has been found for writing in Greece between the Pylos tablets of c. 1200 B.C. and the introduction of an alphabetic system based on the Phoenician in about 850 B.C. Wace (1954) is unwilling to accept this *argumentum e silentio* for a break in Greek literacy, but this is not the only field in which sub-Mycenaean culture appears to show a retrogression. Though recent excavations have tended to show that the break caused by the 'Dorian invasion' is



less fundamental than had been thought, the great palaces which had fostered (and perhaps monopolized) the art of writing certainly ceased to exist.

A possible descendant of Minoan-Mycenaean writing is, however, to be found in Cyprus, where a linear syllabary was in use during the Late Bronze Age. First identified on three clay balls from Enkomi found by Murray in 1896, it was named the 'Cypro-Minoan script' by Evans (*SM I*, p. 69): this term begs the question of a possible relationship, and it would be safer for the present to refer to it simply as the 'Cypriot linear script'. The material admirably reviewed by Daniel (1941) has been considerably increased by excavation (see Masson, 1954) and falls into six groups:

1. Signs incised on the handles, or painted on the bottoms, of Cypriot pottery in both the Mycenaean and local styles (from many sites in Cyprus and the Near East).
2. Signs incised on copper ingots.
3. Signs written with a blunt stylus on clay balls, afterwards baked (twenty-seven from Enkomi, one from Hala Sultan Tekke), or engraved on seals.
4. Three baked clay tablets found at Enkomi in 1952-3, and dated to 1225 B.C. or earlier (Dikaios, 1953, p. 237). Two are much damaged, but the third preserves twenty-two continuous lines of text, representing the surviving quarter of an opisthographic tablet of two columns, which must have contained some two hundred lines, probably of a literary nature. The very small characters are written left-to-right with jabbing strokes of a sharp stylus, and are separated by word-dividers but not by guide-lines. Masson is probably right in considering that they represent a more advanced stage in the use of the script than (3).
5. A fragmentary tablet, with seven lines on each face, found by Schaeffer in a private house at Ras Shamra (Ugarit), together with records in Ugaritic and Akkadian (to be published in *Ugaritica*, III).
6. Three lines of a baked tablet, found at Enkomi in 1955 and kindly communicated to us by Dr Dikaios. The signs are more than twice as large as those of (4), and are freer, more continuous and more 'linear' in outline; there are guide-lines but not, apparently, word-dividers. It is dated by its Late Cypriot I context to c. 1500 B.C.

Our signary (fig. 11) is restricted to the fifty-seven syllabic signs so far clearly differentiated on the later Enkomi tablets (4) which constitute the most extensive examples of the script; appended to these are the twenty-five signs which can be isolated on the Ugarit tablet (5), kindly supplied by Masson. It will be noted that there are divergences as well as identities between the two series; the scripts of the other categories of Cypriot inscriptions also show a general, rather than a detailed, relationship with each other, and more examples of each are required before we can judge whether they in fact represent successive stages of a single development.



The bulk of the Cypriot material comes from Enkomi, a site which Schaeffer regards as the seat of a Mycenaean king. The theory of an 'Achaean' settlement of part of Cyprus between 1400 and 1350 B.C., contemporary with the sudden preponderance of Mycenaean pottery, is also accepted by Myres, Gjerstad, Furumark and Stubbings, and finds some support in Hittite references to the activities of *Ahhijawā*. Sittig (1955*b*) has already attempted to read the 1953 tablet in Greek, but the material will hardly be sufficient to offer hope

Enkomi	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100														
1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
11	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
14	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100

Fig. 11. The Cypriot linear script, as used on the 1953 tablets from Enkomi and Ugarit. The smaller figures show the number of recognizable occurrences.

of decipherment until the discovery of the main Enkomi archives confidently predicted by Schaeffer. It is clear, at any rate, that the Cypriot linear script is far from being merely a local variety of Linear B. Though analogous in its general layout, word-division and predominantly left-to-right direction, it shows few exact resemblances in the forms of the signs; and if the Enkomi tablets really contain an 'Achaean' dialect brought from the Greek mainland, it is surprising that they are not written in Linear B, which at all other Mycenaean sites shows such complete uniformity. At best one might suppose



that the Achaeans arrived in Cyprus at a time when Linear B had not yet come into general use in Greece, and that they adapted an indigenous script already in use in the island.

Writing does in fact seem to have been known in Cyprus before the proposed date of the Mycenaean influx. The American excavations at Bamboula (Kourion) were said to reveal a use of the Cypriot linear script extending from Late Cypriot Ia:2 (c. 1500 B.C.) down to about 1150 B.C. (Daniel, 1941, pp. 251, 270); the bulk of this material consists of single potters' marks (notoriously untrustworthy as evidence for a developed script), and the vessels earlier than 1400 B.C. merely carry the elementary patterns +, X or ‡. But Dikaïos' 1955 tablet (6) may provide conclusive proof that the Cypriot linear script was already in use before the evolution of the Mycenaean syllabary, and may lend support to Evans' view that it was derived directly from the Linear A of Crete.

The latest use of writing at Enkomi is found on bronze ingots of the twelfth-eleventh centuries (Cypriot Iron I), i.e. from after Schaeffer's suggested occupation of the city by the 'Sea Peoples' prior to its final destruction about 1050 B.C. There are no certain examples of non-Semitic writing in Cyprus between this date and the first occurrence of the classical Cypriot syllabary on pottery of the seventh or eighth century. We are thus faced with a problem of interrupted literacy similar to that in Greece itself, and aggravated by the fact that the eleventh century is precisely the date generally assumed for the larger influx of population which gave classical Cyprus its predominantly Greek character.

The Cypriot syllabary, first detected by the Duc de Luynes in 1852 and partially deciphered by George Smith in 1871, has fifty-five signs. More than 500 inscriptions are known, extending in date down to the end of the third century B.C. The majority contain the local Arcado-Cyprian dialect of Greek (whose affinities with the dialect of our Mycenaean tablets will be stressed in ch. III), but never the *koinē*; the syllabary is also used for an indigenous language which has been called 'Eteocyprian' (*corpus* in Friedrich, 1932) and which remains incomprehensible in spite of a bilingual from Amathus. It is often a matter of dispute whether a particular inscription is written in Greek or in 'Eteocyprian' (as pointed out in the good general review of Cypriot epigraphy by Mitford, 1952). It is a surprising fact that Cyprus, part of which was occupied by the Phoenicians from at least the ninth century, was the area in which a non-alphabetic writing of Greek survived longest.

The published signaries of the syllabary uncritically lump together forms of widely differing place and date, and are misleading as a basis for comparison



TABLE A: the non-Paphian signary

a	* * *	e	⌘ * ⌘	i	× ×	o	⋈ ⋈	u	γ γ γ
ka	⌒ ⌒ ⌒	ke	× ⋈ ×	ki	⌒ ⌒	ko	∧ ∧ ∧	ku	* * *
ta	⌒ ⌒ ⌒	te	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	ti	↑ ↑ ↑	to	Ƒ Ƒ Ƒ	tu	⌒ ⌒ ⌒
pa	⌒ ⌒	pe	⋈ ⋈	pi	⋈ ⋈	po	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	pu	⋈ ⋈
la	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	le	8	li	⋈ ⋈	lo	⌒ ⌒	lu	⋈ ⋈
ra	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	re	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	ri	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	ro	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	ru	⋈ ⋈ ⋈
ma	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	me	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	mi	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	mo	⋈ ⋈	mu	⋈
na	⌒ ⌒	ne	⌒ ⌒ ⌒	ni	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	no	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	nu	⋈ ⋈ ⋈
ja	⋈ ⋈ ⋈					jo	⋈ ⋈ ⋈		
va	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	ve	⌒ ⌒ ⌒	vi	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	vo	⋈ ⋈ ⋈		
ia	⋈ ⋈	ie	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	ii	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	io	⋈ ⋈	iu	⋈ ⋈
za	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	ze	⋈ ⋈ ⋈			zo	⋈ ⋈		
		xe	⋈ ⋈ ⋈						

TABLE B: the Paphian signary

a	* * *	e	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	i	× ×	o	⌒ ⌒ ⌒	u	∧ ∧ ∧
ka	⌒ ⌒ ⌒	ke	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	ki	⌒ ⌒ ⌒	ko	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	ku	⋈ ⋈ ⋈
ta	⌒ ⌒ ⌒	te	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	ti	↑ ↑	to	∧ ∧ ∧	tu	⌒ ⌒
pa	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	pe	⋈ ⋈	pi	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	po	⋈ ⋈ ⋈		
la	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	le	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	li	⋈ ⋈	lo	⌒ ⌒		
ra	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	re	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	ri	⋈ ⋈	ro	⋈ ⋈ ⋈		
ma	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	me	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	mi	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	mo	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	mu	⋈ ⋈
na	⌒ ⌒	ne	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	ni	⋈ ⋈ ⋈				
ja	⋈	je	⋈ ⋈ ⋈			jo	⋈ ⋈ ⋈		
va	* * *	ve	⋈ ⋈			vo	⋈ ⋈ ⋈		
ia	⋈ ⋈	ie	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	ii	⋈ ⋈ ⋈	io	⋈ ⋈ ⋈		
za	⋈ ⋈ ⋈					zo	⋈ ⋈		

Fig. 12. The classical Cypriot syllabary (after Mitford).



with earlier scripts. T. B. Mitford has kindly supplied us with the material for fig. 12, and with the following explanatory notes:

(i) These two tables are composed at first-hand from the following inscriptions:

TABLE A:

1. An unpublished epitaph from Marium of the mid-sixth century.
2. The 'Bulwer Tablet' from the Western Karpas (*Sitzb. Berl.* 1910, pp. 148 ff.). This is thought by Meister to be of sixth-century date, and is probably early.
3. The Bronze Tablet of Idalium (*SGDI*, 60), dated either to the time of the Ionic Revolt (so E. Meyer, Oberhammer, Gjerstad) or to the mid-fifth century (so Hill). Cf. G. F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 1, pp. 153 ff.
4. An unpublished epitaph from Marium which is probably early.
5. The Bilingual of Idalium (*SGDI*, 59), dated to 389/8 B.C.

TABLE B:

6. Unpublished inscriptions from the Kouklia siege-mound constructed during the Persian investment of Old Paphos in 499/8 B.C.
7. *JHS*, 9 (1888), p. 256, no. 2 (Hoffmann, *Gr. Dialekte*, 59, no. 109), from the Aphrodite temple at Old Paphos and probably of fourth- or fifth-century date.
8. The First Stele of Agia Moni (Meister, *Gr. Dialekte*, 2, no. 36a), of the late fourth century.
9. The Second Stele of Agia Moni (Meister, *Gr. Dialekte*, 2, no. 36b), of the late fourth century.
10. An unpublished inscription of New Paphos of the late fourth century.
11. The First Inscription from the Grotto of Apollo Hylates at New Paphos (*SGDI*, 31), of fourth(?) - century date.
12. The Second Inscription from the Grotto of Apollo Hylates (*SGDI*, 32), of fourth(?) - century date.
13. The Khapotami Stele (*Anatolian Studies presented to W. H. Buckler*, pp. 197 ff.), of the late fourth century.
14. An unpublished inscription of Lapithiou, of the fifth or sixth century.

(ii) In these tables signs taken from (2) and (6) are not specially numbered.

(iii) There is no significance in the order in which the variants of each sign are presented.

In spite of the missing historical links, the small number of signs which correspond exactly, and its generally *right-to-left* direction, Masson (1954, p. 444) is probably correct in assuming that this Cypriot syllabary represents a direct descendant of the linear script of the Enkomi tablets. We may well expect a few changes and substitutions in the intervening 700 years, even if both systems contain Greek; and we must also reckon with the influence of varying writing materials. Myres thought that the Cypriot syllabary forms were



determined, like those of the Northern runes and oghams, by being cut on wood; the same influences might account for the divergence of the 'Cypro-Minoan' forms from the more flowing lines of the supposed 'Minoan' prototypes; and the script of the Enkomi tablets is clearly somewhat specialized in being minutely written on clay (less than half the normal size of Linear B), its outlines being dissolved into patterns of small jabbing incisions.

It will be clear, then, that the attempt to trace a continuous and detailed descent 'Hieroglyphic'—Linear A—Linear B—Cypriot linear script—Cypriot syllabary is fraught with obstacles which are likely to remain insuperable so long as evidence for the successive links is missing, and until more of the successive phases have been deciphered. One can have little confidence in an apparent similarity between a Linear B sign and a sign of the Cypriot syllabary if no plausible intermediate form can be recognized among the Enkomi signary of fig. 11. The most ambitious tabulation has so far been Daniel's (1941, figs. 1, 2, 3, 9). He believed with Evans that the Cypriot scripts were derived from Minoan Linear A rather than from Mycenaean Linear B; Casson (1937) on equally slender grounds derived the Cypriot linear script from Greek mainland forms.

But it is only fair to admit that Daniel, in tracing what may appear rather superficial similarities, did succeed in deducing correct Linear B values from the Cypriot signs for *da/ta*, *lo*, *na*, *pa*, *po*, *se* and *ti*. These are in fact among the simplest patterns (common to both Linear A and B) which might occur spontaneously in any 'linear' script; but the fact that the phonetic values also agree does indicate some fundamental connexion; further explanation must await the decipherment of the Enkomi tablets. The more complex Cypriot signs *a*, *e*, *ka*, *ke*, *ku*, *la*, *me*, *pe*, *pu*, *ra*, *si*, *su*, *te*, *tu*, *zo* led Daniel to erroneous equations, as might be expected.

The known syllabic values for the half-dozen or so simplest Cypriot syllabary signs played no deliberate part in our decipherment of Linear B, which on principle excluded evidence from outside scripts. That is not to say that suggestions like Evans' *po-lo* =  $\pi\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  'foal' (*PM*, iv, p. 799) may not have been an unconscious influence in our choice of sound-values for testing.



## THE MYCENAEAN LANGUAGE

## 1. SCRIPT AND LANGUAGE

THE account of the decipherment has shown how the idea that the language underlying the script was Greek first gained credence. It seemed obvious that a solution which yielded immediately recognizable Greek words could not be totally wrong, and this was confirmed by two other factors: the possibility of explaining the pattern of declension by archaic Greek models, and the subsequent discovery that many at first sight aberrant forms agreed with the hypothetical reconstructions of the comparativists.

On the other hand the inadequacy of the script led to considerable uncertainty about the exact form of many words, which could only be given an intelligible shape by the assumption of certain rules of orthography. The suspicion therefore arose whether the attempt to force Mycenaean spellings to fit classical forms might not be a Procrustean operation which would arbitrarily produce far greater similarity than in fact existed. Mycenaean might be a non-Greek, but closely related Indo-European language; or it could be an aberrant dialect of Greek, showing, like the dubious remains of Macedonian, a general resemblance but considerable difference in its specific forms.

If there were reason to believe that the script was evolved originally for the recording of Greek, we might argue that its inadequacy for classical Greek proved that Mycenaean was radically different. But in view of the certainly Minoan origin of the Linear Scripts, this argument is unfounded. Any script is better than none, and the Mycenaeans cannot be criticized for having failed to adopt the refinements which made syllabic writing a more serviceable instrument for the later Cypriots. The suggestion that documents of the type so far found require a less accurate notation than continuous prose is true, but dangerous in view of our restricted knowledge of the extent of literacy; we have already one sentence running to twenty-three words, and another of complicated construction has seventeen.

We may first examine the claim of Mycenaean to be a dialect of Greek. This will be justified if we can demonstrate enough features which are known to be typical of Greek. The material, though scanty, is none the less sufficient to show some of the principal phonetic changes: loss of initial and intervocalic



\*-s-; loss of initial \*j- or its replacement in some words by z-; devoicing of I.-E. voiced aspirates (concealed by the script except in the case of the dentals); the development of \*kj, \*tj before vowel to s, of \*gj, \*dj to z; the vocalism a (in some cases o) from syllabic liquids or nasals. Typically Greek features of morphology are: the wide extension of stems in -εύς; the 3rd sing. of the present indicative of the thematic verb in -ε (= -ει); and the form of the infinitive in -(e)en. It is, however, the vocabulary that is most strikingly Greek. It contains a considerable number of words which are known in Greek, but have no certain cognates in other languages: e.g. ἀναξ, βασιλεύς, δέπας, ἔλαιον, μάραθρον, σέλινον, σίτος. It could be argued that these are pre-Greek and therefore without significance. But a much larger number, although belonging to well-known I.-E. families, appear in forms which are specifically Greek. A few examples must suffice: ἀμφιφορεύς, ἀνίαί, γραῦς, θεός, θράνυς, κάρυξ, μέζων, πᾶς, τρίτος, φάσγανον, χαλκός.

This evidence taken together proves beyond reasonable doubt that Mycenaean is a form of Greek. It remains therefore to establish its affinities within that language. Study of the historical dialects had long since led to the conclusion that Arcadian and Cypriot were the relics of a dialect once widely spoken over Southern Greece. Since this was largely replaced by Doric dialects, and the end of the Mycenaean age was identified with the legend of the Dorian invasions, it was a natural conclusion that the dialect of Mycenaean Greece would be an ancestor of Arcadian. This view, however, has been challenged by Merlingen (1954, 1955) and by P. B. S. Andrews in discussions at the London Seminar and elsewhere.

Before we turn to the positive evidence we must therefore discuss certain objections. While a few modifications of the traditional view of the prehistory of the Greek language seem possible, the main outlines are well established. The historical distribution, with dialects as widely separated linguistically as Attic and Megarian in close geographical contact, could not have arisen without considerable movements of population. The position of the West Greek dialects strongly suggests that they were newcomers displacing other dialects or compressing them into small areas such as Arcadia and Attica, where the local traditions agree in representing the inhabitants as 'autochthonous'. But at the time of this Dorian migration, East and West Greek must already have been differentiated; therefore the period when all Greeks spoke a common dialect (*Urgriechisch*) must have been considerably earlier, and it has been generally supposed that it preceded the arrival of the first Greeks in Greece, but the theory of Risch (1955) makes this unnecessary. Merlingen (1954, p. 4) assumes from the mutual intelligibility of the historical dialects that their



break-up could not go back as much as 1000 years; but this is to ignore the effects of convergence, which was certainly at work long before the influence of Attic became dominant. Another factor bearing on the chronology of the dialect distribution is the close agreement between Arcadian and Cypriot. This implies not only that Arcadian was once spoken on the coast of the Peloponnese, but, since the colonization of Cyprus took place in Mycenaean times (Schaeffer, 1952, I, p. 343), that it was the dialect spoken at that period. Any attempt to displace Mycenaean from its assumed position of ancestor to Arcadian and Cypriot must demonstrate circumstances in which the ancestral dialect could have occupied Southern Greece. Such a dialect must have existed in that area in the Mycenaean period, and the tablets give clear evidence of the language in use at three of the principal sites; the conclusion of their identity seems inescapable.

If the script represents accurately the phonetics of Mycenaean Greek, then it follows that this dialect had no descendants recorded in classical times. If the Mycenaeans confused the *sounds* of *l* and *r*, then their descendants could never have separated them again correctly. We have therefore to reconcile our suggestion that Mycenaean is likely to be the ancestor of Arcadian with the admitted difficulties of the script.

It is certain that Linear B is derived from an earlier Minoan script, probably represented by Linear A. It is therefore a reasonable assumption that the form of the syllabary reflects not Greek but another language, which we may for convenience designate 'Minoan'. This may perhaps have resembled the Polynesian type, consisting mainly of open syllables, final consonants being either absent or at least not significant, after the pattern of *hula hula* or *kia ora*, rather than that of *κνώψ* or *Σφίγξ*. Likewise the oppositions of the stops—voiced/unvoiced, aspirated/unaspirated—seem to have had no place in the system. But examples from other scripts warn us against explaining as linguistic evidence features that may only be economy measures. Many cuneiform signs are used with a lack of discrimination between *b/p*, *d/t*, etc., which (except in the case of Hittite) does not necessarily reflect on the language being written; and the lack of written vowels in Phoenician does not imply the previous existence of a language without them. On the other hand 'Minoan' may have contained oppositions of a different kind, which would make little impression on ears accustomed to the phonemic distinctions of Greek. Two signs have been identified of a second series for *r* (= *l*), and it seems almost certain that these represented in 'Minoan' some sort of palatalized liquid (see p. 47). Similarly Palmer (1955*b*, p. 42) has suggested that the syllabary contains a whole series of doublets based on an original opposition between palatalized and non-



palatalized consonants. On the value of  $pa_2$  see below (p. 81). The opposition of  $d/t(h)$  is probably not to be referred to 'Minoan'; rather we may suppose that language to have had two dental sounds distinguished by their place of articulation, and this distinction being useless in Greek, the signs were adopted to represent an opposition which was important for Greek. This is the more probable in view of a precisely similar development in the adaptation to Greek of the Phoenician alphabet. The opposition of  $t/t'$  being unknown in Greek, the sign for  $t'$  was superfluous; but it was seized upon to represent the distinction of  $t/th$ , which was important for Greek. This value of  $\theta$  is common to all the earliest Greek alphabets, and the corresponding sounds  $ph$  and  $kh$  are either not distinguished from the unaspirated or are noted by the digraphs  $\Pi\theta$ ,  $\text{KH}$ .

## 2. FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN MYCENAEAN

It has been suggested that Mycenaean is a mixed language, containing both Greek and other elements. It is hardly necessary to point out that a completely 'pure' language is virtually unknown; and that Greek itself contains a large number of vocabulary elements which cannot be certainly traced in the other I.-E. languages. It is possible that the proportion of non-Greek words was higher in Mycenaean than in Attic, or even Homeric Greek; but it would be rash to assume that all the words that so far defy interpretation were of foreign origin. Experience has shown that they often prove to be unfamiliar forms or derivatives of known Greek roots; or to be explicable with the aid of dialect words preserved in Glossaries. The final classification of a language depends ultimately on its grammar and syntax, and it will be shown in what follows that in this respect Mycenaean displays undeniably Greek features. Even without the supposition of extensive borrowing, a considerable alteration in the vocabulary may be expected in the period intervening between the Mycenaean tablets and classical texts and inscriptions. The links would be even fewer if the epic dialect did not constitute a bridge between the two, enshrining as it undoubtedly does many relics of the Mycenaean vocabulary which would otherwise be quite unknown to us. Nor must we forget that the dialects most likely to be descended from Mycenaean are among the worst known.

It cannot be denied that there are Mycenaean words which appear to have no relatives in Greek; but this cannot be asserted unless we can determine independently the meaning of the Mycenaean word in question. One example may suffice: the word *a-ja-me-no* (fem. *a-ja-me-na*) occurs in contexts which allow us to deduce the meaning. It is frequently, though not always, con-



structed with a dative (instrumental), e.g. *e-re-pa-te* = *elephantei*; and it must mean 'decorated', or possibly decorated in some special way, perhaps by inlay. No one so far has been able to suggest a Greek word with which it can be associated; nevertheless it has the appearance of a passive participle of the ordinary Greek type; the spelling *a-ja-* may conceal a reduplicated form (*aiai-*); and it appears to have as its opposite *a-na-i-ta*, which shows the familiarprivative *a(n)-* combined with an unreduplicated base and a *-to-* suffix. In such cases it is tempting to scour the I.-E. languages for a possible etymology (Georgiev has in fact found a possible parallel in Hieroglyphic Hittite); but the etymological method as a means of interpretation in the absence of contextual confirmation is rightly out of favour, and has recently been strongly condemned by Friedrich (1954, pp. 123-8). There are many factors which can have contributed to the loss of Mycenaean words from the later Greek vocabulary.

Some speculation has centred round the question of the native language of the scribes. If more than one language were in use in Mycenaean Greece, this would lead to interesting historical conclusions. It may be deduced from the areas of non-Greek speech in historical times that such communities also existed at the earlier period. There is, however, nothing in the tablets to confirm this except the undoubted presence of non-Greek names. There are no tablets of reasonable extent which do not give some sign of being written in Greek, though of course lists of names may well have a foreign look. Merlingen (1955, p. 45) supposes the Greeks to have been a subject class, who kept all the accounts, under the rule of non-Greek 'Achaean' masters; Andrews prefers to make the rulers Greek, but the scribes foreigners obliged to write in their masters' language. There is not a scrap of real evidence to support the former hypothesis; only some rather questionable deductions from a group of words in Greek alleged to be borrowings from a hypothetical I.-E. language. Even if this language really existed, there is no reason to assign it to the rulers of Mycenaean Greece. Nor does this theory account satisfactorily for the clearly Greek names borne by some of the leading citizens of Pylos; *E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* is a man of great importance and may even be the king (see p. 265), but it is hard to believe that he has not a Greek name, *Ekkhelāwōn*. It does not seem possible to correlate the Greek names of the tablets with any social class.

The contention of Andrews is based upon rather more solid evidence, namely the apparent blunders in spelling and grammar which mar the texts. It is of course true that in the early years of Greek rule foreign scribes may have been employed. But even if such a situation is conceivable at Knossos at the end of the fifteenth century, it can hardly have been true of Pylos also two centuries later. There is of course a serious objection to the acceptance of the theory that



the scribes were not fully conversant with Greek. It will allow every inconvenient form to be set aside, and great liberties can be taken with the interpretation. At one stroke Andrews would thus destroy the discipline that we have imposed on the solution: that the forms should be consistent and explicable in terms of comparative or historical parallels. Any new form which does not fit into the accepted pattern has been rigorously tested before being admitted, or is regarded merely as tentative and provisional. Whereas, if Andrews be right, it is unnecessary to frame any theory to explain these forms, as each can be explained away separately as an incorrect form due to the ignorance of the scribes. This is not to say that scribes make no errors; they are as frequent as in any other group of documents not intended for publication—the non-literary papyri would afford a close parallel. Such erroneous forms have frequently caused us much trouble. The curious *wo-zo-e*, obviously connected with the finite verb *wo-ze* and the participle *wo-zo*, was at first thought to be an optative; but the discovery of further similar texts has revealed that it should be an infinitive, and the expected *wo-ze-e* has now been found. Similar errors may underlie some of the other isolated forms which still cause difficulty.

Certain writers have shown a cavalier attitude to the strict linguistic tests which we have tried to apply. Admittedly no promising interpretation should be abandoned merely because it conflicts with a suggested but not well grounded etymology. But equally no interpretation can afford to ignore hard facts, such as the digamma in *ἐλαϊον* (Carratelli, 1955, p. 3) or the original long *ē* of *ἀνέθηκε* (Meriggi, 1954*a*, p. 69). Where the interpretation conflicts with an accepted but not certainly proved view, this should be noted and some explanation attempted; contrast Furumark's casual omission to mention the difficulty of finding the suffix *-τέος* (believed to be from *\*-τέφος*) in the word *qe-te-a* (1954, p. 42).

A further point which may be debated is the language of the inventor of Linear B. Here all evidence fails us and we can only argue from general probability. Since the script is derived from a Minoan source, the adapter must have been to some extent bilingual; whether Greeks would have learned Minoan or Minoans Greek depends upon the circumstances in which they came into contact. Furumark (1954, p. 107) attributes the formation of Linear B to the mainland at the time when Cretan influence was strong in the shaft-grave era; this view is supported by Carratelli (1954, p. 116), who adduces as further evidence the mature style of writing on the mainland vases, which he dates early. If this assumption is correct it is perhaps more likely that a Minoan craftsman should have taught his Greek employers the secret of writing; but in making deductions about speech habits from writing habits we



must not lose sight of the fact that the codifiers of the ancient scripts were experts in neither phonetics, comparative philology nor time-and-motion study, and their solutions are not always those which a UNESCO sub-committee might have proposed.

### 3. THE RELATION OF MYCENAEAN TO THE HISTORICAL DIALECTS

It cannot be denied that during the Mycenaean period the differences of the Greek dialects then in existence must have been much less strongly marked. The digamma has left traces in every branch of the language; only in Attic-Ionic is it never found, but its presence at no very remote date may be deduced. The form *κόρη* implies that Attic preserved *f* after *p* until the change of *ā* to *η* was completed, a change which in central Ionic was not complete at the end of the seventh century. The Ionic form of the same word with compensatory lengthening shows that the loss of *f* took place after the separation of Attic from Ionic, which is almost certainly post-Mycenaean. Thus many of the distinctive dialect features will vanish as we approach the period of Common Greek. The preservation of an archaic form, which is often distinctive in the historical period, ceases to have any significance at such an early date. The only criteria for this purpose are those in which the dialect has made an innovation or a choice between two available forms. It need scarcely be added that the material is still too scanty to answer many of the questions we should like to ask.

Most significant is the change in certain circumstances of *-ti* to *-si*. This is characteristic of the fundamental division of the dialects into East and West Greek. It is certainly present in Mycenaean, though it must be stressed that since the interpretation of the script is empirical, the sibilant may represent not the *σ* of classical Greek, but some intermediate stage such as *ts*. Examples are: 3rd plur. of pres. indic. act. *e-ko-si*, *di-do-si*, etc.; verbal nouns *a-pu-do-si* (Latin and Sanskrit *-ti*); the preposition *po-si* = *πоти* (Arcad., etc., *πός*); derivatives of stems ending in *t*: *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* (*ra-wa-ke-ta*), *e-qe-si-jo* (*e-qe-ta*), *pa-qo-si-jo* (*pa-qo-ta*), *u-wa-si-jo* (*u-wa-ta*), *e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo* (cf. *κόρυς*, *-υθος*), *ke-ro-si-ja* (= *γερουσία* < \**geront-iā*), *ko-ri-si-jo* (*ko-ri-ta* = *Κόρινθος*), *za-ku-si-jo* (cf. *Ζάκυνθος*). The classical forms in *-vθος* are analogical or borrowed from West Greek; cf. Att. *Προβαλίστιος* from *Προβάλινθος* (Schwyzer, *Gram.* I, p. 272). Parallel to this is the change in the divine name *po-se-da-o* = *Poseidāōn* (W.Gk. *Ποτ-*, E.Gk. *Ποσ-*); perhaps influenced by the adjective *po-si-da-i-jo* = Epic *Ποσιδήϊος*. There are, however, some signs that the development was not complete in the



Mycenaean period. *-ti-* followed by a vowel survives in some proper names: e.g. *pa-i-ti-jo* (from *pa-i-to* = Φαιστός) as in classical Φαιστios, as regularly following *s*, *ti-ri-ti-ja* (*ti-ri-to*), *ra-ti-jo* (*ra-to* = Λατώ) classical Λάτιος; *mi-ra-ti-ja* = *Milātai* (Μίλητος); men's names *o-ti-na-wo* perhaps = Ὀρσι-, *ta-ti-qa-we-u* = Στῶσι- (Στησι-)? In two cases the word shows both forms: the man's name *tu-si-je-u* is also written *tu-ti-je-u*, and the feminine ethnic adjective *ti-nwa-si-ja* has its genitive plural written *ti-mwa-ti-ja-o*.

Other evidence for Mycenaean's affinities with East Greek is to be found in the form of certain words: *i-je-ro* (and derivatives) reflects E.Gk. ἱερός not W.Gk. ἰαρός; and *a-te-mi-to* = *Artemitos* E.Gk. Ἄρτεμις, not W.Gk. Ἄρταμις.

Proceeding by elimination we can next point to several differences between Mycenaean and Attic-Ionic, although, as indicated above, the proto-Ionic which presumably existed in the Mycenaean period would not be strongly differentiated from other forms of East Greek. The preposition *a-pu* is the most striking instance, agreeing with Arc., Cypr., Lesb. and Thess. ἀπό against Att.-Ion. ἀπό. This is surely not to be explained as due to the Arc.-Cypr. change of final *-o* to *-u*, since it is shared with the Aeolic dialects. The development of the vocalism *o* instead of *a* from a syllabic liquid or nasal is a feature of both Arc.-Cypr. and Aeolic. The circumstances of this are not yet fully explained, but it is unnecessary to adopt the suggestion of Merlingen (1954, p. 3) that the spellings reflect the presence of the unmodified sounds. *qe-to-ro-q'etto-* is exactly paralleled by Thess. πετρο-, and if the other examples are not directly attested this is only due to the lack of adequate dialect records. The treatment of the contract verbs is still too obscure to use in evidence; but the form *te-re-ja*, if rightly interpreted as 3rd sing. pres. indic., seems to suggest an athematic conjugation (see Vocabulary, p. 409). The infinitive, however, is in *-en*, as probably in Attic where *\*-aen > -ān* (Schwyzer, *Gram.* I, p. 807). The athematic conjugation of these verbs is found in Arc., Cypr., Lesb. and Thess. The form *i-ja-te iātēr* agrees with Cypr. against Att. ἱερός, Ion. ἱηρός; but since agent nouns in *-tēr* are common in Mycenaean and the type in *-tēs* is an innovation, this may not be conclusive.

We are left then with a probable connexion with two dialect groups: Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic. On historical grounds we might expect the affinities of Mycenaean to lie rather with the former, and Palmer has expressed his support for that view. But although there is some positive evidence, there seems as yet to be little certain indication which dissociates Mycenaean from the Aeolic group. This may be partly due to the difficulty of reconstructing a common Aeolic from dialects which have been strongly influenced by West Greek. We can, however, point to a few features of Mycenaean which are especially



typical of Aeolic: adjectives of material in  $-\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$  and  $-\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (see p. 89); and the use of patronymic adjectives in place of the genitive of the father's name, which is not found in Arc. or Cypr. On the other hand the evidence of vocabulary seems to emphasize rather the connexion with Arc.-Cypr. Such words as  $\delta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$  are said to be Cypr. The form of the temporal adverb  $\alpha\tau\epsilon$ =*hote* agrees with Arc.-Cypr. (and also Att.-Ion.)  $\delta\tau\epsilon$  against Lesb.  $\delta\tau\alpha$ . The probable presence of primary medio-passive endings of the 3rd person in  $-tai$  rather than  $-tai$  is not significant now that Ruipérez (1952) has demonstrated that these are not innovations of Arc.-Cypr. but inherited.

The traditional view of the Aeolic dialects has been surprisingly changed by Porzig (1954) and Risch (1955), who have demonstrated that East Thessalian preserves a purer form of the dialect than Lesbian. On this theory the Aeolic dialects belong to the group which retain  $-\tau\iota$  (e.g. in  $\pi\omicron\tau\iota$ , against Lesbian  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , which may be borrowed from Ionic). The effect of this change is to emphasize the affinity of Mycenaean to Arcado-Cyprian, and to suggest that Ionic may in fact be no more than a subsequently differentiated branch of Arcado-Cyprian. Certainly the Mycenaean vases from Boeotia and Attica, which might be assumed to be Ionic at this period (cf. Herodotus v, 58, 2), show no traces of significant variation in the dialect, though their evidence is too meagre to afford any satisfactory proof.

#### 4. DIALECT DIFFERENCES IN MYCENAEAN

It would not be surprising if Knossos and Pylos, in view of their separation in time rather than space, showed differences of dialect. In fact the dialect appears to be extremely uniform, and the differences which have been found are more likely matters of orthography than phonetics. Pylos makes much greater use of  $a_2$  than Knossos (e.g. in the plural of neuter  $s$ -stems), and Knossos often prefers the fuller spelling of an  $i$ -diphthong (KN  $ko-to-i-na$  PY  $ko-to-na$ , KN  $a-pi-qo-i-ta$  PY  $a-pi-qo-ta$ —if this is the same name). But some differences have been shown by new finds to be merely a matter of personal choice: the Knossos spelling  $ko-ri-ja-do-no$  with  $ja$  but Pylos  $ko-ri-a_2-da-na$  with  $a_2$  has been shown to be without significance by a tablet from Mycenae (Ge605) which exhibits both forms.

Since the bulk of the material so far comes from Pylos it is not always possible to confirm particular features at Knossos. But nothing has emerged so far which seems likely to be significant. The material from Mycenae is much more scanty, and hardly allows the drawing of any conclusions about the dialect in use there; but with one exception the forms found there agree very closely



with those at Pylos. The exception is the distinct preference shown by Mycenaean texts for the third declension dative singular in *-i* instead of *-e* (see p. 86). But datives in *-i* are not unknown at Pylos (e.g. *ko-re-te-ri* On01), and Mycenaean also has examples of *-e*, so there is no consistent differentiation. Fresh finds may lead us to revise our views on this point; but at present the dialect presents an extraordinary degree of homogeneity compared with classical inscriptions as widely scattered in time and space. Not until Hellenistic times was Greece to recapture such linguistic unity.

It is possible that this is a false appearance due to the conservatism of the scribal schools; thus the texts may represent not the actual state of Greek at 1200 B.C., but that at some earlier date—perhaps the sixteenth–fifteenth centuries—when the spelling was fixed. Aberrations from the standard would then be explicable as due to the influence of the actual speech of the period. Certainly such a theory will help to explain the problems of *z* and *pa<sub>2</sub>*. On the other hand a strong central influence has a stabilizing effect on a language, and spoken Greek too may have remained at an archaic stage throughout the Mycenaean period, only giving way to innovative change in the chaos following the dissolution of the Achaeen empire.

### 5. PHONOLOGY

This section collects representative examples from the vocabulary to illustrate the relationship of the Mycenaean spelling to the historical development of the sounds as far as known. Only the most restricted use has been made of proper names. References for all the words quoted will be found in the Vocabulary, or in the case of proper names in the Index of Personal Names, or the lists of place-names at the end of ch. v (pp. 146–50).

#### VOWELS

**a, a<sub>2</sub>** = *ā*, *ā*: *a-ke* = *agei*, *ma-te* = *mātēr*;  
           = *r*: *pa-te* = *patēr*;  
           = *m*, *n*: *a<sub>2</sub>-te-ro* = *hateron*, acc. *pe-re-u-ro-na* = *Pleurona*, *a-ki-ti-to* = *aktiton*;  
           *a + r* = *r*, *l*: *ta-ra-si-ja* = *talasiā*, *pa-we-a<sub>2</sub>* = *pharwea*, cf. *a-re-pa* (in ligature, see p. 284) = *aleiphar*.

**e** = *ē*, *ē*: *e-ke* = *ekhei*, *pa-te* = *patēr*;  
           = *i*: *ku-te-so* = *kutisos*; = ‘prothetic’ *e*: *e-ru-ta-ra* = *eruthrā*.

*Note.* Most of the certain examples of *e* = Gk. *i* are in proper names or non-Greek words: *i-pe-me-de-ja* = *ἰφιμέδεια* (not from *ἰφι*, contrast *wi-pi-no-o* = *ἰφινοός*), *me-mi-wa* = *Μινώας*, *ai-ke-wa-to* = *ai-ki-wa-to*, *pa<sub>2</sub>-me-si-jo* = *pa<sub>2</sub>-mi-si-jo* (cf. *Πάμισος*), *de-ko-to*



=*di-ko-to* (?), *e-pa-sa-na-ti* = *i-pa-sa-na-ti* (where an error is excluded by the deliberate correction of *e-* to *i-*). Examples in apparent diphthongs are not easily explained: *mi-to-we-sa-e*, *e-qe-ta-e*, *to-e* (*wo-zo-e* is erroneous). On the question of datives in *-e* see p. 85. Cf. *i* = *ē*.

*i* = *ī*, *ī*: *e-pi* = *ēpi*, *si-to* = *sītos*;  
= *ē*: *dī-pa* = *depas*.

*Note 1.* *ī* = Gk. *ē* is less frequent than the reverse, see above. Also perhaps in *i-mi-ri-jo* = *Himerios*. It is a possible explanation of *i-qo* = *ἵππος* < \**ekwos*, but this is Common Greek. For a possible dissimilation of *e-e* > *e-i*, cf. KN *a-pe-i-si* ? = PY *a-pe-e-si* = *apeensi*, and the dative singular of stems in *-s* (see p. 86).

*Note 2.* Confusion of *ī* and *ē* is not only found in the κοινή, but also in pre-Greek words and names: e.g. \**Ελευσύνιος* (Olus, Thera), \**Ελευθύνια* (Sparta) = \**Ελευσίνιος* (Att., etc.); Lacon. *Τινθαριδᾶν* for more usual *Τυνδ-*; *μόλιβ(δ)ος* = *μόλυβδος*, *βίβλος* = *βύβλος*. There seem to be rare examples of this in Myc.: man's name *ta-ni-ko* = *ta-nu-ko*, place-name *u-ta-no* = \**Ἰτάνος*; cf. *mo-rī-wo-do* = *moliwodos* (?) = *μόλυβδος*.

*o* = *ō*, *ō*: *po-de* = *podei*, *do-se* = *dōsei*.

= *ā*: < *r*, *l*: *qe-to-ro* = Thess. *πετρο-* Att. *τετρα-*, *to-pe-za* = *torpeza* (τράπεζα), *wo-ze* = *worzei* < \**wrgj-*, *o-ka* = *orkhā* (ἄρχή; but perhaps from *m*); < *m*, *n*: *a-no-wo-to* = *anouoton* (< \**n-ousn-to-*, cf. gen. *οὔατος*), *a-pi-qo-to* = *amphig<sup>u</sup>otos* (< \**g<sup>u</sup>ni-to-*), *e-ne-wo-* = *ennewo-* (< \**(e)ne<sup>u</sup>ni-*); of uncertain origin: *pa-ro* = *παρά*, *ko-wo* = *κῶας* (< *o*?), *ko-no-ni-pi* (κανών?), place-name *u-pa-ra-kī-ri-ja* = *u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja*. Similar alternations occur in Arc., Cypr., Lesb., Thess. and Boeot.; also in words of uncertain etymology: e.g. *ἄστακός/ῶστακός*, *ἄσταφίς/ῶσταφίς*.

= *ū*: *e-wi-su-zo-ko* = *e-wi-su-zu<sup>?</sup>-ko* = *-zugo-*; possible in *po-ro-du-ma-te*, *po-ru-da-ma-te*, see Vocabulary s.v. *du-ma*.

*u* = *ū*, *ū*: *e-ru-ta-ra* = *eruthrā*, *tu-ro<sub>2</sub>* = *tūroi*;

as silent vowel: before *w*: *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* = *xenwia*; before *m*?: see *du-ma* in Vocabulary; cf. anaptyctic *u* in Lat. *dracuma*, etc.

= *ī*: see above.

= *o*: *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* = \**Ολυμπιαῖοι*.

## DIPHTHONGS

*a-i*: almost certainly not two syllables in *pa-i-to* = *Φαιστός*. Alternates with *a*: *a-na-i-ta* = *a-na-ta*. On the dat. plur. of *a*-stems see p. 84.

*a-j* = *ai*: in adjectives from feminines in *-a* (e.g. *a-ko-ra-jo* = *agoraios*).

*ai*: *ai-ka-sa-ma* = *aixmans*. Very rare except as initial. The identification of \**34* as *ai<sub>2</sub>* depends on the equation of \**34-ke-u* in PY 237 = Ta709 with *ai-ke-u* in 236 = Ta641, and is otherwise very dubious.



a-u: *pu-ra-u-to-ro* = *puraustrō*, *ka-ra-u-ko* = *Glaukos*.

e-i: usually to be interpreted as two syllables. *pe-i* may represent Arc. σφεις. Final -*ei* in verbs is always written -*e*.

e-u: *e-u-da-mo* = *Eudāmos*, *re-u-ko* = *leukō*.

e-w: probably for *eu* in *e-we-pe-se-so-me-na* = *eu hepsēsomena*, *e-wa-ko-ro* = *e-u-wa-ko-ro* = *Euag(o)ros*, but this may be phonetic.

o-i: *ko-to-i-na* = *ko-to-na* = *ktoinā*; *ko-i-no* = *ko-no* = *skhoimos*. For -*o-i* in the dat. plur. of *o*-stems see p. 84.

o-j: *te-o-jo* = *theoio*.

o-u: negative *o-u-*, *a-ro-u-ra* = *aroura(ns)*.

u-j: fem. perf. part. *u-ra-ru-ja* = *araruia*.

### VOWEL CONTRACTION

Elision of short final vowels is sometimes found in the compounded forms of the prepositions: e.g. *a-pe-e-si* (*ap* = *apu-*), *pa-ra-wa-jo* = *par-āwaiō*, *me-ta-no* = *Met-ānōr*, *e-pe-ke-u* = *Ep-eigeus*; but in many cases the vowel is maintained, not only when an etymological -*h*- intervenes: *po-si-e-e-si* = *posi-eensi*, *o-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra* = *opi-hala*, *e-pi-ja-ta* = *Epi-haltās*.

Vowel contraction of the types found in Classical Greek seems to be unknown; cases like *ko-to-na-no-no* = *ktoinā anōnos*, *ko-to-no-ko* = *ktoino-okhos* are isolated and probably faulty. Even like vowels are regularly retained in contact, though this would be explained if, as is not unlikely, intervocalic -*h*- survived: e.g. *ko-to-no-o-ko* = *ktoino-(h)okhos*, *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>* = *Herma(h?)āi*, *e-ke-e* = *ekhe(h)en*. The pre-Greek contractions are exemplified by *no-pe-re-a<sub>2</sub>* = *nōphelea* from \**ne-ophel-*.

### SPURIOUS DIPHTHONGS

The 'spurious' diphthongs are of course represented in Mycenaean by the pure vowels, and where there is no contraction it is impossible to tell whether lengthening had taken place. -*o-sa* in the fem. participle probably represents -*onsa* (as in Arcadian); in other doubtful cases such vowels have been transcribed with a circumflex accent: e.g. *a-ke-re* = *agērei*, *wo-ra-we-sa* = *wōlāwessa*.

### SEMIVOWELS

j: used to indicate diphthongal *i* (see above) or as a glide: e.g. *i-je-re-u* = *hierus*. This is sometimes omitted and we find *i-e-re-u* as an alternative spelling, just as in Cypr. *lepēús* as well as *ljepēús*.

The loss of I.-E. -*j*- in intervocalic position is proved by the first component of a man's name *a-e-ri-go-ta* = *Āeri-* (cf. Hom. ἦρι, ἦρίος, Avest. *ayar<sup>a</sup>*).



-j- appears usually to yield -j- as in the gen. of the o-stems: -o-jō < \*-osjo. Although we have transcribed this form as -oio on the Homeric model, it may be questioned whether -j- has not here a consonantal value, thus accounting for the metrically recoverable Homeric forms in -oo. A similar wavering between the two values may explain the alternation of -e-jō and -e-o in the formation of adjectives of material (see p. 89). Similar alternations in spelling are not infrequent in names: e.g. a-ti-ke-ne-ja but a-pi-ke-ne-a = -geneia, re-wa-jō/re-wa-o. Advantage has been taken of this to put forward some interpretations: e.g. ke-ra-ja-pi = *keraiāphi*, Hom. κεραῖος, a-ta-o = *Antaios*.

The existence of medial -wj- seems likely in two words which have alternative spellings: me-wi-jō/me-u-jō = μείων, di-wi-ja/di-u-ja probably = Διφία. Cf. [pa<sub>2</sub>]-si-re-wi-jō-te = *basilewjontes* (βασιλεύω).

Initial j- occurs in the adverb jo- (also o-), probably = hō < \*jōd. Other cases where it appears optional are: ja-ke-te-re = a-ke-te-re, man's name ja-sa-ro = a-sa-ro.

w: initial: wa-na-ka = *wanax*, we-to = *wetos*, wi-pi-no-o = *Wiphinoos*, wo-ze = *worzei*, wo-i-ko = *woikon*. From \*sw-, perhaps to be interpreted hw-: wo-jō = *hwoio* (?), we-pe-za = *hweppēza* (ἐκ + πεδ-). Before r: wa-ra-wi-ta = *wrāwista* 'damaged', wi-ri-ni-jō = *wriñiō*; cf. o-u-ru-to = hō *wruntoi*, u being written as there is no sign for *wu*. After d: du-wo-u-pi = *dwouphi* (?), du-wo-jō = *Dwoios*.

Intervocalic: ka-ra-wi-po-ro = *Klawiphoros*, ka-ke-we = *khalkēwes*.

With consonants: -dw-: wi-do-wo-i-jō = *Widwoios*; -wd-: mo-ri-wo-do = *moliwdos* (?) = μόλιβδος; -nw-: ke-se-nu-wi-ja = *xenwia*, pe-ru-si-nu-wo = *perusimwon*; -rw-: do-we-jo = *dorweios*, ko-wa = *korwā*, pu-wo = *Purwos* (< \*purswos); -wr-: e-wi-ri-po = *Ewripos* (or = *Eu-wripos* ?); -sw-: wi-so-wo-pa-na = *wiswo-* (ισω-) but also e-wi-su-; -thw-: ma-ra-tu-wo = *marathwon* (in a loan-word, but te-o = *theon* if from \*dhuwes- shows loss of w in an inherited word).

As a glide after u: tu-we-a = *thuea*, ta-ra-nu-we = *thrānues*, ku-wa-no = *kuanōi*, a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo = *Alektruōn*.

Note. In several words we have 'intrusive' w, where not expected from the etymology or dialect forms; e.g. pe-ru-si-nu-wo, me-wi-jō. In others the expected w is absent: e-ne-ka = *heneka* (not \*henweka), o-ro-me-no = *oromenos*, i-je-re-ja = *hiereia*, po-se-da-o = *Poseidāōn* (Corinth. ἀφω). On these see Chadwick (1954b, pp. 6-7) and p. 89.

w used to represent u before a vowel seems probable in e-we-pe-se-so-me-na = *euhepsēsomena*, e-wa-ko-ro = *Euag(o)ros*, a-no-wo-to = *anouoton*. Cf. the alternations in proper names: ru-ko-wo-ro/ru-ko-u-ro = *Lukouros*, ra-wa-ra-ta/ra-u-ra-ta = *Laurantha*?, adj. ra-wa-ra-ti-jō, ra-wa-ra-ta<sub>2</sub>/ra-u-ra-ti-jō, -ja.



**r** = *r*, *l*: *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* = *lewotrokhōwoi*. See p. 44.

**m** = *m*: *ma-te* = *mātēr*.

**n** = *n*: *ne-wo* = *newos*.

### SPIRANTS

**s**: initial only in words of foreign origin or due to development from other sounds: *si-to* = *sitos*, *sa-sa-ma* = *sāsama*, *se-ri-no* = *selinon*, *si-a<sub>2</sub>-ro* = *sialons*, *su-za* = *suka* (?). *su-go-ta-o* = *sug<sup>a</sup>otāōn* (συβώτης) is a familiar if inexplicable form. Preceding a consonant it is sometimes apparently dropped: *pa-ka-na* = *phasgana*; written in *do-so-mo* = *dosmos*. In *ai-ka-sa-ma* = *aixmans* it is preserved where classical Greek only retains its trace as an aspirate (αἰχμή). Intervocalic *-s- < t* before *j* or in some cases *i* (see p. 73): *to-so* = *tossos*, *e-ko-si* = *ekhōsi*; *< kj*: *pa-sa-ro* = *passalō*, *wa-na-se-wi-ja* from φάνασσα.

**h**: There is no sign for the aspirate, nor are any aspirated consonants distinguished. In the absence therefore of any notation, interpreted forms have been given the form which agrees most closely with classical Greek: initial *h*- and aspirated consonants are written where expected on later or comparative evidence, intervocalic *-h-* is omitted, except in a few cases of compounds. This is not intended to express an opinion on the extent of psilosis in Mycenaean, but merely to accommodate the reconstructions to a familiar pattern. The absence of contraction (see p. 78) is a slight indication in favour of retention of intervocalic *-h-*; but where the etymology is uncertain or disputed the choice is not easy; should we for instance be justified in writing *dohelos*? (Cf. Chadwick, 1954, p. 14.)

The use of *a<sub>2</sub>* where we expect *ha* does not involve any departure from the principle laid down. It is reasonable to suppose that 'Minoan' distinguished no aspirates, and the opposition of *a/a<sub>2</sub>* may have corresponded to something like the Hebrew נ/ח. It is noticeable that *a<sub>2</sub>* sometimes alternates with *ja* (see p. 47). Andrews' theory of a sixth (*schwa*) vowel is not yet supported by convincing examples, and the variations in spelling are better explained as due to uncertainty in the use of signs having an original value without phonemic significance in Greek.

**z**: *z* has been used to transliterate the consonant which has obvious affinities with the Greek ζ (see p. 44). This is not to say that its sound was identical, but it serves as a useful symbol. The cases of alternation with *k* suggest a palatalized *k'*, *g'*; but the fact that it also represents *\*dj* in *-pe-za < \*-pedja* seems to prove that it was already some sort of sibilant. A theory which would account for its behaviour as observed so far is that in 'Minoan' it



had the value *k'*, which was occasionally substituted for *k* by Greeks, the distinction of velars and palatals having been lost in Common Greek; it was correctly used for \**gj* but with assibilation of this sound it was extended to similar sounds with a different history. So far it seems to be restricted to voiced stops, which, like *d*, conflicts with the theoretical basis of the syllabary. This is, however, the natural result of the development of \**kj* to *ss* in Greek (cf. p. 80), which is a further proof that *z* was a sibilant in Mycenaean.

*z* is also used in those words which show *z*- initially from I.-E. \**j*:- *ze-u-ke-u-si* = *zeugeusi*, *ze* abbreviation of *zeugos*, *e-wi-su-zu<sup>2</sup>-ko* (also *-zo-ko*) = *-zugo-*; *ze-so-me-no*, *a-re-pa-zo-o*, *zo-a* from the root of *ζέω*.

The use of *za* = *γα* in Cypriot may be connected, but Lejeune rejects the transliteration *za* in favour of *ka<sup>2</sup>*.

## STOPS

**p, k, t, d:** the use of these is shown on p. 44, §4. A theory to account for the separation of *d/t(h)* is suggested above (p. 70). The question of *pa<sub>2</sub>* is discussed in the next section.

**Labio-velars: q.** The presence of labio-velars in *Urgriechisch* has long been accepted. The date at which they were lost no doubt differed in the dialects, Aeolic confusing them with the labials, while Arcadian maintains a distinction before *ε* and *ι* in the early inscription from Mantinea (Schwyzer, *Dial.* 661). In Cypriot the labio-velar is confused with *s*: *si-se* = *σις*. Their sound in Mycenaean can only be conjectured; the interpretation assumes that they remained at that date more or less unchanged (hence written *q<sup>u</sup>*, *g<sup>u</sup>* or *q<sup>u</sup>h*, as devoicing of mediae aspiratae is assumed, see p. 68). Palmer (1954*b*, p. 53), however, suggests that they were already assibilated, hence his identification of the man's name *a-i-qe-u* as *Aisseus* and the verbal form *e-ke-qe* as future = *hexei*. Against this it may be observed that *q-s-* is once used to write *x* (*qi-si-pe-e* = *xiphee*), though this does not necessarily exclude a sound such as *kʃ*. The identification of *mo-qo-so* = *Μόψος* = Hitt. *Mukšaš* was discussed by Chadwick (1954*b*, p. 5).

The same signs evidently do duty for \**kw* as for the labio-velar: *i-qo* = *ἱππος*; hence we may legitimately expect to find them used also for \**ghw* in compounds of *θῆρ*; see entries beginning *qe-r-* in Index of Personal Names, p. 424.

As stated above (p. 45) there is no sign for *qa*, but *pa* is regularly used to denote the initial syllable of *πᾶς*, if this is correctly derived from \**kwānt-*. It is possible that before *a* the loss of the velar element had already begun, though the distinction remained elsewhere. Thus if *pa<sub>2</sub>* were originally *qa*, phonetic change would have made it a homophone of *pa*. *pa<sub>2</sub>* occurs in



a number of words in which we postulate a labio-velar: e.g. *o-pa<sub>2</sub>-wo-ni* *Opāwoni* (but *o-pa*); but in most cases the etymology is too obscure: e.g. *pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-u* = βασιλεύς, *ti-ri-jo-pa<sub>2</sub>* = Τριόπας, *pa<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>* = Πάλλας. In *pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-to-ro* the variants σπάλαθρον, σκάλαθρον, etc., point to *sq<sup>u</sup>a-*. But *ku-su-to-ro-pa<sub>2</sub>* = *xunstrophā* is derived from *\*strebh-*.

In other positions too there are some signs of an alternation of *p* and *q*. In PY 116 = En659 the man's name *Qe-re-qo-ta-o* (gen.) is apparently repeated in the dative as *Pe-re-qo-ta*, though their identity is not certain (see p. 245). If this name represents classical \*Τηλεφόντης or the like, the development of the labio-velar before *e* to *p* would be surprising as this is found in Aeolic but not Arcadian. Easier to accept is the alternative spelling *ra-qi-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>* for *ra-pi-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>* = *raptriai*, since the development to *p* before a consonant is universal. As the traditional etymology of ῥάπτω is disproved by the lack of the initial digamma, there is no external evidence to prove which spelling is the original one; but the masculine *raptēr* is spelt with *p*te, and the participle *e-ra-pe-me-na* also shows *p* instead of the expected assimilation. Thus the use of *q* here seems to be the abnormality, whereas in the former case it is the use of *p*. These examples are perhaps to be explained by a theory of traditional spelling (see p. 76); this would imply that the pronunciation was at least in a transitional phase. If this is really so, it is remarkable that there is so little inconsistency in the spelling.

Although the decipherment has confirmed the etymology of many words containing labio-velars (note especially *a-to-ro-qo* ἄνθρωπος) there are a few surprises. *to-ro-qo* is plausibly identified with τρόπος, cf. *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* and the man's name *e-u-to-ro-qo*, which conflicts with Skt. *trápate*, Lat. *trepit*; if correct we must accept Meillet's connexion with Lat. *torqueo*: see *to-ro-qo* in Vocabulary. If the equation of *qe-to* with πίθος be right, this destroys another accepted etymology; but it should be noticed that the spelling with *e* for *i* may indicate a foreign origin.

#### ASSIMILATION

Evidence of assimilation of another consonant before *p* is fairly extensive, though the nature of the resultant group can only be conjectured from the notation. A stop + *p* appears to yield *-pp-* (cf. Hom. κάππτεσε, etc.): *po-pi* < *pod-pi*, *e-ka-ma-pi* < *ekhmat-pi* (or *egma-*?), *ko-ru-pi* < *koruth-pi*; *we-pe-za* < (*h*) *wepedja*. We may assume partial assimilation of *n* > *m*: *ki-to-pi* < *khitōn-pi*; and of *nt* > *m*: *re-wo-pi* < *lewont-pi* (cf. *re-wo-te-jo* = *lewonteios*), *a-di-ri-ja-pi* < *andriant-pi*. It is hardly without significance that Homer has no examples of the *-φι* termination with stems in stops or liquids (ἔσχαρόφι and κοτυληδονόφι are plainly



secondary); was \*λέομφι too far removed from λέόντων and too easily replaced by λέουσι?

Assimilation before the *-si* of the dative plural can sometimes be assumed: *pi-we-ri-si* is probably from *piwerid-si*, cf. dat. sing. *pi-we-ri-di*; *pa-si* < *pant-si* (presumably = *pansi*), *de-ma-si* < *dermat-si*; *pi-ri-e-te-si* (cf. nom. plur. *pi-ri-je-te-re*) is ambiguous.

On the other hand 'etymological' spellings are found where we should expect assimilation; possibly merely as a convention to avoid confusion. *po-ni-ki-pi* < *phoinik-pli* may be an exception in a foreign word. More surprising are *e-ra-pe-me-na* < *errap-mena* (perf. pass. of ῥάπτω); *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* where the variant *a-ra-ro-mo-to-me-na* points to *-tm-*.

#### INITIAL *pt-*

Initial *pt-* for classical π- seems to occur in two personal names: *po-to-re-ma-ta* = *Ptolemātās*, [*e-u*]-*ru-po-to-re-mo-jo* = *Euruptolemoio*. Another apparent instance is *po-to-ri-jo* = *Ptoliōn*? KN 39 = As1517, but until the context is clear this must remain tentative. This feature cannot be used to determine dialect affinities, since its use in proper names is much more widespread than in vocabulary words.

### 6. MORPHOLOGY

#### NOUNS

The case system is remarkably close to that of Homer. Four cases can be distinguished in the singular, five in the plural, the instrumental being marked by the suffix *-pi* in the first and third declensions. In the sing. the instr. coalesces with the dat. in all declensions.

#### *Feminine a-stems*

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Nom.	$\begin{cases} i-je-re-j \\ po-ti-ni-j \end{cases} a$	$to-pe-z \quad a$	$a-ni-j \quad a$
Acc.	$ta-ra-si-j \quad a$		$ko-to-n \quad a$
Gen.	$i-je-re-j \quad a$	$ko-to-n \quad o ?$	$ko-to-n \quad a-o$
Dat.	$po-ti-ni-j \quad a$		$a-ke-ti-ri-j \quad a-i$
Instr.			$a-ni-j \quad a-pi$

This may be interpreted according to the spelling rules as: sing. *-ā*, *-ān*, *-ās*, *-āi*; plur. *-ai*, *-ans*, *-āōn*, *-ā'i*, *-āphi*.



Dual: the extension of *-ai* as the nom. plur. termination led to its replacement as the inherited dual ending. This gap was filled by Attic with *-ā* on the analogy of the *o*-stems. Mycenaean appears to have borrowed the ending of the *o*-stems *-ō*; cf. fem. dual *καλυπαμένω* (Hes. *Op.* 198), and the use of *τώ* as feminine even in Attic. The restoration of the genitive is less certain; *-oin* is possible under the spelling rules. Other examples of the dual are *i-qi-jō*, *pte-no*, and adjectives agreeing with these substantives.

Acc. plur.: *ko-to-na* seems to be acc. plur. in PY 43 = Sn01; other examples are *a-ro-u-ra* PY 154 = Eq01, *o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja* (acc. of respect) PY 243 = Ta708, *ai-ka-sa-ma* PY 257 = Jn09.

Dat. plur.: on the interpretation of this form see below.

### Masculine *a*-stems

These follow exactly the pattern of the feminines except that the gen. sing. is in *-a-o* = *-āo*; there is no example of an instrumental plural. Two obscure forms in *-a-e* may be duals: *e-qe-ta-e* KN 29 = As821, *we-ka-ta-e* KN X 1044; possibly to be explained as an extension of the dual ending of the consonant stems. This might account for the Homeric dual of masculine stems in *-ā* (not *-η*); and it may be significant that Homer never uses the dual of a feminine *a*-stem. The presence or absence of final *-s* in the nom. sing. cannot be tested; in view of Homeric and dialect forms without *-s*, it may well have been absent. In interpreted forms, however, this *-s* has been restored to mark the distinction from the feminines.

### *O*-stems

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Nom.	<i>ko-w</i>   <i>o</i>	<i>pa-sa-r</i>   <i>o</i>	<i>ko-w</i>   <i>o</i>
Acc.	<i>te-</i>   <i>o</i>		<i>si-a<sub>2</sub>-r</i>   <i>o</i>
Gen.	<i>te-</i>   <i>o-jō</i>		<i>a-ne-m</i>   <i>o</i>
Dat.	<i>da-m</i>   <i>o</i>		<i>te-</i>   <i>o-i</i>
Instr.			<i>e-re-pa-te-j</i>   <i>o</i>
Neuters:	Sing.		Plur.
Nom.	<i>ko-ri-ja-do-n</i>   <i>o</i>		<i>ko-ri-ja-da-n</i>   <i>a</i>
Acc.	<i>a<sub>2</sub>-te-r</i>   <i>o</i>		<i>do-r</i>   <i>a</i>

These may be interpreted: sing. *-os*, *-on* (neut. *-on*), *-oīo*, *-ōi*; dual *-ō*; plur. *-oi*, *-ons* (neut. *-a*), *-ōn*, *-oi'i* (?), *-ois* (?).

Dat. plur.: the spelling *-o-i* is clearly parallel to *-a-i* in the *a*-stems and must represent a similar form. We originally interpreted these as *-ois*, *-ais* (*-ōis*, *-āis*?),



the I.-E. instrumental ending (Skt. *-ais*). But the new Pylos furniture tablets have shown that the 'instrumental' of *o*-stems is in *-o*, not *-o-i* or *-o-pi* (e.g. *e-re-pa-te-jo a-di-ri-ja-pi re-wo-pi-qe* 243 = Ta708). Since this case is distinguished in the spelling from the dative (e.g. *pa-si-te-o-i*) it is probably different in form, though we cannot exclude the possibility that *-o* and *-o-i* are merely alternative spellings of *-ois* (cf. p. 44). Theoretical considerations have led to the postulation of a dative (originally locative): *\*-oihi* < *\*-oisi*, which was later restored by analogy. Merlingen and Andrews have therefore suggested that this is what the spelling implies. A definite decision is hardly possible on the evidence so far, but *-oi'i* has been adopted as the interpretation in order to maintain the distinction. In any case the *a*-stems must here be copying the *o*-stems, and we have written *-ā'i* to match.

Instrumental: a very few cases of the termination *-o-pi* have been found, only at Knossos, so that this may be a dialect difference. At least it is clear that this termination was not restricted to consonant stems, as proposed by Shipp (1953, p. 9). KN Se1042 (joined with 1006) contains the words: *e-re-pa-te-jo-pi o-mo-pi*, where the latter word may be *hormophi*; *e-re-pa-te-jo-pi* is repeated in line 2, but here unfortunately we have lost the noun in agreement. *i-ku-wo-i-pi* KN 207 = V 280 is an isolated form of uncertain meaning; Ventris proposes an instrumental dual.

Locative: Ventris suggests that *di-da-ka-re* (see p. 162) is a locative *didaskalei* of the type of οἶκει. A termination *-oi* would be indistinguishable from the dative.

*Note.* Compound adjectives in *-os* (often used as substantives) have two terminations: e.g. *a-ka-ra-no* agreeing with *to-pe-za* PY 241 = Ta715; *a-pi-qo-ro ko-wo* = *amphiq<sup>o</sup>olōn* (fem. gen. plur.) *korwoi* PY 11 = Ad690.

#### Consonant stems

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Nom.	$\begin{cases} po-me \\ wa-na-ka \end{cases}$	<i>ti-ri-po-d   e</i>	$\begin{cases} po-me-n \\ e \end{cases}$
Acc.	<i>pe-re-u-ro-n   a</i>		<i>pa-ki-ja-n   a (?)</i>
Gen.	<i>po-me-n   o</i>		<i>ka-ra-ma-t   o (?)</i>
Dat.	$\begin{cases} po-me-n   e \\ ko-re-te-r   i \end{cases}$		$\begin{cases} pa- \\ si \end{cases}$
Instr.			$\begin{cases} po- \\ pi \end{cases}$

Interpretation: sing. zero or *-s*, *-a*, *-os*, *-ei* or *-i*; dual *-e*; plur. *-es*, *-as*, *-ōn*, *-si*, *-phi*.

Dat. sing.: two explanations of *-e* are possible. It may be part of the general confusion of *ē* and *ī* (see p. 76), and stand for the original *-i* of the locative.



This seems to be certain in those cases where the script has *-i*. This is much less frequent than *-e* at Pylos and Knossos, except in the *s*-stems (see below). Mycenae, however, shows a marked preference for *-i* (e.g. *ka-ke-wi*, *ke-ra-me-wi*, *pi-we-ri-di*), though *-e* does also occur (*o-pe-ra-no-re*). Alternatively we may interpret *-e* as *-ei*, the old I.-E. dative termination preserved in Old Latin and other languages, and in traces in Greek. The latter has been adopted in this book, but again without any desire to prejudge the issue.

Stems in *s*: the type in *-ēs* shows the declension: nom. *-e* (neut. *-e*), gen. *-e-o*, dat. *-e-i*; dual *-e-e* (all genders); plur. neut. *-e-a* or *-e-a<sub>2</sub>*, dat. *-e-si* (= *-essi*), instr. *-e-pi* (= *-esphi*). The neuter *di-pa* = *dipas* has dual *di-pa-e*. Comparative adjectives do not show *-n-* in the declension: *me-zo*, *me-wi-jo* (= *mezōn* or *mezōs*? etc.) have dual *-o-e*, plur. *-o-e*, neut. *-o-a<sub>2</sub>* (= *-oes*, *-oa*, Att. *-ovs*, *-ω*). Perfect participles in the masculine and neuter show the same declension: neut. plur. *a-ra-ru-wo-a*, *te-tu-ko-wo-a<sub>2</sub>*.

Stems in *i*: some examples are found in the nom. sing., e.g. *a-pu-do-si* = *apudosis*; but there is no evidence of the declension except instr. plur. *po-ti-pi* = *portiphi*.

Stems in *u*: evidence is very scanty. Nom. sing. *ta-ra-nu* has plur. *ta-ra-nu-we*, *-ues*, like *σράχης*; gen. sing. in man's name *e-te-wa-tu-o* = *Etewastuos*. The dative *ka-ru-we* (instr. plur. *ka-ru-pi*) presumably also belongs to this type; cf. Pylos place-name *a-pu<sub>2</sub>?-we*. There is no evidence of the ablaut declension: *-us*, *-ε[Ϝ]ος*, except perhaps *te-re-te-we* and *pa-ke-we* = *pakhewes*.

Stems in *āu*: nom. plur. *ka-ra-we* = *grāwes*.

Stems in *ēu*: sing. nom. *-e-u*, gen. *-e-wo*, dat. *-e-we* (MY *-e-wi*); dual *-e-we*; plur. nom. *-e-we*, dat. *-e-u-si*, instr. *-e-u-pi*. To be interpreted: *-eus*, *-ēuos*, *-ēwei* or *-ēwi*; *-ēwe*; *-ēwes*, *-eusi*, *-euphi*.

*Note 1.* Adjectives of the type in *-went-* have feminine *-we-sa* = *-wessa* with analogical *e* for *a* < *\*-wntja*. The masculine is typified by the man's name *ko-ma-we* = *Komāwens*, gen. *ko-ma-we-to* = *Komāwentos*. Examples of the feminine are: *pi-ti-ro<sub>2</sub>-we-sa*, *ko-ro-no-we-sa*, *mi-to-we-sa*. The perf. participle has fem. *a-ra-ru-ja* = *araruia* (< *\*-usja*); pres. part. of verb 'to be': *a-pe-a-sa* = *apeassai* (< *\*-esptja*), masc. *a-pe-o-te* = *apeontes*.

*Note 2.* The case and number of the termination *-pi* = *-φi*. It will be observed that the term 'instrumental' has been applied to the case formed by this suffix. This follows the generally accepted view that it is a relic of an I.-E. instrumental (cf. Skt. *-bhī*), and is supported by its use after passive or intransitive verbs such as 'equipped with', 'inlaid with'. Its frequent use with place-names seems equally to prove that it also has the value of locative.

Its number is proved to be plural (or dual) by the opposition of *ka-ru-we*/*ka-ru-pi*, *a-di-ri-ja-te*/*a-di-ri-ja-pi*, *e-ka-ma-te*/*e-ka-ma-pi*, *po-ni-ke*/*po-ni-ki-pi*, *po-de*/*po-pi* in parallel



contexts on the furniture tablets. Cf. also *du-wo-u-pi te-re-ja-e* PY 148 = Ep04 with *e-me-de te-[re]-ja* Eb40.

This conclusion agrees as regards case, but not number, with that reached on the Homeric evidence by Shipp (1953, p. 15).

# PRONOUNS

These are very rare and mostly doubtful.

*mi* = *min*: *da-mo-de-mi pa-si* = *dāmos de min phāsi* (?) PY 135 = Ep704; cf. *e-ke-de-mi* PY 196 = Na70.

*pe-i* = *sphēis*, *sphē'ē*? Dat. plur., cf. Arc. σφεις, Att. σφισι.

*to-e* PY Eb842 = *to-me* PY 148 = Ep04 in identical context (see p. 263). The phrase is obscure, but *to-e/to-me* may represent the dative of a demonstrative. If not erroneous *to-e* may be *tōi* or *tōi-e* = \*τωί (cf. Elean τoί, Boeot. τοί, etc.). *to-me* may be explained as *to-(s)me* with the suffix *-(σ)μι* found in Cret. ὅτιμι = ὥτιμι, cf. Skt. loc. *tāsmin*.

*to-jo*: possibly genitive of the demonstrative.

*to-i-qe*: dat. plur. *tōi-i-q'ē*?

*to-to*: 'this' = τoῦτο; see Vocabulary, p. 410.

*wo-jo*: = (h)woie = olo, gen. of pron. adj. 'his own'?

*Note.* It seems most unlikely that any forms are to be explained as a definite article, since this is clearly absent from many contexts where its presence would be demanded by classical usage.

# NUMERALS

These are poorly represented, mostly in compounds.

1: dat. *e-me* = *herasi* shows preservation of the original *-m-* replaced by *-n-* in all dialects.

2: instr. *du-wo-u-pi*; see Vocabulary, p. 391.

3: in compounds *tī-ri* = *tri*.

4: in compounds *qe-to-ro* = *q'etto-* (*-ro* < \**r*).

6: in compounds *we* = (h)wek- (Cret., etc., *ῥέξ*).

9: in compounds *e-ne-wo* = *ennewo-* (*o* < \**n*).

# THE VERB

## Terminations

The theory of Ruipérez (1952) that the Arcadian medio-passive primary terminations in *-toi* were original and not, as had been supposed, secondary is supported by the new evidence. As the final *-i* is not written and there is ordinarily no augment (see below), it is impossible to distinguish a present from an imperfect. But two considerations seem to indicate that we are right



in taking these forms as present. (1) *e-ke-qe e-u-ke-to-qe* . . . *e-ke-e* PY 140 = Eb35; if both verbs are imperfect, then the *e-ke* of the common formula must be so too; but present is much more likely in such a formula. (2) *to-sa-de o-u-di-do-to* PY 198 = Ng02 is plainly parallel with *to-sa-de na-u-do-mo o-u-di-do-si* PY 189 = Na65, etc.; since *di-do-si* cannot be anything but present, so presumably is *di-do-to*. In many other passages a present is preferable, and *e-pi-de-da-to* is more likely to be perfect than pluperfect.

### Augment

The syllabic augment is normally absent, such forms as *a-pu-do-ke* = *apu-dōke* being regular in the secondary tenses. An apparent exception is *a-pe-do-ke* in a new Pylos tablet (Gn1184), which at present remains isolated. The temporal augment would of course be concealed by the notation.

### Reduplication

Reduplication in the perfect follows the regular pattern; *a-ra-ru-ja* and *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* show the special 'Attic' reduplication of verbs beginning with a vowel plus sonant. *e-ra-pe-me-na* has the ordinary form of reduplication = *ēpp-*.

### Verbal forms

No finite forms other than third persons occur.

Active: thematic present: sing. *e-ke* = *ekhei*, plur. *e-ko-si* = *ekhonsi*; infin. *e-ke-e* = *ekheen*, *a-na-ke-e* = *anageen*, *wo-ze-e* = *worzeen*; part. *wo-zo* = *worzōn*, *e-ko-te* = *ekhontes*.

Athematic present: sing. *pa-si* = *phāsī* (?), plur. *di-do-si* = *dido(n)si*, *ki-ti-je-si* = *ktiensi*; part. *i-jo*, *i-jo-te* = *iōn*, *iontes*.

Future: sing. *do-se* = *dōsei*, plur. *do-so-si* = *dōsonsi*; part. *de-me-o-te* = *demeontes*.

Aorist: *a-ke-re-se* = *agrēse* (?), *wi-de* = *wide* (= *ēlde*), *a-po-ro* = *ophlon*; part. *a-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-te* = *agērantes*?

Perfect: part. *a-ra-ru-ja* = *araruia*, *te-tu-ko-wo-a<sub>2</sub>* = *tetukhuwa*.

Middle: thematic present: *e-u-ke-to* = *eukhetoi*, *e-ke-jo-to* = *en-kziontoi* (?); part. *wo-zo-me-no*.

Athematic present: plur. *di-do-to* = *dido(n)toi*, *-u-ru-to* = *wruntoi*; part. *ki-ti-me-na* = *ktimenā*.

Future: part. *e-pe-se-šo-me-na* = *hepsēsomena*, *ze-so-me-no* = *zesomeno*.

Aorist: *de-ka-sa-to* = *dexato*, *pa-ro-ke-ne-[to]* = *paro-geneto*, *de-ko-to* = *dekto*, *ze-to* = *gento*; infin. *wi-de-ta-i* = *widesthai* (?).

Perfect: *e-pi-de-da-to* = *epidedastoi*; part. *de-de-me-no* = *dedemenō*.

The contract verbs are barely represented, but we may detect one in *te-re-ja*,



which seems to be 3rd sing. pres. indic. (= *teleiā*, like the proposed reading δάμνα for δάμνα in Homer, cf. Schwyzler, *Gram.* 1, p. 659); infin. *te-re-ja-e* = *teleiaen* (as Att. τιμᾶν < \*τιμᾶεν, cf. Schwyzler, *Gram.* 1, p. 807).

The verb 'to be':

Present: plur. *e-e-si* = *eensi* (also *ap-*, *en-*, *posi-*); dual *e-to* = *eston* (?).

Imperative: 3rd plur. *e-e-to* = *eentō* (? or imperfect?).

Part.: *e-o*, *e-o-te* = *eōn*, *contes* (also *ap-*); fem. *a-pe-a-sa* = *apeassai*.

Imperfect: sing. *a-pe* = *ap-ēs* (?).

Future: *e-so-to* = *essontoi* (?).

## WORD-FORMATION

Only a few points deserve special comment.

(1) Feminines in *-eia* from masculines in *-eus*. These forms have been discussed by Chadwick (1954*b*, p. 7). The clearest is *i-je-re-ja* = *hierēia*, and it is now evident that contrary to all supposition the feminines do not contain the *-w-* of the masculine. Other examples are: the names *i-do-me-ne-ja* = *Idomeneia* (Ἰδομενεύς), *ke-ra-me-ja* = *Kerameia* (κεραμεύς), *e-ro-pa-ke-ja* (*e-ro-pa-ke-u*). Other occupational names are *do-qe-ja* (cf. man's name *do-qe-u*), *ri-ne-ja-o*, *i-te-ja-o*, *pa-ke-te-ja*, *ka-ru-ti-je-ja-o*, *a-ra-ka-te-ja*, *e-ne-re-ja*, *ko-u-re-ja*, *o-nu-ke-ja*, *te-pe-ja-o*. Contrast the adjectival formations *pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja*, *i-je-re-wi-jo*, where the termination is *-ēwios*; cf. Cypr. *i-e-re-vi-ja-ne* 'sanctuary'.

(2) Adjectives of Material. These show an alternation between *-e-jo*, *-e-o*, and *-i-jo*, which recalls the similar variation between *-eos* and *-eios* in Homer. Forms in *-ios* are also found in Lesb. and Thess. One word exemplifies all three forms: *wi-ri-ne-jo*, *wi-ri-ne-o*, *wi-ri-ni-jo* = *wrineos*.

(3) Adjectives in *-teros*. *wa-na-ka-te-ro* appears to be *wanakteros* 'royal'. The objection of Meriggi (1954, p. 34) that in PY 130 = Eo371 (Ea24) *ke-ra-me-wo wa-na-ka-te-ro* shows lack of concord is hardly sufficient to outweigh the neuter *wa-na-ka-te-ra*. Such cases of grammatical oversight are not uncommon (see p. 72); and cf. PY 108 = Ea817, where we have *po-me* qualifying genitive *mo-ro-qo-ro-jo* instead of the correct *po-me-no* found on 109 = Ea782. Less certain is *po-ku-te-ro*, which appears to be formed from *po-ku-ta* of unknown meaning.

## 7. SYNTAX

There are several examples of perfect participles active used in the intransitive sense familiar in Homer: *a-ra-ru-ja*, *a-ra-ru-wo-a* 'fitted (with)', cf. σκολόπεσσιν ἄρηρότα (*Od.* vii, 45); *te-tu-ku-wo-a* 'well made' (of garments and wheels), cf. βοὸς ῥινοίο τετευχώς (*Od.* xii, 423); possibly *de-di-(da)-ku-ja* 'taught'.



An idiom familiar in Sanskrit, the use of a reduplicated locative such as *pade-pade* 'at every step', *varṣe-varṣe* 'every year', is found for the first time in Greek: *we-te-i-we-te-i* 'annually' (see p. 279).

*pa-ro* governs the dative, where Attic *παρά* would demand the genitive; cf. the use of the dative with *ἐν* in Arcadian. *me-ta* also appears to govern the dative in the phrase *me-ta pe-i*, where the dative is Homeric. The accusative and infinitive construction appears to be proved by PY 140 = Eb35, cf. 135 = Ep704. One other subordinate clause has so far been identified, a relative temporal clause introduced by *o-te* = *hote* PY 235 = Ta711.

The development of prepositions is already complete, as might be expected from comparative evidence. The instrumental *-φι*, however, often stands alone, and where accompanied by a preposition we may detect a relic of the earlier independence: *o-pi . . . qe-to-ro-po-pi o-ro-me-no* PY 31 = Ae04 suggests the 'tnesis' of the Homeric *ἐπὶ . . . ὄροντα* (*Od.* xiv, 104) where there is no noun expressed.

Word order would seem to be of importance where the inflexions are so largely hidden by the script. There seems to be some consistency in the formulas, though divergent orders are not to be excluded. The order: subject, verb, object, is regular. But the common introductory word *o-* (*ja-*) seems usually to have a verb following; possible exceptions are KN 260 = Og0467, 213 = L 641. The order then may be either subject, object (e.g. PY 257 = Jn09) or object, subject (e.g. PY 75 = Cn02) depending which is being listed. The clauses beginning *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* show more freedom; the subject usually follows immediately, the verb, if expressed, being postponed; but in PY 151 = Eb36 we have object, verb, subject. Adjectives tend to precede the noun, but this is often obscured by the fact that when items are being listed the noun naturally takes precedence. Two or more adjectives applied to one noun show asyndeton (e.g. PY 241 = Ta715. 2); but a series of attributive nouns are coupled with *-qe* (e.g. PY 242 = Ta707, 246 = Ta722). On occasion two instrumentals may be balanced on either side of a participle: *se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi qe-qi-no-me-na a-di-ri-ja-pi-qe* PY 243 = Ta708.

The definite article as such is clearly absent. Where forms of *ὁ*, *ἡ*, *τό* appear to occur they are probably demonstratives and are listed under Pronouns.

### 3. VOCABULARY

It was shown above (p. 68) that the vocabulary was essentially Greek. It remains here to discuss its affinities inside Greek. Of the words identified a remarkable number are rare and poetic, while some are known only from sources as late as Hellenistic times. It is most revealing to find that words we



had thought to be post-classical are of such venerable antiquity; it should never be assumed that absence from the literary record implies absence from the vocabulary. A good example is the word *pu-ra-u-to-ro* in a list of vessels and implements; it can hardly be anything but *purastrō* 'a pair of fire-tongs', found in Herodas (third century) and an inscription of the fourth century B.C. Such a humble item of furniture might well escape mention in literature altogether, and its late appearance can now be seen to be without significance.

The words which we know only in Homer and in poetry are archaic survivals of an earlier period, and there is nothing surprising in finding them in ordinary use in Mycenaean documents. The words for 'swords' and 'spears' (*phasgana*, *enkhea*) both belong to this category. The names of vessels are numerous and some of them cannot be identified with classical words; *a-pi-po-re-we* is especially notable as showing the Homeric form without haplology (*amphiphorēwes*), and its replacement by *a-po-re-we* = *amphorēwe* at Mycenae, and perhaps at Pylos, shows that the classical form is also of great antiquity. A few words are recorded by glossaries as Cypriot: *di-pa* δέπας, *pa-ka-na* φάσγανον. The name of the 'king' *wa-na-ka* = *wanax* was by classical times obsolete (except in special uses) in the whole of Greece but Cyprus.

Of special interest are the Semitic loan-words, which prove that Phoenician influence had begun in the Mycenaean period. The Greeks had already borrowed from them the names of two luxury articles: *ku-ru-so* = *khrusos*, and *ki-to* = *khitōn*; and of at least two spices: *ku-mi-no* = *kuminon* and *sa-sa-ma* = *sāsama*; probably also *ku-pa-ro* = *kupairos*. The word *po-ni-ke* = *phoinikei* 'griffin' (?) and *po-ni-ki-ja* = *phoinikia* 'red' also probably imply contact with Phoenicia.

The following particles are found:

*-de* = *de* 'but', 'and'.

*o-*, *jo-* = *hō* (= ὥς) attested as Doric by grammarians, and found in the compounds Attic ὥ-δε, Alcman ὥ-τ'.

*o-da-a<sub>2</sub>*: probably a strengthened form of the preceding; see Vocabulary, p. 400.

*o-te* = *hote* 'when'.

*o-u-* = *ou* 'not'.

*o-u-ki* = *oukhi*?

*-qe* = *q<sup>ue</sup>* (τε) 'and'. For usages where the meaning is obscure see p. 246.

Suffixes of motion:

*-de* = *-de* 'towards'.

*-te* = *-then* 'from': *a-po-te* = *apōthen*?, *a-po-te-ro-te* = *amphotērōthen*, *e-te* = *enthēn*?

A number of place-names ending in *-te* are more likely datives (locatives) of consonant stems.



## CHAPTER IV

# THE PERSONAL NAMES

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At least 65 per cent of the recorded Mycenaean words are proper names, the interpretation of which is beset by even greater difficulties than those encountered in the interpretation of the vocabulary. The place-names are discussed elsewhere (see ch. v, pp. 139-50). The personal names, which occur on almost every tablet and often comprise the greater part of the text, are extremely numerous; well over a thousand have so far been recorded. A comparison with known Greek names, both legendary and historical, leads to many tempting identifications; but whereas the identification of a vocabulary word can be checked by its meaning as determined by context, that of a personal name must always depend entirely on the superficial resemblance. All the parallels proposed in this chapter must be regarded as subject to this qualification, and thus in a different class from the vocabulary words.

The degree of probability increases with the length of the word, for the longer the word, the less chance there is of a different word resulting in the same spelling. Thus the interpretation of *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* as the patronymic adjective from Ἐπεοκλήης can be regarded as certain; but shorter words often admit of several identifications, and when, as is frequently the case, only the nominative is recorded the range may be wide.

The methods adopted to distinguish personal names require description. The most obvious is the association of single words with the ideogram for MAN or WOMAN and the numeral 1, a feature of the long lists such as KN 38 = As1516, MY 46 = Au102. In other cases the context clearly demands a name, as in the lists of persons in the Pylos *Eo*-series (118-130), or the names of smiths in the Pylos *ʃn*-tablets (253-257). Similarly some tablets appear to have a consistent formula, such as the Knossos *D* (sheep) series (64-70), all of which begin with a personal name. If names thus proved are found in other lists, there is a strong presumption that the remaining words in the same list are also names; though cases do occur of composite lists containing also places or trade-names (e.g. PY 258 = Kn01). In a few cases the identification of a name depends chiefly on its resemblance to a known Greek name.

In the present state of our knowledge there are many doubtful cases, and the catalogue has been compiled so as to err on the side of exclusion rather than



inclusion. Many more words, especially on small fragments, are probably names, but evidence that might justify their inclusion is lacking. On the other hand it may be hoped that few words have been wrongly admitted, though in some cases doubt exists whether the name is that of a person, or is that of a place, an ethnic adjective, or a title.

One important question which we might expect to answer from a study of the names is the extent of foreign admixture among the Mycenaean Greek population. Unfortunately the problem admits no easy solution. If the Greek language were imposed on a foreign population, the subsequent generations would doubtless show progressively higher proportions of Greek names. But even in classical times there are large numbers which do not seem to be significant in Greek. Thus no exact correlation between names and origins can be expected. There is too a further problem: where do we draw the line between Greek and foreign? There must inevitably be disagreement about the degree of resemblance necessary to establish a Greek origin for a name; and when the effects of 'popular etymology' are taken into account, it is obvious that the basis for a statistical survey is lacking. Similar considerations apply to the Mycenaean names with even greater force; for we can only conjecture the form that underlies the spelling. The longer names are mostly explicable as Greek; the shorter ones offer such a range of possibilities that there must be few which the exercise of sufficient ingenuity will not allow us to derive from a known Greek base. The negative evidence is therefore lacking to permit a proportional calculation; we can only point to names which are clearly Greek and to others which have an unfamiliar aspect. Certainly the names cannot be used to support a theory that any language other than Greek was in actual use in the Mycenaean kingdoms.

It should be pointed out that the list of names given in the Index of Personal Names (pp. 414-27) is biased and must not be used for statistical purposes. It does not represent the complete catalogue from which this chapter has been compiled, but only the names occurring in the texts printed in Part II, and a selection of the more interesting ones from other tablets.

## 1. MEN'S NAMES

### NAMES ENDING IN -a

Some of these names may in fact be unidentified feminines, owing to the impossibility of distinguishing the gender in the nominative (see Women's Names, p. 101). Otherwise these are mainly names corresponding to the Greek masculines of the first declension (-α(ς), gen. -ᾱο). In view of the existence of



masculines in  $-\alpha$  in Homer, Boeotian and Elean, it seems very doubtful if we are justified in restoring a final  $-\varsigma$  in the nom. sing. The  $-\varsigma$  has been restored here in the forms quoted in interpretation merely as a convenient means of distinguishing masculines and feminines; it is not intended to imply any judgment as to the probable form (see p. 84). The other main type represented is that in  $-\alpha\nu\varsigma$  (gen.  $-\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ); there are also a few anomalous types such as *pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka*, where the final  $-a$  is only a device of the spelling to suggest the double consonant of the ending  $-\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\varsigma$ .

Compared with later Greek names the most notable absence is that of names ending with the patronymic suffix  $-\delta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  (classical  $-\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma$ ,  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ ). The few names ending  $-a-da$ ,  $-i-da$  do not appear to be of this type except possibly *da-i-ta-ra-da* (cf. Homeric  $\Delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\rho$ ). The same is, however, true of the Homeric names, where these patronymics are either epithets or used as substitutes for the real name.

There is a large group (50) ending in  $-a-ta$ , some of which seem to be the representatives of the classical suffix  $-\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma$ : *a-ra-ta* = *Alātās* ( $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\varsigma$  Pindar), *ko-ma-ta* = *Komātās* ( $\text{Κομήτης}$ ), *ko-ne-wa-ta* = *Skhoinewātās*? (cf.  $\Sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ ), *ma-ka-ta* = *Makhātās*?, *po-to-re-ma-ta* = *Ptolemātās* (Boeot.  $\text{Πολεμέατος}$ ); *po-to-ri-ka-ta* = *Ptolikhātās*?, *ra-u-ra-ta* = *Laurātās*?, *re-u-ka-ta* = *Lzukātās*, *se-ri-na-ta* = *Selinātās*, *ta-ra-ma-ta* = *Thalamātās* (ethnic of  $\Theta\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\iota$ ).

A smaller group in  $-e-ta$  contains probable representatives of the classical types in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ,  $-\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma$ : *a<sub>2</sub>-e-ta* = *Aetās*, *i-ke-ta* = *Hiketās*; *a-ke-ta* = *Agētās*?, *e-u-me-ta* = *Eumētās*. Other interesting names of this class are: *o-pe-ta* (cf. *o-pe-re-ta*, which may not, however, be the same word) = *Opheltās* (Thess. and Boeot.), *o-re-ta* = *Orestās*; *ko-ma-we-ta* = *Komawentās*?

Finally there is an important group (15) in  $-go-ta$ , one of which has at Knossos the variant  $-go-i-ta$ . (See p. 43 on the possible significance of this as a spelling variant.) Owing to the ambiguity of the spelling and the peculiarity of the dialect this can correspond to four Greek suffixes:  $-g^h\acute{o}l\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  =  $-\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$  (for change of  $a$  and  $o$  see p. 77, and cf. *a-pi-go-to* in Vocabulary) or  $-\beta\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ,  $-g^h\acute{o}nt\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  =  $-\phi\acute{o}\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$ , or  $-g^h\acute{o}it\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  =  $-\phi\acute{o}\lambda\tau\eta\varsigma$ . The variant  $-go-i-ta$  can only represent the last possibility. The following is the list of names with this suffix, together with some suggestions for the identification of the first part of the compound:

- a-e-ri-go-ta* =  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\rho\iota-$  ( $\acute{\eta}\rho\iota-$ ).
- a-na-go-ta* =  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha-$ .
- a-no-go-ta* =  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega-$ ?
- a-pi-go-ta* =  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota-$ , variant *a-pi-go-i-ta*.
- a-tu-go-ta*
- da-i-go-ta* =  $\Delta\eta\acute{\iota}-$  ( $\Delta\eta\phi\acute{o}\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$ ).



*do-ḡo-ta*

*e-u-ru-ḡo-ta* = Εύρυ- (Εύρυβάτης Hom.).

*pa-ḡo-ta*

*pe-ri-ḡo-ta-o* (gen.) = Περι-.

*po-ru-ḡo-ta* = Πολυ- (Πολυφόντης Hom.).

*qe-re-ḡo-ta-o* (gen.) = Τηλε-.

*ḡo-ta*

*ra-wo-ḡo-ta* = Λαο- (cf. Λαοφόντη fem.).

*ro-ḡo-ta*

*wi-jo-ḡo-ta* = \*lo- (lós 'poison'; cf. \*loβάτης).

## NAMES ENDING IN -e

Of the several possible Greek types which this spelling may represent only two seem to be directly attested in the personal names: -ης, gen. -εος, and -ενς, gen. -εντος. Any others occurring are not attested in an oblique case which would reveal the declension. The most common type is that in -e, gen. -e-o, dat. -e-i (not apparently -e-e).

There is a group of names in -me-de corresponding to the Greek -μήδης:

*a-no-me-de* = *Ana*?

*a-pi-me-de* = *Amphimēdēs* (possibly not a name but a title).

*e-ke-me-de* = *Ekkhemēdēs* (cf. \*Εχεμήδα fem.).

*e-ti-me-de-i* (dat.).

*e-u-me-de* = Εύμήδης (Hom.).

*pe-ri-me-de* = Περιμήδης (Hom.).

There is one certain name in -me-ne: *e-u-me-ne* = *Eumenēs*. The other names with this ending may represent different formations: *ri-me-ne* = *Limnes*?; *a-re-me-ne* (with an apparent variant *a-re-ḡo-me-ne*) on the jars from Thebes.

The suffix -ke-re-we = Greek -κλής, -κλῆς is found in: *e-ri-ke-re-we* = *Eriklewēs*?, [da?]-mo-ke-re-we-i (dat.) = *Damoklewēs* (Δαμοκλῆς), *ke-ro-ke-re-we-o* (gen.) = *Khēroklewēs*?, na-u-si-ke-re-[we] = *Nausiklewēs*; and the patronymic *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* presupposes the name *Elewoklewēs* (= \*Ετεοκλῆς).

The other type of declension seems only to occur in names which are etymologically adjectives in -went- (-ήεις, -όεις): *ko-ma-we* (gen. *ko-ma-we-to*, dat. *ko-ma-we-te*) = *Komaiwens* (κομήεις), *ai-ta-ro-we* = *Aithaloiwens* (αἰθαλόεις).

## NAMES ENDING IN -i

Hardly any of these names reveal their declension by oblique cases, and in many instances the gender is obscure; it is likely that a number of these are in fact feminine. Some are clearly shown to be masculine by association with the



ideogram MAN, or by their trade: *ke-ki* and *to-ro-wi* in lists of smiths (Κερκίς is attested only as a woman's name), *ka-ra-pi* an *e-te-do-mo*.

It seems likely that *to-ro-wi-ko* PY 62 = Cn655.2 is the genitive of *to-ro-wi*; if so this is presumably a stem in -iξ. We might expect a spelling \**to-ro-wi-ki* on the analogy of *wa-na-ka*; but the latter is more likely a deliberate anomaly due to the ambiguity of \**wa-na*.

#### NAMES ENDING IN -o

As might be expected this is by far the largest class of masculine names. On the basis of the inflected forms they may be subdivided into six groups:

	Nom.	Gen.	Dat.	Greek	
(a)	-o	-o-jo	-o	-ος	-οιο
(b)	-o	-o-o		-ως	-οος
(c)	-o	-o-no	-o-ne	-ων	-ονος or -ωνος
(d)	-o	-o-ro	-o-re	-ωρ	-ορος
(e)	-o	-o-to	-o-te	-ων	-οντος
(f)	-qo	-qo	-qe	-οψ	-οπος

(a) *o*-stems. The great bulk of names fall certainly or probably into this class. For convenience of treatment these will be further subdivided. Owing to their great numbers only a small selection of the more interesting names is here analysed.

There is a large class which are known in Greek as common nouns (both substantives and adjectives), some at least being also attested as personal names. In the latter case the Greek word is given a capital letter.

Titles: *pu-ra-ko* Φύλακος (Hom.), *wi-do-wo-i-jo* Widwoίos (cf. ἰδυῖοι, βίδυιοι, etc.).

Animals: *e-ki-no* ἔχινος, *ru-ko* Λύκος (or Λύκων?), *ta-u-ro* Ταῦρος.

Other objects: *ai-ta-ro* Αἰθαλός, *ku-pe-se-ro* Κύπελος, *ma-ma-ro* Μάρμαρος, *pe-ro-ro* Πέπλος, *ru-ro* Λύρος, *ti-ti-ro-di-ko* τριποδίσκος (also as common noun MY 234 = Ue611), *ze-pu-ro* Ζέφυρος.

Adjectives of colour: *e-ru-to-ro* Ἐρυθρός, *ka-ra-u-ko* Γλαῦκος (Hom.), *ka-sa-to* Ζάνθος (Hom.), *ko-so-u-to* Ζοῦθος, *pu-wo* Corinthian Πύρρος (= Πύρρος), *re-u-ko-jo* (gen.) Λεῦκος (Hom.).

Other adjectives: *de-ki-si-wo* = *Dexiōs* (Δεξιός), *de-ko-to* δεκτός or δέκοτος (= δάκοτος), *di-so* δισσός, *du-wo-jo* = *Dwoίos* (δοιός), *mo-ro-qo-ro* = *Mologros* (μολοβρός), *na-pu-ti-jo* = *Nāputios* (νηπύτιος), *pe-se-ro* Ψελλός, *pi-ri-to-jo* (gen.) Φιλιστος, *po-ti-jo* Πόντιος, *si-mo* (cf. woman's name *si-ma*) Σῖμος.

Derivatives in -ιος (excluding those from place-names, see below): *a-ka-ta-jo*



\*Ακταῖος, *a-ko-mo-ni-jo* = *Akmonios* (\*Ακμων), *a-ko-ra-jo* ἀγοραῖος, *a-pa-i-ti-jo* = *Hāphaistios* (\*Ηφαίστος), *a-wo-i-jo* = *Āwōios* (\*Ἠώς?), *ai-ki-jo* Αἰγίος, *ai-so-ni-jo* = *Aisonios* (Αἰσων), *e-ko-to-ri-jo* = *Hektorios* (*e-ko-to* \*Εκτωρ; Hom. Ἑκτόρεος as adj.), *e-ni-ja-u-si-jo* Ἐνιάσιος, *ka-ri-si-jo* Χαρίσιος, *me-de-i-jo* Μηδεις, *o-pi-si-jo* \*Οπιος, *pa-na-re-jo* = *Panareios* (Πανάρης), *pa-ra-ti-jo* (variant *pa<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-ti-jo*) Παλλάντιος, *pa-qo-si-jo* = *Pang<sup>u</sup>ōsios*? (cf. *pa-qo-ta*), *qe-ra-di-ri-jo* = *Q<sup>u</sup>ēlandrios* (Τήλανδρος), *sa-u-ri-jo* = *Saurios* (Σαῦρος), *wa-du-ri-jo* = *Wādulios* (\*Ἠδυλος), *we-we-si-jo* = *Werwesios* (εἶρος, cf. εἰρεσιώνη), *wi-tu-ri-jo* = *Witulios* (\*Ιτυλος).

A group of names in *-me-no* appear to be medio-passive participles: *a-me-no* \*Ἀρμενος?, *a<sub>2</sub>-nu-me-no* = *Arnumenos* (ἄρνυμαι)?, *ai-nu-me-no* = *Ainumenos* (αἰνυμαι)?, *e-u-ko-me-no* = *Eukhomenos* (εὐχομαι), *ku-ru-me-no* Κλύμενος, *o-po-ro-me-no* = *Hoplomenos* (ὀπλομαι)?, *wa-do-me-no* = *Wādomenos* (ἤδομαι). Others less easy to explain are: *ka-e-sa-me-no*, *ke-sa-me-no* (possibly variants of the same name; cf. Κασσαμενός), *pi-ra-me-no*, and \**ku-sa-me-no* to be deduced from the patronymic *ku-sa-me-ni-jo* (κυνέω?).

Compound names of the typical Greek form and with obvious meaning are frequent; but both here and in other sections compounds occur one member of which seems obvious, while the other remains obscure. Some of these are here listed *exempli gratia*:

- a-ke-ra-wo* *Agelāwos* Ἀγέλαος  
*a-ko-ro-qo-ro* *Agroq<sup>u</sup>olos*? (cf. Latin *Agricola*)  
*a-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ro* Ἀμφιάλος  
*a-pi-do-ra* Ἀμφίδωρος (cf. woman's name *a-pi-do-ra*)  
*a-pi-ja-ko-ro-jo* (gen.) *Amphiagros* or *Amphiāgoros*  
*a-pi-ja-re-wo* *Amphiarēwos* Ἀμφιάρῃος  
*a-pi-ra-wo* *Amphilāwos*  
*a-pi-wa-to* *Amphiwastos*?  
*a-ti-pa-mo* *Antiphāmos* Ἀντίφημος  
*a-tu-ko* *Atukhos*?  
*a-u-po-no* *Aupnos*  
*a-wi-to-do-to* *Atwistodotos*?  
*[de]-ke-se-ra-wo* *Dexelāwos* Δεξιλαος  
*e-ke-da-mo* Ἐχέδαμος  
*e-ri-wo-ro* *Eriwēros* (= Hom. ἐριηρος)?  
*e-ti-ra-wo* ?-lāwos (cf. *e-ti-me-de*)  
*e-u-da-mo* Εὐδαμος  
*e-u-ka-ro* *Eukālos* (εὐκηλος)  
*e-u-ko-ro* Εὐκολος, Εὐχορος, Εὐκλος?  
*e-u-na-wo* *Eunāwos* Εὐνης  
*e-u-po-ro* Εὐφορος, Εὐπορος  
*e-u-po-ro-wo* *Euploiwos* Εὐπλοῖος



<i>e-u-tu-da-mo</i>	Εὐρύδαμος
<i>[e-u]-tu-fo-to-re-mo-jo</i> (gen.)	Εὐρυπτόλεμος
<i>e-a-to-ro-qo</i>	<i>Eutroq'os</i> Εὐτροπος
<i>e-u-wa-ko-ro</i>	Εὐάγορος, Εὐαγρος
<i>i-su-ku-wo-do-to</i>	<i>Iskhuodotos?</i>
<i>ma-na-si-wo-ko</i>	<i>Mnāsiwergas</i> Μνησιεργος
<i>ne-wo-ki-to</i>	<i>Newo-?</i>
<i>o-ku-na-wo</i>	<i>Okunāwos</i>
<i>o-pi-ri-mi-ni-jo</i>	<i>Opilimnios</i> (cf. Ἐπιλίμνιος)
<i>o-ti-na-wo</i>	<i>Ortināwos?</i>
<i>pe-ri-to-wo</i>	<i>Perithowos</i> Πειρίθοος
<i>pi-to-wo-ko</i>	<i>Philowergas</i> Φιλοῦργος
<i>po-tu-ka-jo</i>	<i>Polukastos?</i> (cf. Πολυκάστη)
<i>ra-wo-do-ko</i>	<i>Lāwodakos</i> Λαόδοκος
<i>ra-wo-fo-qo</i>	<i>Lāwofog'os?</i> (cf. Δημο-κόπος)
<i>ra-wo-qo-na</i>	<i>Lāwog'honas</i> (cf. Λεωφόντης)
<i>tu-ko-wo-ro</i> (variant <i>tu-ko-u-ro</i> )	<i>Lukoworos</i> (cf. Λουκουρία)
<i>ti-ri-da-ro</i>	<i>Tridālos</i> (cf. Ἀρί-δηλος, etc.)
<i>wa-du-ka-sa-ro</i>	<i>Wādu-?</i>
<i>wa-du-na-ro</i>	<i>Wādu-?</i>
<i>wa-tu-o-ko</i>	<i>Wastuokhos</i> Ἀστύοχος
<i>wi-pi-no-o</i>	<i>Wiphinoos</i> Ἴφίνοος

The following names are identical with or are derived from place-names:

<i>ai-ku-pi-ti-jo</i>	Αἰγύπτιος
<i>ai-ta-jo</i>	<i>Aithaios</i> (Αἰθαια)
<i>i-wa-so</i>	<i>Iwasos</i> (cf. Ἴασον Ἄργος Hom.)
<i>ka-so</i>	Κάσος
<i>ko-ru-da-ro-jo</i> (gen.)	Κορυθαλλός
<i>ku-pi-ri-jo</i>	Κύπριος
<i>ku-ra-no</i>	<i>Kullānos</i> (Κυλλήνη)
<i>ku-ta-i-jo</i>	<i>Kutaios</i> (Κύταιον)
<i>ku-te-ro</i>	<i>Kuthēras</i> (Κυθήρα)
<i>ma-ra-ni-jo</i>	Μαλάνιος
<i>o-ka-ri-jo</i>	<i>Oikhalios</i> (Οἰχαλία Hom.)
<i>pa<sub>2</sub>-me-si-jo</i> (variant <i>pa<sub>2</sub>-mi-si-jo</i> )	<i>Pamisos</i> (Πάμισος)
<i>pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-jo</i>	Φαραίος
<i>po-i-ti-jo</i>	<i>Phoitios</i> (Φοιτία)
<i>ra-pa-sa-ko</i>	Λάμψακος
<i>re-pi-ri-jo</i>	<i>Leprios</i> (Λέπρεον)
<i>re-u-ka-so</i>	<i>Leukasas</i> (Λευκασία)
<i>tu-ki-jo</i>	Λύκιος
<i>tu-na-so</i>	<i>Lutnassos</i> (Λυρνησσός)



*tu-ri-jo* Τύριος?

*tu-ri-si-jo-jo* (gen.) Τυλλισιος

Names attested in Greek, but not otherwise classified: *a-nu-to* ἄνυτος, *ko-do-ro* Κόδρος, *ko-ka-ro* Κώκαλος, *mo-qo-so* = *Moq<sup>a</sup>sos* (Μόψος; cf. Hittite *Mukšas*), *pi-ra-jo* Φιλαῖος, *pi-ri-no* Φιλῖνος, *pu-wi-no* = *Purwīnos* (Πύρρινος), *si-ra-no* Σιλᾶνός, *wi-ri-ja-no* = *Wrianos* (= Ῥιανός?).

(b) -ως, -δος. These are very rare; perhaps genitives *to-ro-o* (Τρώς, Τρωός?), *a-pi-qo-o*.

(c) -ων, -ονος or -ωνος. Most prominent is a class of names in *-a-wo*, though the identification is often uncertain in default of evidence of declension. Among those plausibly identified or certified by inflexion are: *a-ka-wo* (dat. -ne) = *Alkaiwōn*?, *a-mu-ta-wo* (gen. -no) = Ἀμυθάων (Hom.), *a-re-ta-wo* = Ἀρετάων (Hom.), *a-ri-ja-wo* (dat. -ne), *a-ti-ja-wo* = *Antiāwōn* (= Ἀντίων)?, *e-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* (gen. -no, dat. -ne) = *Ekhelāwōn* (cf. Ἐχέλαος), *ma-ka-wo* = Μαχάων, *me-za-wo* (dat. -ni) = *Mezāwōn*?, *a-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo-ni* (dat.) = *Orāwōn*?, *pi-ri-ta-wo-no* (gen.) = *Brithāwōn*?, *pi-ro-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* = *Philorrhāwōn* (cf. Φιλοκρήμων)? The type with genitive -ωνος is represented by the divine name *po-se-da-o* (dat. -ne or -ni) Ποσειδάων; and is to be inferred from identifications such as *de-u-ka-ri-jo* Δευκαλίων.

(d) -ωρ, -ορος. There are two probable uncompound names in this class: *a-ko-to* = Ἀκτωρ, *e-ko-to* = Ἐκτωρ (cf. *e-ko-to-ri-jo*); and a compound of uncertain identity: *e-u-we-to* (gen. -ro) *Euēlōr*?. Apart from these most names belonging to this group are compounds ending in *-a-no* (= -ήνωρ):

*a-ka-sa-no* *Alxānōr* (Naxian Ἀλχσήνωρ)

*a-ta-no* (gen. -ro, dat. -re) = Ἀντήνωρ

*do-ri-ka-no* *Dolikhānōr*?

*e-ka-no* *Ekhānōr* (cf. Ἐχάνδρα)

*me-ta-no* (dat. -re) *Metānōr* (cf. Μετάνειρα)

*ne-ti-ja-no* (dat. -re) *Nestiānōr*?

*o-pe-ra-no* (dat. -re) *Ophelānōr* (cf. Ὀφελανδρος)

*ra-ke-da-no* (dat. -re) ? *-ānōr*

(e) -ων, -οντος. The only proven examples are *i-na-o* (dat. *i-na-o-te*), and *a-pi-(j)o-to* (gen.) perhaps *Amphiontos* (classical Ἀμφίονος).

(f) -οψ, -οπος. The presence of *-o* in the spelling of the nominative is purely formal; cf. the final *-a* of *wa-na-ka* = Φάναξ; *ai-ti-jo-qo* (gen. *ai-ti-jo-qo*, dat. *ai-ti-jo-qe*) = Αἰθίοψ; *po-ki-ro-qo* probably *Poikiloq<sup>a</sup>s*.



NAMES ENDING IN *-u*

These are comparatively rare except for the stems in *-e-u* (see below). It is possible in default of inflexional evidence that some conceal consonantal terminations; e.g. *ko-ku* might be *κόκκυξ* used as a name. Others have a foreign look: e.g. *o-tu* which is perhaps the name \**Ότυς* attested as Paphlagonian. Apparently Greek are: *e-te-wa-tu-o* (gen.) = *Etewastus*?, *o-ku* = *Όkus*?, *re-u-ko-o-pu<sub>2</sub>-ru* (read as *Leuk(r)ophrus* by Palmer), *wa-de-o* (gen.) = *Wādus* (ἡδύς).

There are over 100 names in *-e-u*, corresponding to the archaic Greek type in *-εύς*. Some have clear etymologies (e.g. *do-ro-me-u* = *Dromeus* from *δρόμος*); others, as in the historical names, are apparently foreign. An interesting group is formed by those derived from verbal stems with a *-s-* suffix: *a-re-ke-se-u* (ἄλεκ-), *a-we-ke-se-u* (ἄέξω), *de-ke-se-u* (δέχομαι), *e-ne-ke-se-u* (ἐνεγκ-), *ka-ri-se-u* (χαρίζομαι?), *o-na-se-u* (ὀνίνημι), *pa-ra-ke-se-we* (dat.) (πράσσω), *pi-re-se-[u]* (φιλέω), *qo-wa-ke-se-u* = *G<sup>o</sup>wa-axeus* (ἔγω), *te-se-u* (τίθημι).

A full list of these names in *-e-u* follows:

<i>a-i-ge-u</i>	<i>e-ta-je-u</i>
<i>a-ka-re-u</i>	<i>e-ta-wo-ne-u</i>
<i>a-ke-u</i>	<i>e-te-we</i> (dat.)
<i>a-ki-re-u</i>	<i>e-wi-te-u</i>
<i>a-na-te-u</i>	<i>i-mo-ro-ne-u</i>
<i>a-pa-je-u</i>	<i>i-ne-u</i>
<i>a-pe-te-u</i>	<i>i-te-u</i>
<i>a-re-ke-se-u</i>	<i>ka-e-se-u</i>
<i>a-ri-ke-u</i>	<i>ka-ke-u</i>
<i>a-to-je-u</i>	<i>ka-nu-se-u</i>
<i>a-ta-ma-ne-u</i>	<i>ka-ri-se-u</i>
<i>a-ta-ze-u</i>	<i>ka-te-u</i>
<i>a-to-re-u</i>	<i>ke-me-u</i>
<i>a-wo-ke-se-u</i>	<i>ke-re-te-u</i>
<i>ai-ke-u</i>	<i>ke-re-u</i>
<i>ai-ki-e-we</i> (dat.)	<i>ke-ro-u-te-u</i>
<i>ai-re-u</i>	<i>ki-e-u</i> ( <i>ki-je-u</i> )
<i>da-to-re-u</i>	<i>ko-pe-re-u</i>
<i>de-ke-se-u</i>	<i>ko-te-u</i>
<i>do-ge-u</i>	<i>ku-ke-re-u</i>
<i>do-ro-me-u</i>	<i>ku-ne-u</i>
<i>e-do-mo-ne-u</i>	<i>mā-re-u</i>
<i>e-ne-ke-se-u</i>	<i>me-re-u</i>
<i>e-ni-pa-te-we</i> (dat.)	<i>me-te-we</i> (dat.)
<i>e-o-te-u</i>	<i>me-to-ge-u</i>
<i>e-pe-ke-u</i>	<i>mo-re-u</i>
<i>e-po-me-ne-u</i>	<i>ne-ge-u</i>
<i>e-re-u</i> (?)	<i>no-e-u</i>
<i>e-tu-pa-ke-u</i>	<i>o-ke-te-u</i>



<i>o-ke-u</i>	<i>qe-la-ra-je-u</i>
<i>o-ko-me-ne-u</i>	<i>qe-la-se-u</i> (= <i>qe-te-se-u</i> ?)
<i>o-na-se-u</i>	<i>qo-wa-ke-se-u</i>
<i>o-ne-u</i>	<i>sa-ke-re-u</i>
<i>o-pe-te-re-u</i> ( <i>o-pe-to-re-u</i> )	<i>ta-mi-e-u</i>
<i>pa-da-je-u</i>	<i>ta-re-u</i>
<i>pa-de-we-u</i>	<i>ta-la-ke-u</i>
<i>pa-ra-ke-se-we</i> (dat.)	<i>ta-ti-qo-we-u</i>
<i>pa-sa-re-wo</i> (gen.) (?)	<i>te-pe-u</i>
<i>pe-ke-u</i>	<i>te-pa-se-u</i>
<i>pe-qe-u</i>	<i>te-se-u</i>
<i>pe-ri-te-u</i>	<i>te-te-re-u</i>
<i>pe-te-u</i>	<i>te-te-u</i>
<i>pi-ke-re-u</i>	<i>to-ke-u</i>
<i>pi-re-se-[u?]</i>	<i>tu-ke-ne-u</i>
<i>pi-ta-ke-u</i>	<i>tu-ru-we-u</i>
<i>po-i-te-u</i>	<i>tu-si-je-u</i>
<i>po-ke-we</i> (dat.)	<i>tu-ti-je-u</i>
<i>po-ro-qe-re-je-wo</i> (gen.)	<i>u-re-u</i>
<i>po-ro-u-te-u</i>	<i>wa-di-re-we</i> (dat.?)
<i>po-ru-we-wo</i> (gen.)	<i>we-da-ne-wo</i> (gen.)
<i>po-te-u</i>	<i>we-te-re-u</i>
<i>pu-te-u</i>	<i>wi-ja-te-wo</i> (gen.)
<i>qe-re-me-ne-u</i>	<i>wi-*65-te-u</i>

## 2. WOMEN'S NAMES

In a number of cases it is possible to identify a name as belonging to a woman by the presence of an ideogram or the gender of an attribute. No distinction is possible on grammatical grounds, since the masculine and feminine *a*-stems cannot be distinguished unless the name occurs in the genitive. There are therefore a number of names which are ambiguous; and these are treated as masculine in default of evidence; where there is good reason to suspect they might be feminine this is indicated in the Index.

The great majority of proven women's names end in *-a*. The exceptions are a group of 10 ending in *-i* which presumably correspond to Greek stems in *-is*: *e-pa-sa-na-ti* (variant *i-pa-sa-na-ti*), *ko-pi*, *mu-ti* Μύρτις, *mu-ti-ri* Μυρτιλῆς, *qo-ja-ni*, *sa-mi*, *tu-\*49-mi*, *tu-ri-ja-ti* (cf. Θυρεᾶτις fem. adj.), *tu-ri-ti*, *wa-ra-ti*; six ending in *-o*, presumably Greek *-ῶ*: *ka-na-to-po*, *ku-tu-pa<sub>2</sub>-no*, *ru-ta<sub>2</sub>-no*, *ta-ka-to*, *tu-zo*, *\*18-to-no*; four in *-u* (Greek *-υς*, *-υξ*? perhaps foreign): *a-zu?*, *ke-pu*, *ma-zu?*, *wi-ja-na-tu*; and one in *-e*: *si-nu-ke*.

Other known or recognizable names include: *a-pi-do-ra* = *Amphidora* (cf. Ἀμφίδωρος), *a-ti-ke-ne-ja* = *Antigeneia*, *Arti-?* (for termination cf. *ke-pu-ke-ne-ja*), *ai-wa-ja* = Αἰαῖη, *i-do-me-ne-ja* = *Idomeneia* (cf. Ἰδομενεύς), *ke-ra-me-ja* (fem. of



κεραμεύς), *mu-ka-ra* = Μυκάλη, *pi-ra-ka-ra* = *Philagrā* (cf. Φίλαγρος), *pi-ro-na* = *Philōnā*, *pu-wa* = Πύρρα (cf. *pu-wo*), *si-ma* = Σίμη, *ta-ra-mi-ka* = *Thalamikā*, *-iskā*?, *le-pa<sub>2</sub>-ja* = Θηβαία, *u-wa-mi-jā* = *Huamiā* (cf. town Ὑάμεια in Messenia).

### 3. NAMES RECURRING AT DIFFERENT PLACES

A fair number of the personal names are attested at more than one place. There can be no question, at least as far as Knossos and Pylos are concerned, of these referring to the same persons. It is also probable that different people are intended when the same name recurs in the same place but in a different context; for instance *ti-pa<sub>2</sub>-jo* who is called a shepherd (*po-me*) on PY 128 = Eo278 (Eb01) can hardly be the same man as *ti-pa<sub>2</sub>-jo* who is a smith at *A-ke-re-wa* on 253 = Jn01.

The following lists show all the certain or probable personal names which occur at two or more places; where one source has only a different inflexional form or a variant spelling this is shown in brackets. Names which are certainly feminine are so shown.

#### KNOSSOS AND PYLOS

<i>ai-ko-ta</i>	<i>e-ki-no</i> (PY <i>e-ki-no-jo</i> )
<i>ai-ta-ro-we</i>	<i>e-ta-wo-ne-u</i> (KN <i>e-ta-wo-ne-we</i> )
<i>a-ka-sa-no</i>	<i>e-te-wa</i> (KN <i>e-te-wa-a</i> ?)
<i>a-ka-ta-jo</i>	<i>e-u-ko-me-no</i>
<i>a-ka-wo</i>	<i>e-u-po-ro-wo</i>
<i>a-ke-ra-wo</i>	<i>i-da-i-jo</i>
<i>a-ke-ta</i>	<i>i-ra-tu</i>
<i>a-ki-re-u</i> (PY <i>a-ki-re-we</i> )	<i>i-wa-ka</i>
<i>a-no-ke-we</i>	<i>ka-ro-qo</i>
<i>a-pi-me-de</i>	<i>ka-so</i>
<i>a-pi-qo-ta</i>	<i>ka-ta-no</i>
<i>a-re-ki-si-to</i>	<i>ke-sa-do-ro</i>
<i>a-si-wi-jo</i>	<i>ke-ti-ro</i> (?)
<i>a-ta-no</i> (PY <i>a-ta-no-ro</i> )	<i>ke-to</i>
<i>a-ta-o</i>	<i>ki-je-u</i> (PY <i>ki-e-u</i> )
<i>a-ta-wo</i>	<i>ki-ri-ja-i-jo</i> (KN <i>ki-ra<sub>2</sub>-i-jo</i> )
<i>a-ti-pa-mo</i>	<i>ko-do</i>
<i>a-ti-ro</i> (?)	<i>ko-ma-we</i> (PY KN <i>ko-ma-we-te</i> )
<i>a-tu-ko</i>	<i>ko-pe-re-u</i>
<i>a-*64-jo</i>	<i>ko-ro</i>
<i>de-ki-si-wo</i> (PY <i>de-ki-si-wo-jo</i> )	<i>ko-sa-ma-to</i>
<i>di-wo</i>	<i>ku-ri-sa-to</i>
<i>do-ri-ka-o</i>	<i>ku-ro<sub>2</sub></i> (KN <i>ku-ro<sub>2</sub>-jo</i> )
<i>du-ni-jo</i>	<i>ku-ru-me-no</i>
<i>e-ke-da-mo</i>	<i>ma-ri-ti-wi-jo</i>
<i>e-ke-me-de</i>	<i>me-nu-wo</i>



*me-ta-no* (KN *me-ta-no-re*)  
*me-za-wo* (PY *me-za-wo-ni*)  
*mo-da*  
*mo-go-so* (PY *mo-go-so-jo*)  
*na-e-si-jo*  
*na-pu-ti-jo*  
*o-na-se-u*  
*pa-na-re-jo*  
*pa-pa-ro*  
*pa-ra-ko*  
*pa-wa-wo*  
*pe-po-ro*  
*pe-qe-u*  
*pe-re-wa-la*  
*pe-ri-te-u*  
*pi-ra-me-no*  
*po-ra-ko*  
*po-ro-u-te-u*  
*po-ru-da-si-jo* (?)

*go-te-ro*  
*ra-u-ra-ta* (PY *ra-wa-ra-ta*)  
*re-u-ka-ta*  
*re-wa-jo* (PY *re-wa-o*)  
*ri-so-wa*  
*ri-zo*  
*ru-ro*  
*sa-mu-ta-jo*  
*ta-we-si-jo* (PY *ta-we-si-jo-jo*)  
*te-pa<sub>2</sub>-ja* (fem.)  
*te-u-to*  
*te-wa-jo*  
*ti-pa<sub>2</sub>-jo*  
*wa-na-ta-jo*  
*we-we-si-jo*  
*wo-di-je-ja* (fem.)  
*wo-di-jo*  
*zo-wi-jo*

PYLOS AND MYCENAE

*i-na-o*  
*ka-sa-to*  
*ke-re-no*  
*o-pe-ra-no* (MY *o-pe-ra-no-re*)  
*te-ra-wo* (PY *te-ra-wo-ne*)

KNOSSOS AND MYCENAE

*pe-se-ro* (KN *pe-se-ro-jo*)  
*pu-wo*

KNOSSOS, PYLOS AND MYCENAE

*ka-ri-se-u*

KNOSSOS AND THEBES

*a-nu-to*  
*e-u-da-mo*  
*ta-de-so*

KNOSSOS, PYLOS AND THEBES

*e-wa-ko-ro* (PY *e-u-wa-ko-ro*)

KNOSSOS AND ELEUSIS

*du-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ra-zo* (EL *da-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ra-zo*)

4. HOMERIC PARALLELS

Among the personal names are a fair number which recall names familiar from Homer. The list appended enumerates fifty-eight, which, making due allowance for the spelling conventions and difference of dialect, may be equated with Homeric names. Not all of these may be correctly identified; but at least the majority are likely to be right. And to these may be added a further list of similar but not identical names. The root of the name may be the same but



with a different suffix: e.g. *a-pi-jo-to* (gen.), cf. Ἀμφίων, Ἀμφίονος; *o-wi-ro*, cf. Ὀϊλεύς; *i-ke-ta* = *Hiketās*, cf. Ἰκετάων. There may be a difference of gender: e.g. *i-do-me-ne-ja*, feminine of Ἰδομενεύς (see p. 89). Or the word may occur in Homer, but not as a personal name: e.g. *na-pu-ti-jo* = *Nāputios* (νηπύτιος); *i-wa-so* (also a place-name), cf. Ἴασον Ἀργός (*Od.* xviii, 246).

None of the names can be plausibly identified with any historical character named by Homer; the name of Nestor is absent as well as that of Minos. Kretheus and Amythaon are figures in Pylian history, but the owners of these names on the tablets are hardly of sufficient importance to allow identification, even if the chronology were acceptable. The duplication of names (see p. 102) suggests that there was a comparatively limited range of names in use in Mycenaean times, and when Homer gives the same name to more than one character, his invention is not necessarily to be judged barren. The evidence that famous names such as Hector and Achilles (the latter found at both Knossos and Pylos) might be borne by a number of men—some of humble rank, for the former is *theio doelos*—throws a new light on the attempts at identifying Achaean names in the Hittite documents. Our suggestion (*Evidence*, p. 95) that these names confirmed the view that the myths were already current has been rightly criticized by Banti (1954, p. 310) and others.

It is remarkable that this list includes twenty men who are named by Homer as Trojans or fighting on the Trojan side: Agelaos, Antenor, Arctaeon, Deukalion, Eumedes, Glaukos, Hektor, Ilos, Laodokos, Lykon, Pandaros, Pedaios, Pidasos, Perimos, Phegeus, Phylakos, Pyrasos, Pyris, Tros, Xanthos. Two of these names are also given to Greeks. A discussion of the conclusions to be drawn from this fact lies beyond the scope of this book; but twenty out of fifty-eight is a significant proportion. There is also a group of names which may be termed mythical, i.e. not given to real persons in the story of the poems: Aiaie, Aloeus, Ephialtes, Iphimedeia, Kastor, Tantalos. Two names, if the second is correctly interpreted, are those of Phaiakians: Amphialos, Panteus.

*Names which can be exactly paralleled in Homer*

<i>ai-ku-pi-ti-jo</i>	Αἰγύπτιος	<i>a-ra-re-u</i>	Ἀραρεύς
<i>ai-ti-jo-qa</i>	Αἰθίων (only as ethnic)	<i>a-pi-a-ro</i>	Ἀμφιάλος
<i>ai-to</i>	Αἰθών	<i>a-pi-ja-te-wo</i>	Ἀμφιάραος (Ἀμφιάρηος
<i>ai-wa</i>	Αἰας		Pindar)
<i>ai-wa-ja</i>	Αἰαίη	<i>a-re-ku-tu-tu-wo</i>	Ἀλεκτρυών
<i>a-ke-ra-wo</i>	Ἀγέλαος, Ἀγέλεως	<i>a-re-ta-wo</i>	Ἀρετάων
<i>a-ki-re-u</i>	Ἀχιλλεύς	<i>a-to-je-u</i>	Ἀλκωεύς
<i>a-ko-to</i>	Ἀκτωρ	<i>a-ta-no</i>	Ἀντήνωρ
<i>a-mu-ta-wo</i>	Ἀμυθάων	<i>de-u-ka-ti-jo</i>	Δευκαλίων



<i>e-ko-to</i> Ἔκτωρ	<i>pe-da-i-o</i> Πήδαιος
<i>e-pe-ke-u</i> Ἐπειγέυς	<i>pe-ke-u</i> Φηγεύς
<i>e-pi-ja-ta</i> Ἐφιάλτης	<i>pe-ri-me-de</i> Περιμήδης
<i>e-ta-wo-ne-u</i> Ἐτεωνεύς	<i>pe-ri-mo</i> Πέριμος
<i>e-u-me-de</i> Εὐμήδης	<i>pe-ri-to-wo</i> Πειρίθοος
<i>e-u-na-wo</i> Εὐνης	<i>po-tu-go-ta</i> Πολυφόντης
<i>e-u-ru-go-ta</i> Εὐρυβάτης	<i>po-te-u</i> Ποντεὺς
<i>i-pe-me-de-ja</i> Ἰφιμέδεια	<i>pu-ra-ko</i> Φύλακος
<i>ka-ra-u-ko</i> Γλαῦκος	<i>pu-ra-so</i> Πύρασος
<i>ka-ro-go</i> Χάροπτος, Χάροψ	<i>pu-ri</i> Πύρις
<i>ka-sa-to</i> Ζάνθος	<i>ta-wo-de-ko</i> Λαόδοκος
<i>ka-to</i> (gen. <i>ka-to-ro</i> ) Κάστωρ	<i>te-u-ko-jo</i> (gen.) Λεύκος
<i>ke-re-te-u</i> Κρηθεύς	<i>ru-ki-jo</i> Λύκιος (only as ethnic)
<i>ko-pe-te-u</i> Κοπρεὺς	<i>ru-ko</i> Λύκων
<i>ku-tu-me-no</i> Κλύμενος	<i>ta-ta-ro</i> Τάνταλος
<i>ma-ka-wo</i> Μαχάων	<i>te-se-u</i> Θησεύς
<i>ne-ri-to</i> Νήριτος	<i>to-ro-o</i> (gen.) Τρώς
<i>o-re-ta</i> Ὀρέστης	<i>tu-wo-ta</i> Θυέστης
<i>pa-di-jo</i> Πανδίων	<i>ui-pi-no-o</i> Ἰφίνος
<i>pa-da-ro</i> Πάνδαρος	<i>ui-ro</i> Ἴλος, Ἴρος
<i>pa-da-so</i> Πήδασος	

## 5. THE NAMES GIVEN TO OXEN

Furumark (1954, pp. 28-9) drew attention to a group of Knossos *Ch* tablets on which pairs of animals are given names (see p. 213). The ideogram which Furumark took to be HORSE is now identified as OX (see p. 195), and we have therefore the names given by the Greeks of Mycenaean Crete to several yokes of their oxen. Only horses have names in Homer; but we need not doubt that the Mycenaean ploughman had names for his oxen. Significantly all the names appear to be Greek: *ai-wo-ro* = *Aiwoiōlos* (αἰώλος), *ke-ra-no* (κελαινός), *[ko]-so-u-to* (ξουθός, also as a man's name), *po-da-ko* (Πόδαργος, a name given to two horses in Homer), *to-ma-ko* (στόμαργος), *wo-no-go-so* = *Woinogōs* (οἶνοψ, an epithet of oxen as well as the sea in Homer).



## CHAPTER V

# THE EVIDENCE OF THE TABLETS

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THIS chapter is intended to summarize the information which can be derived both from the circumstances in which the tablets were written and from the subject-matter that decipherment has revealed; and to supplement the picture of Mycenaean life which had been drawn from the purely archaeological evidence (see especially Wace, 1949, pp. 102-18). It inevitably repeats, though in a more synoptic form, many of the observations and conclusions in the commentary to Part II of this book, where the text of the key tablets quoted in evidence will be found.

Even before decipherment, a study of the more pictorial ideograms enabled a summary of the apparent contents of the Knossos tablets to be included in *PM*, iv (pp. 666-872) and *SM II* (pp. 50-62). Following our *JHS* 1953 article, valuable surveys of the picture resulting from the then published Mycenaean tablets were made by Furumark (1954), Carratelli (1954*a*) and others.

Similar summaries, based on more complex but more certainly interpreted material, have been published for the Akkadian tablets from the Hurrian palaces at Nuzi ('Epigraphical evidences of the material culture of the Nuzians', Lacheman, 1939) and at Alalakh (Wiseman, 1953, pp. 1-17). Together with the alphabetic and cuneiform tablets from Ugarit (published piecemeal by Virolleaud in *Syria*, and to be re-edited in the forthcoming definitive volumes on Ugarit), these contemporary records present the most useful and significant analogies with the Mycenaean tablets, and will often be found quoted in our commentary. In spite of some differences in climate and culture, the similarities in the size and organization of the royal palaces and in the purposes for which the tablets were written ensure close parallels, not only in the listed commodities and their amounts, but even on occasion in details of phraseology and layout. Some direct knowledge of each other's scribal methods, through the medium of Mycenaean traders, cannot be entirely ruled out. Some earlier cuneiform sets may also provide useful material for comparison, particularly the Akkadian tablets from Ur of the third dynasty (Legrain, 1947) and of the Old Babylonian period (Figulla & Martin, 1953). Conspicuously absent from the Mycenaean records are the contracts of sale, loan, exchange and marriage



common in the other sets: this may argue a difference either in the judicial function of the king or in the materials on which such things were recorded.

No apology is needed for quoting Homeric parallels to the *linguistic* forms on the Mycenaean tablets: in spite of the relatively late date of our written texts, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* may for the most part be safely taken as our earliest evidence for the classical language, and some of the features of our Mycenaean dialect are preserved by them alone.

But how far may we be justified in quoting from Homer *material* parallels to the subject-matter of our tablets? A full answer would require a discussion of the sources, composition and transmission of the epics for which we have neither space nor qualifications; but the reasonable view exemplified by Lorimer (1950) would impose a considerable degree of restraint. Although the substance of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is derived from a real historical setting in the Mycenaean age by a continuous tradition of retelling, the detail and simile in their final elaboration are for the most part taken from the material culture and institutions of the eighth century B.C.—except where anachronism would clearly offend a generally-remembered tradition (e.g. of bronze weapons, of the absence of Dorians or cavalry, and of the geographical extent of Greek settlement as reflected in the Catalogue of Ships). Some allusions to Mycenaean articles or institutions may be preserved in set phrases which the metre makes difficult to modify; and a very few more detailed memories may have been preserved embedded 'in the amber of traditional poetry', such as the descriptions of the boar's tusk helmet, of the metal inlay on Achilles' shield, and of Nestor's cup (though the last is denied by Furumark).

But even if we can find few specifically Mycenaean things in Homer, there are inevitably broad similarities between the activities of the Greeks for whom our tablets were written and the life which he and his audience, looking at the world around them, thought it reasonable that their ancestors should have led. The fact that this testimony is linked by an identity of climate and geography, and by continuity of history and race, to some extent annuls the priority which the Ugarit, Alalakh and Nuzi evidence might claim on account of its closeness of date.

It is extremely improbable that any distinctive passage of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, in the form in which we now know them, should already have been composed in Mycenaean times: in fact a large proportion of their lines will no longer fit the metre when retrospective allowance has been made for the intervening linguistic changes (though this is no argument against the intrinsic suitability of the hexameter as a vehicle for the earlier dialect). But both epics clearly derive from an earlier and wider repertoire, in which familiar themes were



elaborated by extemporization, plagiarism or deliberate innovation, and with the aid of stock formulae and stereotyped devices for articulating the narrative; and they preserve some evidence of an earlier stage in which the native dialect of the rhapsodes was not Ionic but Aeolic or 'Achaean'. It is reasonable to suppose with Lorimer (1950, pp. 453-8) that similar poems in Greek, and probably in hexameters, were already being recited at Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae. Some of Homer's connective formulae may already have been indispensable in their Mycenaean forms, e.g. \*ὦ φάτο, τῷ δέ . . . or \*τὸν δ' ἀπαμειγ<sup>ω</sup>όμενος ποσὶ φῶ, etc.; we should perhaps not be surprised to find that some repetitive lines already existed in their entirety, let us say:

\*δύσετό κ' ἄφελιος σκιάοντό κ' εἰ πᾶνσαι ἀγυαί.

Resistance to the idea of a developed Mycenaean poetry may well spring from a feeling that a form of Greek of such antiquity would not, like Homer, possess adequate resources of vocabulary compounds, connective particles, syntax patterns and inflexional forms. There is little basis for this prejudice, easy though it is to understand. In the language of everyday life, on which every literary style must ultimately be based, there is no reason to suppose that the men of Pylos and Mycenae were less articulate than their descendants of Socrates' time or our own; and the example of Anglo-Saxon poetry reminds us that the Indo-European languages have, with the passage of time and in areas of higher culture, tended to a progressive simplification of their formal resources rather than to their elaboration.

We tread on more dangerous ground when we speculate with Wace whether such Mycenaean epics may not already have been committed to writing, and have survived part at least of the 'dark age' in a Linear B edition; or with Webster (1955, p. 11) on the possibility that the scribes of the tablets were themselves the *aoidoi* of our period. He draws attention to the dactylic rhythm of the preambles to 41 = AnI 4 and 53 = AnI 2; and finds an echo of the catalogue style of the 'furniture' and 'chariot' tablets (235-246, 265-277) in such passages as *Od.* vi, 69-70:

ἀπήνην  
ὑψηλήν εὐκυκλον, ὑπερτερὴν ἀραρυῖαν,

and *Od.* v, 234-5:

πέλεκυν μέγαν, ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃσι,  
χάλκεον, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀκαχμένον.

Apart from such aberrant examples of literary description, it is difficult to find close parallels in alphabetic Greek to the context and phraseology of the



Mycenaean accounts except in some of the Attic temple inventories and in the papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. But in the effort to form a more precise picture of the transactions and administrative problems which give rise to the different groups of tablets and their formulae, there may well be other sets of records, further removed geographically but still in some respects closer to the tempo of Mycenaean civilization than to that of our own, which we should not neglect in the search for helpful analogies.

## 1. THE EXTENT OF MYCENAEAN LITERACY

Apart from some fifty inscriptions on jars (nearly all from Thebes and Tiryns) and one indistinct wall-graffito at Knossos, since destroyed (*SM I*, p. 51, fig. 27), all the surviving examples of Mycenaean writing are on clay tablets and sealings, and consist exclusively of lists of commodities and personnel. The clay documents were not baked by the scribes, but have been preserved by the fires which destroyed the various buildings in which they were kept. Though it is evident that very many more clay tablets must have been written than have been accidentally preserved, opinion is divided on the possible use of more perishable materials for literary purposes, and on the extent of Mycenaean literacy outside a narrow class of scribes serving the royal palaces. The following points have been cited in favour of an extensive knowledge of writing:

1. The tablets found in the three adjoining houses below the citadel at Mycenae appear to be the records of private citizens, probably merchants (Wace, 1953*b*).

2. 'The inscriptions on stirrup-jars presumably mean that more persons than the upper and middle classes could read and write: it would obviously be no use to inscribe stirrup-jars if only a few persons could read what was written on them' (*ibid.* p. 426).

3. From an analysis of handwriting, perhaps still questionable in some details but unassailable in principle, Bennett has shown that at least six scribes wrote the tablets in the Mycenae 'House of the Oil Merchant'; and that more than thirty were responsible for each of the Pylos and Knossos sets, in some cases a particular scribe being associated with a single kind of record (*MT I*, 1953, p. 438).

4. The shapes of the Linear A and B signs suggest that they were not designed primarily for scratching on clay but for writing in ink on skins or papyrus (compare, too, Pliny's note that the Cretans had originally written on palm-leaves, *NH*, xiii, 69). The use of clay for store-room inventories was probably a protection against mice. Many of the Minoan clay sealings have



the impression of thin strings, perhaps securing papyrus, on one face; and clay sealings from the 1948 excavation at Sklavokampos near Knossos show impressions from identical seal-stones as sealings found at Agia Triada, Gournia and Zakro, proving an exchange of correspondence between these sites (Marinatos, 1951). The same function is assigned by Evans (*SM I*, p. 50) to the very numerous LM II sealings from the 'Room of the Archives' at Knossos (*N* on fig. 13, p. 115).

Linear B is not intrinsically unsuited to a literary use (at least by comparison with some of the contemporary scripts), and it is plausible that letters and merchants' accounts should have been written in it; but there are a number of points in favour of Dow's view of a restricted or 'special' literacy (1954, pp. 108-13, 120-2):

1. There is so far a more or less complete absence of styluses, pens and ink-pots from the archaeological record.

2. The script is never used publicly (like the Egyptian hieroglyphs and most ancient scripts) for descriptive texts to wall paintings or for monumental inscriptions of any kind. The number of inscribed stirrup-jars is very small compared with the vast numbers which have no trace of writing, and which include all those found as exports. Written inventories are a necessary precaution against theft, but poetry, liturgies and laws can be preserved orally.

3. It cannot yet be shown conclusively that the three Mycenae buildings really are the houses of private citizens, rather than appendages of the royal administration like the 'Armoury' and 'Little Palace' at Knossos. The mention of 'seventeen bakers' on 46 = Au102 arouses some suspicion.

4. If the break caused by the 'Dorian invasion' is as gentle as Wace argues, then the art of writing, which then to all intents and purposes disappears, cannot have been at all deeply rooted.

5. The almost identical sign-forms, spelling, phraseology and tablet shape and arrangement shown at Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae (despite considerable differences in date and place) may themselves show that writing was the preserve of specialists trained in a rigidly conservative scribal school.

## 2. BUREAUCRATIC METHODS

Many of the details of this fixed scribal routine have already been discussed by Evans and Bennett. The tablets were made from a plastic grey clay, which now appears dark grey, brown or red according to the temperature and oxygen supply of the fire which baked them; sometimes a body of coarser stuff was surfaced all over with a finer clay, now particularly liable to flake off. The





(a) 82 = Ca895 from the Northern Entrance Passage at Knossos



(b) 31 = Ac04 from the Archive Room at Pylos



(c) 270 = Sd0402 from the 'Arsenal' at Knossos





(a) 140 = Eb35 from Pylos, recording tenure of land by a priestess



(b) 236 = Ta641, found at Pylos in 1952



writing was done from left to right with a *drawing* motion (not jabbing or pressing) with the fine point of a stylus; its passage raises an edge and enables the order of making the strokes in each sign to be determined. The scribe or his assistant shaped the tablets on a flat surface, shortly before use, to the size and proportion to suit the expected length and nature of the record. The variety of sizes shows that a template was not used. The front of the tablet is generally a true flat surface, while the back is more domed and often bears traces of hand- and fingerprints. There are two basic shapes of tablet (see the frontispiece):

1. The more frequent '*palm-leaf*' type, of the approximate proportions of a modern cheque-book, with rounded, pointed or square-cut ends; at Knossos often reinforced by a string down the middle. This was used to record a single transaction, particularly of the kind which was afterwards intended to be re-copied on to a larger summary tablet (e.g. Pylos 132 = Eb818 which reappears as the first line of 131 = Ep01). Many of the '*palm-leaves*' have only a single line of writing. Others, after an introductory proper name in large letters, are divided by a longitudinal cross-line to allow for a more complex entry (e.g. Knossos 66 = Dc1129). A small number of tablets, where a single transaction requires a long description or includes different sub-headings, are divided by one or more horizontal cross-lines from end to end, and the writing is all of the same size (e.g. Pylos 236 = Ta641); these can be regarded as intermediate in shape between the '*palm-leaf*' and the second basic shape:

2. The rectangular '*page*' type, longer than wide and divided over its entire surface by horizontal cross-lines, drawn free-hand approximately 10 mm. apart. This shape was used particularly for long lists of personnel and rations, for transactions involving a number of different commodities, and for summaries of a number of separate '*palm-leaves*'. The second letter of Bennett's prefix (at Pylos and Mycenae only) indicates the shape of the tablet: *a-m* are '*palm-leaves*', *n-z* are '*pages*'.

The writing on the tablets is generally punctuated into a number of sufficiently distinct sections by the commodity ideograms and numbers, which mostly occur at the end of a line; but on the few tablets which have no written ideograms and are written entirely in a continuous '*literary*' form (e.g. 244 = Ta714) there is no indication whatever of commas and full stops. Frequently a secondary annotation immediately before the ideogram is written in smaller script than the rest of the tablet, and this change of letter-size, indicated as / in transcription, can generally be expressed as punctuation in translation. Where the entry is too long for the space allowed by the scribe on a '*palm-leaf*' or between two cross-lines of a '*page*', he continues the text *above* the first part:



consequently the mechanical transcription of a Mycenaean text does not always indicate the correct order of reading (e.g. on the Knossos 'chariot' tablets, see fig. 2).

Between 'paragraphs' and before totals, but not after the frequently introductory sentence of the first line, the text is generally spaced by leaving one line vacant. Where several lines are left vacant (as on 172 = Kn02 or 207 = V 280) some special reason must be sought. The use of *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* . . . (probably 'and in the following way') to introduce a new paragraph is so far confined to Pylos.

Sometimes, as on the Pylos *jn*-tablets (253–257), two paragraphs have been separated before or after writing by cutting the tablet along one of the horizontal cross-lines. On two Mycenae tablets, Oe117 and Oe120, Wace suggests that the top line may have been deliberately broken off when the clay was dry as a kind of counterfoil, but this is uncertain in view of a possible tendency of the tablets to fracture accidentally along the cross-lines.

Where necessary the writing is continued on the back, the tablet being turned over in our own sideways fashion, not top-to-bottom as at Enkomi and in Mesopotamia. The front and back must have been written within a few hours of each other, before the clay became too dry to take writing cleanly: the same applies to erasures, corrections, additions and the use of  $\times$  as an apparent check-mark to additions and subtractions (though on PY Cn04 this is stated to have been scratched on when the clay was dry, like line 8 of An24). Nevertheless, the connexion between the front and back of some tablets is obscure, as for example on Mycenae 234 = Ue611 and particularly Mycenae Oe106, whose reverse has the drawing of a standing man. Wace (1953*b*, p. 425) explains this, perhaps not quite conclusively, as the trial sketch of a fresco-painter; and suggests that not only artists but also architects may have used clay tablets in designing. Knossos 1720 (*SM II*, pl. xviii) certainly looks like a 'seal-engraver's sketch'.

The comparatively rare examples of writing on the *edge* of a tablet were explained by Evans (*SM I*, p. 45) as a ready indication of its contents when 'stacked like books on a modern shelf'. In most cases, however, it contains a total or afterthought which could not be accommodated elsewhere on the tablet, and does not appear to be of any possible help in picking out a particular document from the files.

From the analogy of other contemporary tablets, we may expect that the scribe was called upon both to catalogue commodities and personnel arriving at the palace, and to record those sent out or assigned to particular purposes; and in addition, perhaps, to inventory the state of a particular store-room or



labour group at a given time. In some cases we are helped by an explicit description, as in introductory sentences like 'Olive oil which Kokalos delivered to Eumedes' (Pylos Gn1184), 'Contributions by the wood-cutters to the workshops' (252 = Vn06), 'Contributions of bronze for arrows and spears' (257 = Jn09), 'Oarsmen to go to Pleuron' (53 = An12), or 'Smiths receiving an allocation of bronze' (253 = Jn01). In other cases, where the tablet merely contains lists of proper names and ideograms, it may be a matter of guesswork for us to determine whether the tablet records receipt or dispatch.

Where place-names occur with large amounts of agricultural staples, we may suspect that these represent actual or expected tribute *to* the palace; but when men's names are listed in the dative with small amounts of the same commodities, they are probably the recipients of rations *from* the palace. The lists of chariots, tripods, furniture and garments (see chs. x-xi) can be interpreted in different ways.

On some tablets listing miscellaneous persons and commodities (e.g. 41 = An14, 234 = Ue611) the relationship between the items and the order in which they are presented are now very difficult to explain. With these may be compared such Ugarit tablets as RS 11.799: 'The merchandise to Ybnn: 4200 measures of oil, 600 of perfumed oil, 2 talents of iron, 100 *tešm* trees, 30 *almuggim* trees, 50 talents of reeds, 2 talents of *br*, 2 talents of perfume, 20 olive trees, 40 shekels of oil of myrrh.' Virolleaud comments (1940, p. 274): 'L'ordre suivant lequel sont énumérés ces différents produits paraît assez surprenant, et surtout l'alternance des objets volumineux ou nombreux avec des parfums subtils ne pesant que quelques grammes. S'il apparaît difficile aujourd'hui de se rendre compte de la suite des idées et des faits, quand on est en présence d'un document aussi concret que celui-là, on ne saurait s'étonner d'éprouver tant de peine à relier les unes aux autres les idées ou les images qui se trouvent notées—indiquées plutôt qu'exprimées ou décrites—dans les compositions poétiques de Ras Shamra.' This admission may warn us against the assumption that a Mycenaean literary text, if we were lucky enough to unearth one, might necessarily prove easier to interpret than the present tablets.

Since the palace revenue is presumably derived largely from feudal dues and from foreign conquest, monetary or other media of exchange do not play any significant part in the records. We have not yet been able to identify any payments in silver or gold for services rendered, such as occur at Alalakh (Wiseman, 1953, pp. 101-3); and the Mycenae tablets, if they really are merchants' accounts, do not give any clear indication of the medium of exchange by which business was transacted (see 105 = Ge602).

A few of the tablets are introduced by the formula 'In the month of So-and-



so' (e.g. 200 = Fp1 and 207 = V 280 at Knossos, and perhaps 167 = Es650 and 172 = Kn02 at Pylos): this exceptional dating is probably intended as a check on the fulfilment of a prescribed ritual rather than as a normal aid to the economic administration of the palace. The known Knossos month names, which include one striking correspondence with the classical Arcadian calendar, are listed on p. 304. No other dating, either by month, by year or by eponym, can be discerned: its absence is probably due to the seasonal nature of the tablets, which were pulped at intervals of a year or less (possibly after summarizing on papyrus or some other material). A characteristic feature, recurring on all types of Mycenaean tablet, is the secondary entry introduced by *o* or *o-pe-ro*, representing the amount which is *missing* from the consignment or nominal roll compared with the numbers expected. On the Pylos *Ma*-tablets (e.g. 179) figures are given for the *pe-ru-si-nu-wo o-pe-ro*, 'amount owing last year' or 'from last year', which again suggests the annual nature of the records. There is a reference to *tōto wetos* 'this year' on 43 = Sn01, and to *hateron wetos* 'next year' on 178 = Ma13.

After writing, the tablets were dried (not baked) and then generally filed away in boxes of gypsum or wood, or in wicker baskets, and stacked on shelves in rooms set aside for the purpose. The boxes and baskets were secured with cord and sealed with prismatic lumps of clay impressed with seal-stones and inscribed with personal names or with a reference to the itemized commodities. The name of the responsible scribe, which never seems to occur on the tablets themselves, may sometimes have been recorded here. Similar sealings were used to secure actual stores, like the wooden boxes of arrows found in the Knossos 'Armoury' (*PM*, iv, p. 617, see 264 = Ws1704).

The Knossos tablets were found scattered over a wide area. The main find-spots are indicated on the key plan of the palace (fig. 13) by the letters *A* to *Q*, which will be added to the tablet headings in Part II:

- A.* Clay 'bath' in room near the south-west corner of the Central Court.
- B.* 'Deposit of the chariot tablets', in a closet under the small staircase north-east of the South Propylaea.
- C.* Room of the Column-bases = Lobby of the Stone Seat.
- D.* Magazine of the Vase Tablets, and further side of wall to south.
- E.* Third and fourth West Magazines, and the south end of the Long Corridor.
- F.* Eighth to twelfth Magazines, and the middle of the Long Corridor.
- G.* Fifteenth Magazine, and the north end of the Long Corridor.
- H.* Near the Corridor of the Stone Basin.
- I.* Room of the Saffron-gatherer Fresco.
- J.* Room of the Ceiling Spirals.
- K.* Northern Entrance Passage, adjoining the Bull Relief.



- L. Upper East-west Corridor, in the Domestic Quarter.
- M. Corridor of the Sword Tablets.
- N. From above the Room of the Plaster Couch and the Queen's Bathroom.
- O. West Court, outside the west wall of the Magazines.
- P. Basement of the 'Arsenal' building, north-west of the palace.
- Q. The Little Palace, on the other side of the modern road.
- R. 'Hieroglyphic' deposit under staircase at the north end of the Long Corridor.

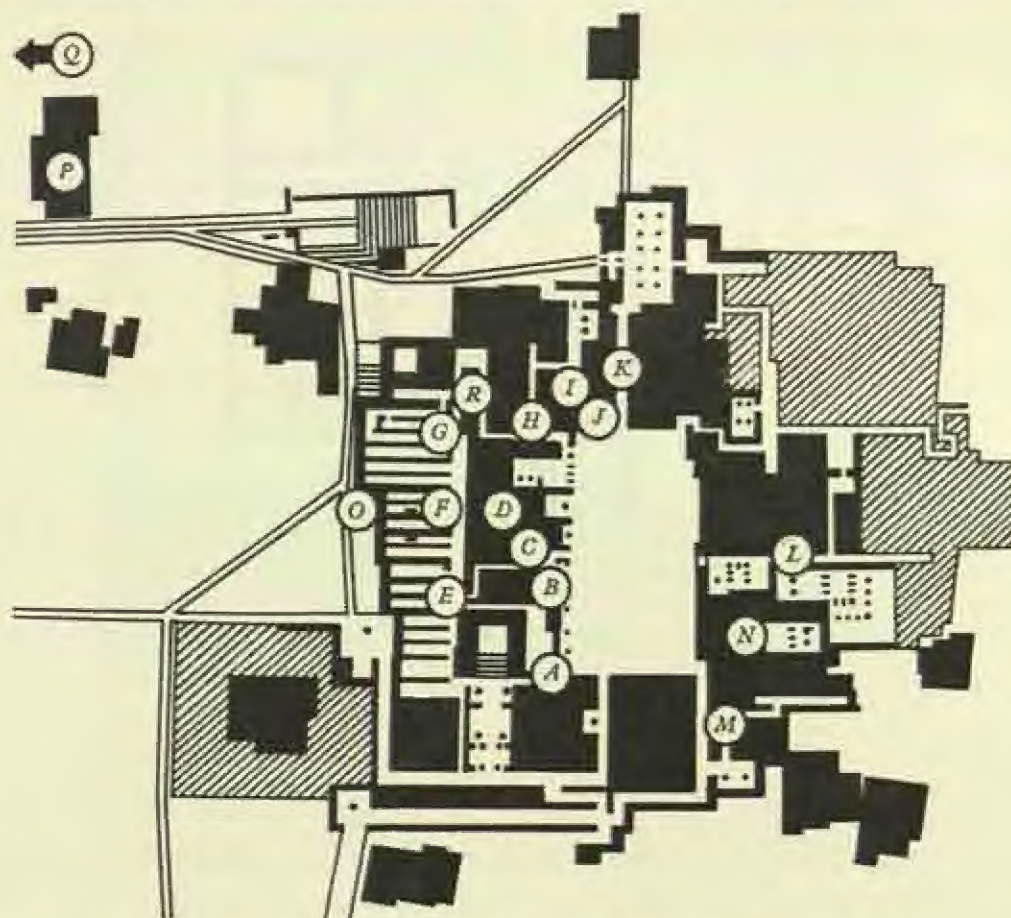


Fig. 13. Diagrammatic plan of the palace at Knossos.

No great reliance should be placed on the detailed attributions: it is clear that Evans' noting of find-spots, never entirely complete or consistent, has become further confused in the editing and printing of *SM II*. For example 231=K 872, which is stated by Evans to be part of the 'Deposit of Vase Tablets' at *D* (*PM*, iv, p. 729), is assigned in *SM II* to *K*. This tablet was believed by Evans to have been specially baked, and was attributed, apparently



from the style of the vessels represented, to the 'earlier stages of the Last Palace Period', or LM Ib. The 'sword' tablets from *M* were first assigned to the LM IIIa period of reoccupation *after* the destruction, from the shape of the weapons (*SM I*, p. 55, corrected in *PM*, iv, p. 854). But Myres is probably right in regarding the tablets as the record of little more than the last year before the destruction.



Fig. 14. Key plan of the palace at Pylos (based on the survey by Theodorakis, 1954).

The only tablets found *in situ* were at *B*, a small ground floor chamber with the appearance of a bureau or office: the rectangular space at the back of which the shelves for the tablets had probably stood was cut off from the entrance by a bench. In all other cases Evans considered that the tablets had fallen into their present positions from an upper storey during the collapse and decay of the palace, as shown by the stratification of the floor structures: this also applies to the tablets found in the bath-shaped receptacle at *A*



(*PM*, iv, p. 668). Considerable lateral drift may also have to be taken into account. Evans suggests that some tablets may even have fallen from a roof-terrace, where they were being dried at the time of the catastrophe (*ibid.* p. 669).

Many of the find-spots show mixed groups of different contexts, but there are consistent series dealing with ritual offerings of oil at *A*, with chariots and horses at *B*, with vases and honey offerings at *D*, with condiments at *E*, with women and children at *F*, with textiles at *F* and *G*, with livestock and wool at *K* and *L*, with swords at *M*, and with chariots, wheels and arrows at *P*. Remains of gypsum chests were found at *D*, *F* and *K*, and of wooden boxes at *A* and *N*.

With few exceptions the Pylos tablets probably represent the contents of the Archive Room at the time of its destruction. This small chamber (*AR* on fig. 14) has a raised bench running round three sides, and was probably linked by a doorway to the main gate of the palace (Blegen, 1955, p. 34). This location, very convenient for the supervision of incoming and outgoing goods and personnel, recalls the introduction to some of the Nuzi tablets: 'Written at the door of the palace gate' (Lacheman, 1939, p. 530). A considerable number of the tablets had found their way from the Archive Room into its annex and other adjoining spaces during the sack and disintegration of the palace and as the result of more recent stone-robbing. Tablets evidently derived from other offices, probably on an upper floor, include 238 = Tn996 (found in Pantry 4 in 1953) and fifteen red pieces recovered in the Megaron in 1952. The tablets found in the three Mycenae houses had all fallen into the basements from an upper floor, possibly two storeys higher (Wace, 1953*b*, p. 423).

### 3. MYCENAEAN ARITHMETIC

It is difficult to gauge the limits of the Mycenaean Greeks' mathematical ability from the tablets, since we do not possess (as we do from Egypt and Babylonia) any texts of a deliberately scientific or didactic nature; but there are no grounds for supposing that they lagged far behind their neighbours in the ability to use reasonably effective techniques of arithmetic and mensuration for the everyday purposes of palace economy, trade and building operations. It is unreasonable of Dow (1954, p. 123) to criticize them for not adopting a duodecimal or sexagesimal system of numeration, which is naturally alien to speakers of an Indo-European language (and to most men with ten fingers and toes): its ponderous, and by no means exclusive, use in Mesopotamia appears to be due to various accidents in the evolution of local weights and measures rather than to any theoretical advantages in operation (Lewy, 1949).



And it is absurd to expect them to anticipate the binary system used in modern electronic calculating machines (Dow, 1954, p. 124). He goes on to say: 'The Minoan system is so cumbrous that multiplication or division in it would be as difficult as in the Roman, or more so. We may reasonably conclude that the Minoans had no "mathematics" much beyond the sort preserved to us.' But it is dangerous to deduce from a certain clumsiness in expressing numbers on paper that more complex mathematical operations were in fact impossible; it is sufficient to recall the very elaborate mathematical reference tables used in Babylonia, with which the inherent difficulties of sexagesimal mental arithmetic were circumvented.

Many of the Mycenaean tablets contain a total derived by simple addition from the separate items of the list, or a subtraction to show the amount 'missing' by comparison with the expected contribution. These operations may be either in units, as in lists of men and women (e.g. 38 = As1516, 39 = As1517), or in weights and measures which, as described on pp. 53-5, are subdivided in heterogeneous ratios like our *£. s. d.* and *tons cwt. lb. oz.* Pylos tablet Jn845, for example, lists eight smiths each of whom receives  $\frac{1}{2}$  of bronze, which is totalled in line 8 as 'so much bronze:  $\frac{1}{2}$  12'. Similar summations of liquid measure are found on 200 = Fp1 and 93 = Fo101, and of dry measure on F 51. That the items and totals sometimes do not agree (as on 255 = Jn658) must be attributed to lapses or uncorrected afterthoughts by the scribe, rather than to any theoretical inability to carry out the operation.

Similar afterthought or incomplete erasure is generally responsible for anomalies in the order of writing the tens and digits; for cases where the tens or digits exceed 9 (e.g. Knossos Gg711 rev.); and for entries where the scribe quotes an excessive number of units of a weight or measure which should properly have been reduced to the higher unit (e.g.  $\frac{1}{2}$  3 on F 452). Bennett (*Index*, p. 117) quotes six examples of 'tallying', i.e. the use of a tablet or part of a tablet for a rough totting-up of units prior to the final writing-in of the total. Pylos Eq03 rev. shows a tallying by groups of 5 digits, eventually reduced to a total of 137. Knossos C 162, which totals sheep and pigs, contains surprising number groups in which hundreds, tens and digits are all in excess of 9, and appears to have been used several times over as rough working in carrying out the addition.

A more advanced calculation is shown by the Pylos *Ma*-tablets (see pp. 289-95), where a number of townships are put down for a contribution of six different commodities, mostly so far unidentified. The scale of the total contribution varies for each town, but the mutual proportions of the six commodities remain constant at 7:7:2:3:1 $\frac{1}{2}$ :150. The variation from the ideal



values seldom exceeds 1.0, and it is generally due to the levelling of resulting fractions: it is clear that the Mycenaean administrator was quite capable of determining the correct answers to such an exercise in proportion. The *Ma*-tablets are of further interest in the operation of addition and subtraction by which the actual amounts delivered of these six commodities are compared with the stipulated contribution. Three other tablets (75 = Cn02, 250 = Vn01 and Vn05) list contributions of a single commodity against nine of the same series of townships, and while not exactly proportional they conform to the same order of size as in the *Ma*-tablets. We may suppose that these townships were arranged, for the purposes of taxation, in a conventional order of size and importance.

A similar parallelism in the relative sizes of the entries, not governed by exact ratios, is shown by the Pylos *Es*-series (see pp. 275-80). The Knossos *Mc*-tablets (see p. 301), of which all but 11 are very fragmentary, contain lists of four commodities, one of which Evans identified as the horns of *agrimi* goats for making composite bows. Their amounts conform, with rather wider variations than on the Pylos *Ma*-tablets, to a ratio of 5:3:2:4.

A large number of the Knossos 'sheep' tablets list flocks whose totals are exactly 50, 100, 150, 200 or 300. These animals are subdivided into various categories, the main distinction being that of sex; where their irregular numbers do not add up to the exact 'hecatomb' total, the appropriate deficit is stated to be 'missing'. A further complication is shown by the Knossos *Dl*-series (73-74), where in addition a quantity of wool is recorded, whose stipulated weight in  $\xi$  units is equal to  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the number of sheep. On the *Dk*-series, however (71-72), which record *RAMS* alone, the proportion of wool is always  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the number of sheep.

The Pylos *Ab*-series of tablets contain a long list of varying groups of women, girls and boys, together with their monthly (?) ration in grain and figs. Their minimum rate seems to be T 2 per woman and T 1 per child (see p. 157), but in most cases their total allocation is in excess of this figure. The lack of an exact and constant proportion is evidently due, not to the mathematical incompetence of the scribe, but to various unknown factors in the ages and circumstances of the different groups.

#### 4. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The frequent qualification of people by occupational names makes it possible to draw some general deductions about the structure of society in a Mycenaean kingdom; further work will no doubt extend and correct the picture offered



here. Most of the evidence comes from Pylos, but many of the important words recur at Knossos, and there is no indication that the social structure was significantly different. The absence of any palace records from Mycenae excludes any deductions about that kingdom, though there seems no reason to assume that Pylos was exceptional. The apparent differences between the Mycenaean and Homeric patterns are explicable in terms of the Homeric question (see p. 107).

A monarchical system of government is proved for both Knossos and Pylos by references to the king (*wanax*); the absence of any further qualification shows that the state knew one king only. The suggestion of Palmer (1954*b*, p. 37) that he was a priest-king is likely enough on archaeological as well as comparative grounds; but that his power was temporal as well as spiritual is guaranteed by the elaborate records of his civil service. A number of tradesmen—a potter, a fuller and an armourer (?)—are referred to as ‘royal’ (*wanakteros*), and the same word in a doubtful context on a jar from Thebes seems at least to prove the existence of another kingdom there. The king is never referred to by name and title at once, though he may be mentioned by name alone: Ekkelawon at Pylos is clearly a man of supreme importance, and the precedence accorded him in 171 = Un718 makes it almost certain that we have here the first contemporarily attested Mycenaean monarch.

The Pylos distribution of *τεμένη* (152 = Er01) ranks next to the king’s the allocation of the *lāwāgetās*. His name is a known Greek compound, surviving in verse in the form *λαγέτας*, though apparently meaning only ‘leader’, ‘prince’, without the technical sense it must bear in Mycenaean. There is no direct clue in the tablets to his peculiar function, but both the etymology and the Teutonic parallels adduced by Palmer (1954*b*, pp. 35–6) suggest that he was the military commander whose duty it was to lead the host in war. If the Germanic parallel were exact (cf. Tacitus, *Germania*, 7), we might expect him to be elected only in time of war; and we may be sure from the military tablets (ch. vi) that Pylos was at this time on a war footing. But he is also found at Knossos, where so far there is no indication of preparations against an attack. Compare §§ 1, 22–4 of the autobiography of the Hittite king Hattusilis III: ‘But when my father Mursilis became a god, my brother Muwatallis seated himself on the throne of his father; and before the face of my brother I became *chief of the armed forces* (EN KI.KAL.BAD).’ Occupational names are also qualified by the adjective *lāwāgesios* (e.g. PY 195 = Na67).

The *temenos* list enumerates next some officials called *te-re-ta*, *τελεσται*, an official title which survived in Elis down to the classical period. They are assigned jointly the same amount of grain (land?) as the king, but it is divided



among three holders, so that the individual holdings are the same as that of the *lāwāgetās*. Palmer (1954*b*, p. 39) equates the *telestai* with the Hittite *LÚ ILKI* 'fief-holders' owing a special duty to the king, and contrasts them with the 'artisans', whom he equates with the Homeric *δημοεργοί*, a word not found yet in the tablets, though *dāmos* is very common. Some sort of feudal system of land tenure is certain (see p. 234); but Palmer's view is open to objection, especially because of the newly published Pylos text 171 = Un718, where the *telestai* seem to be equated with the *dāmos*. Considerable numbers of *telestai* seem to be proved by the instance of 114 = En02, where the district *Pa-ki-ja* alone contains fourteen, and at Knossos by 47 = Am826 where no less than forty-five *telestai* of Aptara are mentioned. It is likely that the verb *te-re-ja-e* (*teleiaen*?) expresses the function of the *telestās*, and since it is replaced in other cases by *wo-ze-e* (*worzeen*) which seems to be the function of the *ka-ma-e-u*, it probably indicates some kind of feudal service.

The *ka-ma-e-u* is plainly the holder of the land called *ka-ma*. The most natural explanation of this is that it is the obsolete noun \*χαμά from which the locative χαμαί was formed, a conclusion supported by a Cretan gloss in Hesychius. Its meaning, however, is more specialized and it denotes a particular kind of feudal holding (see p. 261). The men distinguished by this title seem to be of humble status; they include a baker (?) and a 'slave of the god'.

A more important title is the *e-ge-ta*, *heq<sup>u</sup>etās* = ἐπέτης. It is a rare word in classical Greek and seems to mean no more than 'companion, follower'. But Palmer (1954*b*, p. 51) is probably right in seeing in this word the equivalent of the Homeric *ἑταῖρος*, and understanding it to mean 'companion of the king' like the late Latin *comes* and similar words in Celtic and Germanic. The proof of their position emerges from the military tablets, where they are regularly dignified by a patronymic, a rare distinction elsewhere. They seem to be attached to bodies of troops in the capacity of staff officers; possibly as liaison officers representing the central authority, the command being in the hands of the local lords. On the other hand they are occasionally mentioned in contexts relating to land tenure (e.g. PY 55 = An724, and 142 = Eb32 where one (or more) is coupled with the priestess, the key-bearers and a man called *We-te-re-u*). They may have slaves (p. 258), and they have a distinctive kind of garment (p. 317).

In addition to these we find also a number of officials who appear to be confined to outlying regions. We do not find them associated with Pylos or Knossos, but with subordinate towns. The title *pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-u* is clearly to be connected with the Homeric βασιλεύς, who is not a king, but a kind of feudal lord,



master of his own territory but owing allegiance to the king. Carratelli (1954, p. 217) disagrees with this view (also expressed by Furumark, 1954, p. 19) and would see in these βασιλεις religious functionaries like the φυλοβασιλεις. But their association with the outlying towns is significant. They have a *pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja*, probably 'retinue', less likely 'palace', and in KN 38 = As1516 it is noteworthy that this term follows the place-name *Se-to-i-ja* and another name (*Phaistos?*) lost in a lacuna, while the first section contains the heading *Knōsiā lāwāge(s)ā*, implying a parallel between the *lāwāgetās* at Knossos and the *basileus* elsewhere.

The *ke-ro-si-ja*, *geronsia* = γερονσία is perhaps the council of a *basileus* since on PY 40 = An22 this word is associated with a man who is elsewhere called *pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-u*. It is less certain whether the erased *ke-ro-te* in KN B 800 is *gerontes*, and if so whether it should be connected as proposed by Carratelli (1954, p. 217).

Another title which seems likewise to be provincial is *mo-ro-pa<sub>2</sub>*, probably to be interpreted *moroppās* (Palmer: μοιρόπᾱς) 'possessor of a portion, shareholder'. His importance is vouched for by the fact that Klumenos who is *moroppās* in PY 43 = Sn01 is on 58 = An654 commander of a regiment. Their regional location is to be inferred from a variety of indications: their presence in the tribute list 258 = Kn01; the fact that *Ka-do-wo moroppas* of 43 = Sn01 is elsewhere associated with the place-name *Ma-ro*; the entry on the same tablet which shows that Klumenos was *ko-re-te* of the place *I-te-re-wa*.

Finally we hear of a local official called the *ko-re-te*, who seems to be a kind of mayor (Furumark: Dorfschulze). The word is an agent noun in *-lēr*, not yet satisfactorily interpreted, but his status emerges clearly enough from PY 257 = Jn09, where we have sixteen places named and contributions of bronze from the *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te* of each. The prefix *pro-* must mean in this case 'vice-' or 'sub-', a sense not preserved in any classical compound. The heading to this tablet enumerates not only these two, but also a variety of other titles which are not mentioned again below. Is the explanation that the heading gives all the possible alternative titles which are equivalent to the two general terms *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te*? Against this it may be argued that the *klawiphoroi* are elsewhere feminine, though it is less likely that the same is true of *du-ma-te*. The *da-mo-ko-ro* who is mentioned a few times may perhaps be another title or another local official appointed by the king. There are occasional references to *ki-ti-ta* 'settlers' and *me-ta-ki-ti-ta* 'colonists (?)', but it would not seem safe to draw any conclusions from these words yet.

Of the humbler members of the population we can say less. The variety of trades followed shows a highly developed division of labour, but it is not clear



how far the craftsmen were royal servants, or even slaves, or what other status they enjoyed. There is one very obvious omission from the list of trades, the absence of any word implying that the raising of crops was a specific occupation. On the contrary land tenure documents mention craftsmen such as fullers and agricultural workers such as shepherds. This suggests that everyone in addition to his special occupation also farmed a portion of land.

Among the occupational names there are many still not satisfactorily interpreted, and in some other cases the precise significance of the word is lost; etymology is often a poor guide to meaning. Thus the list of trades must be regarded as incomplete. For an explanation of the words quoted here see the Vocabulary.

Among the public servants we hear of a messenger and a herald (*a-ke-ro*, *ka-ru-ke*); but the name of the scribe still eludes us. The agricultural workers named include shepherds (*po-me*), goat-herds (*ai-ki-pa-ta*), huntsmen (*ku-na-ke-ta-i*), and wood-cutters (*du-ru-to-mo*). The building trades are represented by masons (*to-ko-do-mo*) and carpenters (*te-ko-to*); ship construction is a separate trade (*na-u-do-mo*). Metal-workers include bronzesmiths (*ka-ke-u*) and cutlers (? , *pi-ri-je-te*), and other manufacturers are bow-makers (*to-ko-so-wo-ko*), chair(?) -makers (*to-ro-no-wo-ko*) and potters (*ke-ra-me-we*). The making of cloth was a women's occupation; we hear of carders, spinners and weavers (*pe-ki-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>*, *a-ra-ka-te-ja*, *i-te-ja-o*), and there are separate designations for flax-workers (*ri-ne-ja*), and perhaps for the makers of some of the other special kinds of garment (*a-pu-ko-wo-ko*, *e-ne-re-ja*, *o-nu-ke-ja*). The fulling of cloth was a man's trade (*ka-na-pe-u*) and the king had his own fuller. The making of garments was shared by men and women (*ra-pte*, *ra-pi-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>*). Luxury trades are attested by unguent-boilers (*a-re-pa-zo-o*) and goldsmiths (*ku-ru-so-wo-ko*). We have one reference to a physician (*i-ja-te*). The grinding and measuring out of grain were done by women (*me-re-ti-ri-ja*, *si-to-ko-wo*), but the making of bread by men (*a-to-po-qo*); Blegen (1950) seems unjustified in his assumption that the Mycenaean figurine of a bread-maker is female. More menial occupations seem to be indicated by stokers (*pu-ka-wo*), ox-drivers (? , *ze-u-ke-u-si*) and, among the women, bath-attendants (*re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo*) and serving women (*a-pi-qo-ro*).

The existence of slavery in some form is certain. Some slaves (*do-e-ro*, *do-e-ra*) are plainly stated to be the property of individuals: e.g. the women of *Amphiq<sup>h</sup>hoitās* (KN 20 = Ak824), or those belonging to the smiths and following their masters' trade (PY 253 = Jn01). The slave of *We-da-ne-u* is even in the position of having to contribute to his master's revenue and is not distinguished in his treatment from the rest of the group who appear to be free men (see



p. 276). The Pylos tablet 28 = An42 suggests that a single slave parent of either sex made the child a slave, contrary to the rule of classical Greece; but this deduction is not inevitable. The Pylos tablets of the classes *Aa* and *Ab* (see p. 155) imply that the labour force was recruited by raids in which captive women and children were brought home and taught trades, and this conclusion seems to be confirmed by the word 'captives' (*ra-wi-ja-ja*) applied to some of these women: others are referred to by ethnic adjectives. The *Ad* series suggests that the children of slaves were an important element in the manpower available. On the other hand there is some evidence that women of this class also worked for wages (*e-ke-ro-qo-no*); but possibly these were not wage-earners on their own account, but were hired out to augment the palace revenues.

But by far the greater number of slaves named at Pylos are 'slaves of the god (or goddess)'. Two explanations of this phrase are possible: we may either suppose that a number of slaves became the property of a deity instead of a man, or that the title really conceals some quite different status from that of ordinary slaves. In the former case we need not think exclusively of the *ἱερόδουλοι* or temple-slaves of later times; dedication to a deity could be a method of holding public property, as we see to be the case with the lands of Dionysus and Athena recorded in the famous tables of Heraclea. The other alternative is made attractive by the fact that slaves of the god have leases of land and seem in fact to live on much the same terms as free men. The translation 'slave' is probably here leading us to a false conception of social status, and it might be preferable to adopt feudal terminology, such as 'serf' or 'villein'. The parallel of Near Eastern societies in which similar titles are actually honorific probably does not hold good for Mycenaean Greece; for there are a few isolated cases in which the slave of a man seems to enjoy the same status as a slave of the god; and the slaves of the priestess raise an awkward point in social precedence.

At Knossos we learn almost nothing of the military organization apart from the existence of the *lāwāgetās*; but at Pylos preparations were being made against an attack, and a series of tablets are concerned with naval and military matters (see pp. 183-94). From these it appears that the command of the bodies of men detailed to watch the coast was in the hands of local lords, each of whom was assisted by a small group of officers; while each sector had allocated as well a *heqetās*, who may have been a liaison officer representing the king. The details of the troops are obscure, since the words applied to them, *ke-ki-de* and *ku-re-we*, are not satisfactorily explained; Palmer (1954*b*, p. 52 n. 4) suggests that the latter word means elsewhere 'men-at-arms', but insists that



it is here a place-name. Other groups of men are merely referred to by ethnic adjectives. The total number of troops recorded on the surviving tablets of the military series is 740.

Rowers to man warships seem to have been drawn as necessary from the coastal towns; it is probable that they were conscripts rather than professionals, at least if our interpretation of 55 = An724 is correct. Rowers are also mentioned as the fathers of the sons of some slave women at Pylos (15 = Ad684). At Knossos rowers surprisingly figure in a list of local officials who are supplying or receiving cattle (83 = Ch902).

### 5. MYCENAEAN RELIGION

The evidence of the tablets for the religious practices and beliefs of the Mycenaean Greeks has naturally aroused much interest; the principal religious texts have been discussed by almost all writers, and Carratelli (1955*a*) has devoted a special article to this subject. It has also been discussed at the London Seminar, and Palmer has made many interesting suggestions in addition to those in his published articles. While much is still in dispute or obscure, this section can lay no claim to finality; it may be useful, however, to collect together the scattered evidence for further study.

The gods are mentioned on the tablets only in one capacity: as the recipients of various offerings. If we could be sure that the presence of one divine name in such a list guaranteed the divinity of the remainder, it would be easy to list the Mycenaean pantheon. But it is quite clear that the offering lists may contain—for what reason we can only guess—human beings as well; the clearest case is that of the Pylos *Es* tablets (see p. 279); and since the 'priestess of the winds' figures frequently at Knossos, some of the other entries too may be the names or titles of human representatives of a deity.

ZEUS is clearly intended in PY 172 = Kn02, where we have the dative *di-we* = *Diwei*, and (if the amended reading is accepted) the genitive in the next line: *Drimiōi Diwos hie(rē)wei*. The word *di-u-jo* = *Diwo-* on the same tablet is plainly a derivative, though its gender and case can only be guessed (= the shrine of Zeus?). *di-u-ja* in the same text must therefore be the feminine, and this is proved to be the name of a goddess by the fact that she receives the offering of a gold cup and a woman. *di-wi-ja* in PY 28 = An42 is probably a variant spelling (*Diwoja/Diwoia*, cf. *me-u-jo/me-wi-jo*) of the genitive (*Diwias doela*); also without context on KN X 97. Cf. the goddess Διῖα in a Pamphylian inscription (Schwyzer, *Dial.* 686, 1), said to be the Magna Mater. One fact is clear, that this female counterpart to Zeus is not to be identified with Hera,



who is mentioned on the same tablet and paired with Zeus in a quite classical manner. *di-we* is also found in obscure contexts (with offerings of barley?) on KN F 51 rev. and PY 44 = An29 rev.; *di-wo* on KN E 842 may be a divine name as the text includes the word *te-o-i*, but on Dx1503 it is a man's name in the nominative. The month name *Diwioio* (gen.) occurs once (KN Fp5).

HERA is coupled with Zeus on PY 172 = Kn02. The spelling *e-ra* refutes the suspicious etymology from \*Hpfā (see p. 289). Her name is perhaps to be restored also in PY Un11. 8. The same spelling at Knossos is undoubtedly a place-name, the adjective from which is *e-ra-jo*, *-ja*, except perhaps 29 = As821.

POSEIDON is securely attested at both Knossos and Pylos. The spelling is consistently *po-se-da-o-*, thus proving that the Corinthian forms in -δαῖων are secondary (Chadwick, 1954*b*, p. 7). He is the recipient of *dosmoi* in the Pylos *Es* tablets (p. 279) and of a wide range of offerings on 171 = Un718. As in classical Greek, derivatives show *i* for *ei* in the second syllable: *po-si-da-i-jo* (PY 172 = Kn02+) is *Posidāion* 'the shrine (or the like) of Poseidon'; *po-si-da-i-je-u-si* (PY Fn01) = *Posidāleusi* appears to be a dative plural, but its meaning is uncertain; and *po-si-da-e-ja* (172 = Kn02) is another female counterpart, as *Diwia* is to Zeus. There is also a divinity called *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* (dat.; KN M 719, to be restored on 204 = Gg704, Gg707), probably = *Ennesidaōnei*; cf. the names of Poseidon Ἐννοσίδωρ, Ἐννοσίγαιος, etc. (see p. 309).

ARES is not clearly named. The word *a-re* appears without context on a Knossos fragment (X 5816). *A-re-jo* KN Vc208, *A-re-i-jo* KN 213 = L 641, and *A-re-me-ne* Thebes iii are all proper names which may be derived, though the Aeolic forms of Ἄρης (\*Ἀρεϋς, Ἀρεΐος) make this questionable. On *a-re-ja*, apparently an epithet of Hermes, see p. 288. The name *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* = Ἐνυάλιος figures in the list of gods KN 208 = V 52; whether on PY 55 = An724 the spelling *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* is the divine name is controversial.

APOLLŌ does not appear, but we have *pa-ja-wo-* = Παῖαφωv- (Homeric Παῖήων), KN 208 = V 52. *pa-ja-ni-jo* KN Fp354, read by Furumark as *Paianiōi* (perhaps a month name?), is probably not connected, as the contraction of *-āwōn-* to *-ān-* cannot be Mycenaean.

HERMES has the form *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>* (dat.) = *Hermāi* PY 172 = Kn02, Un11. On the form and etymology see p. 288.

ATHENA is clearly named once: *a-ta-na po-ti-ni-ja* (apparently without a divider) = *Athanāi Potniāi* KN 208 = V 52. Ventris also proposes to restore her name [*a*]-*ta-na* in MY X 1. It seems clear that at Knossos πότνια is used as the epithet of Athena, exactly as in the Homeric πότνι' Ἀθηναίῃ. But in other tablets from both Knossos and Pylos *Potnia* appears as a divine name standing by itself (e.g. KN 205 = Gg702, M 729, PY Fn01, 172 = Kn02, Vn07).



No evidence which would identify this deity has so far appeared, and thus none of the guesses can be tested; she seems to be of some importance, but is not necessarily the protectress of Pylos. There is also a derived adjective with the surprising form *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, as if formed from Ποτινιεύς; cf. the adjective *wa-na-se-wi-ja* which stands in a similar relation to φάνασσα. This epithet appears chiefly on sheep tablets at Knossos; at Pylos it designates groups of smiths and is occasionally used of individuals; it may of course have no religious associations here.

ARTEMIS is the owner of the slave *Ai-ki-wa-ro* on PY 167 = Es650. Her name has the East Greek form *a-te-mi-to Artemitos*, with declension in τ not δ. PY Un11 lists along with other divine names *a-ti-mi-te* which may be the dative *Artimitei* with *i* for *ε*. There is no evidence yet to support the suggestion that Artemis is the goddess meant in the common formula *theoiō doelos*.

DIONYSUS is a surprising name to find, and there is no evidence to prove that it is divine. It occurs only once in the genitive case on a Pylos fragment Xa06: *di-wo-nu-so-jo* [.

HEPHAESTUS is not directly mentioned, but may be assumed if the man's name *a-pa-i-ti-jo* (KN L 588) is correctly interpreted as *Hāphaistios* or *Hāphaistiōn*.

Of the minor deities known from Greek sources, EILEITHYIA is known at Knossos in the spelling *e-re-u-ti-ja* Ἐλευθία (recorded at Messene and elsewhere). KN 206 = Gg705 shows her as the recipient of a jar of honey at Amnisos, which recalls at once the famous cave mentioned in the *Odyssey* and by Strabo (see p. 310). She also seems to receive wool (KN Od714, Od715). ERINYS has been proposed by Furumark as the interpretation of *e-ri-nu* (apparently dative) in the offering list KN 200 = Fp1 (cf. Fs390). DEMETER may be the right interpretation of *da-ma-te* PY 114 = En02, but in use at least this is not a divine name; see the discussion on p. 242. A cult of the WINDS is attested by the Knossos offerings to *Anemōn hiereiāi*, the priestess of the Winds. A DOVE-GODDESS *pe-re.\*82* = *Peleia* (Palmer) seems likely on PY 172 = Kn02; the name recurs on a new tablet found in 1954 (Un1189), with offerings of cows, sheep and pigs (cf. *suouetaurilia*).

Dedications to ALL THE GODS (*pansi theoi'i*) are a frequent feature of the Knossos offering lists, but do not appear at Pylos. This may suggest that it is a particularly Minoan feature which though adopted by the Greek rulers of Crete did not spread to the mainland; but arguments from silence can hardly be admitted until we have more material. Although not unknown in classical Greece, such dedications are commonest in Hellenistic times. It has been suggested that it implies a connexion with the Vedic hymns to the *Viśve Devāḥ*



(All-gods); but these are said to be a later accretion to the Veda, not an original inheritance.

A number of other deities or sacred places emerge from tablets such as KN 200 = Fp1 and PY 172 = Kn02, where a fuller discussion will be found. The Daidaleion seems an appropriate name for a shrine at Knossos. At Pylos we find Iphimedeia, a semi-mythical figure in Homer, apparently receiving divine honours. The identity of the other deities is unknown or conjectural.

The offerings recorded at Knossos differ from those at Pylos in that livestock are rarely mentioned. None of the tablets dealing with livestock can be proved to have any religious significance, though this is not always impossible; Sundwall's theory of hecatombs must be abandoned (see p. 198). KN Fh347 is exceptional in showing both oil and cattle; but its religious context is not certain as it contains no demonstrably divine name. The usual offerings are grain (both wheat and barley) and flour, oil, wine, figs and honey; occasionally wool (e.g. G 866), and some of the vessels recorded in the K series may be intended as offerings though not so specified. At Pylos we have records of quantities of wheat contributed annually to Poseidon; these are presumably payments in kind for the upkeep of his shrine and ceremonial. A number of texts list miscellaneous commodities (*Un* series), but not all of these are offerings; the only one clearly identifiable as such is 171 = Un718. Here the contributions promised to Poseidon take the form of one ox, two rams; a considerable amount of wheat, flour and wine; some cheeses, honey, two sheepskins and a quantity of unguent. This may be provision for a sacrificial meal. 172 = Kn02 records offerings of gold vessels and human beings; what becomes of the latter is not clear, but they are more likely to be cup-bearers than victims for sacrifice. Some of the spice tablets at both Knossos and Pylos may be religious in motive.

Whatever the religious functions of the king may have been, he was assisted by a considerable priesthood. A priest called *Wé-te-re-u* figures prominently on the land tenure documents at Pylos, and two more are mentioned on 44 = An29. There is a priestess of the Winds at Knossos (see above). At Pylos we have frequent references to 'the priestess' without further qualification, just as we have one deity referred to as *theos* without a name. This can only refer to the principal deity of the town, who is therefore presumably female. There is also a priestess at *Pa-ki-ja-*, who may be in the service of Potnia. We have one reference to a *hieroworgos*; how this title is distinguished from *hierous* is not clear. The *klawiphoroi* or 'key-bearers' appear in company with the priestess and are female; the title (in various forms) is well known in antiquity. The male occupational name *da-ko-ro* seems to be the same word as *ζακάρος*,



but there is no proof that 'temple attendant' is here the right sense, and the etymological sense of 'floor-sweeper' is more probable. Other titles may well be religious, such as the women called *ki-ri-te-wi-ja*; but we can at present say nothing about their status or function.

## 6. AGRICULTURE AND LAND TENURE

The surviving tablets probably would not give anything like a complete picture of the domesticated and wild animals and plants which were important in the Mycenaean economy, even if their interpretation was certain. Many of the provisions are recorded by conventional symbols, rather than by recognizable pictures or by words spelt out in Greek. We can generally tell whether these provisions are counted in units, or measured by dry bulk or liquid volume, or weighed; but for a closer guess we must take into account the animal and plant remains which occur archaeologically at Minoan and Mycenaean sites, or which are represented in the art of the period. We may also use, more cautiously, the lists of foodstuffs found on the cuneiform tablets and mentioned in later Greek literature.

A full survey of the archaeological remains was made in Vickery's *Food in Early Greece* (1936), and this can be amplified by more recent finds. In the following list the asterisked items (\*) have been found both at important Cretan sites (in Middle and Late Minoan) and at the chief Mycenaean centres of the Mainland; the rest are so far restricted to finds from one or other group.

*Cereals*: \*wheat, \*barley. These were certainly the most important Aegean grains: emmer wheat and barley appear predominantly on the cuneiform tablets, and are the only cereals listed in the Hittite laws. A single oat grain was found at Orchomenos; the supposed rye on Thera is very doubtful. Millet was restricted to Macedonia by Vickery, though Evans claims a find at Knossos (*PM*, iv, pp. 622, 630).

*Leguminous plants*: \*broad beans (*Vicia faba*), \*peas (*Pisum sativum*), \*chick peas (*Cicer arietinum*), \*grass peas (*Lathyrus sativus*), \*bitter vetches (*Ercum ervilia*), \*lentils (*Lens esculenta*). The same leguminous plants are found in contemporary cuneiform records, where they are often milled and used in bread-making, or else eaten as a kind of porridge (as in classical Greece).

*Seasonings*: aniseed (*Pimpinella anisum*, Thera), coriander (*Coriandrum sativum*, Thera); the latter is also common in cuneiform records.

*Fruits*: \*olives and \*olive oil, \*grapes; dried figs (Phaistos), almonds (Phaistos); pears (only Sesklo and Dimini, Early Helladic).

*Animals*: \*ox (mostly *Bos brachyceros*, also *Bos primigenius* and some hybrids), \*sheep (*Ovis aries palustris*), \*goat (*Capra hircus*), agrimi goat (*Capra aegagrus creticus*, Tylissos),



\*pig (*Sus domesticus indicus*), wild boar (*Sus scrofa ferus*, Tyliossos), ass (Tyliossos), horse (Tyliossos, LM I), dog (Tyliossos). Remains of cheese were found on Thera.  
*Sea food*: \*shell-fish; fish-bones, oysters and mussels (Mycenae).

The shapes and meanings of the Mycenaean commodity ideograms will be discussed in greater detail in the appropriate chapters of Part II. The following summary is intended to show the extent to which the tablets conform to the archaeological picture, and to correct a few misleading identifications made in the surveys of the Knossos economy by Evans and Myres (*PM*, iv; *SM II*, pp. 59-61).

The conventionalized symbols  $\ddagger$  and  $\S$  represent the two main cereals. They form the first and more important component in rations, and are only once issued together (PY An31).  $\ddagger$  is the more frequent, and is alone used in calculating the acreages of fields. We have taken  $\ddagger$  to be wheat, and  $\S$  to represent barley (the latter already suggested by Evans, *PM*, iv, p. 625); but it is conceivable that these identifications should be reversed.

The absence of recognizable bread-ovens from Mycenaean sites has led to some doubt whether bread was baked (as it certainly was by the Hittites and Semites), but this is resolved by the mention of the trade *arfo-pog<sup>oi</sup>* 'bakers' (cf.  $\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\iota$  in the *Odyssey*). *Meleuron* 'flour' was also issued as rations and for cult offerings (171 = Un718).

Sundwall's identification of  $\ddagger$  as 'poppy-seed' is very improbable, especially in view of the large quantities involved. Of the two other supposed cereals listed by Myres (*SM II*, p. 32),  $\S$  is a liquid measure, and  $\P$  ('millet or beer') is proved by Pylos Gn1184 to represent *e-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* = *elaiwon* 'olive oil', as already suggested by Furumark (1954, p. 116) and Bennett (*MT I*, p. 448).

Olive oil is also very common both as a ration (e.g. MY 93 = Fo101) and as a cult offering (KN 200 = Fp1, etc.). The fruit of the olive seems to be represented by  $\Psi$ , Pylos  $\Psi$  (if the reading *e-ra-wa* in the last line of KN 94 = F 841 is in fact intended as a description of it). The ideogram cannot be saffron, as Evans thought (*PM*, iv, p. 718); but that plant may be represented by  $\Upsilon$ , of which very small quantities, measured by weight in the units used for gold, are found at Knossos on Np267, etc. Issues of fruit generally accompany wheat or barley rations; equal to or smaller than the latter in the case of figs (9 = Ab27, etc.), larger in the case of olives (Fn06). No other ideograms for fruit can yet be identified, but apples, pears and pomegranates were presumably cultivated in addition to the authenticated grapes and almonds.

The ideogram  $\bar{\Pi}$  (171 = Un718, etc., and cf. the Linear A version, p. 35) has plausibly been identified by Sundwall as wine, the existence of which is confirmed by the ox name *Wo-no-qo-so* = *Oίνοψ* (Knossos Ch897, Ch1015),



paralleled by the Homeric βόε οἶνον. Evans (*PM*, I, p. 415) argued that beer was the main Minoan drink, but not only is there a lack of characteristic beer-straining vessels (such as were used for instance by the Philistines) but any memory of beer is totally absent from Homer. Though beer was commoner than grape-wine or date-wine in Mesopotamia, wine was the usual drink among the Hittites.

No signs for the leguminous plants can yet be identified; but Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae share a considerable list of condiments, of which coriander is the most frequent and which also mentions by name celery, cumin, cyperus, fennel, mint, pennyroyal, safflower (both flowers and seeds) and sesame (see pp. 221-31). Several of these have Semitic names and were probably derived from Syria, though they may have begun to be cultivated in Greece in Mycenaean times. Honey occurs in a number of ritual offerings (KN 206 = Gg705, PY 171 = Un718). Salt, included in some of the cuneiform ration lists, has not yet been identified. Flax was apparently grown locally (184 = Nn01, etc.) and used for linen garments, and presumably also for making sails, thread, string and nets (cf. Homeric λίνον). Beetroots are apparently indicated by the title *teutl-agoros* (? 120 = Eo03), which may imply that they grew wild along the coastal areas. We might also expect to find cucumbers, onions, garlic, leeks and other vegetables included in the Mycenaean diet.

Seven kinds of livestock occur on the tablets, in the following descending order of numbers: sheep, goat, pig (*su-*), ox (*g<sup>ou</sup>-*), horse (*hiqq<sup>os</sup>*), ass (*onos*) and deer (*eloph-*?); specific reference to asses has been provided by Chadwick's 1955 join to 82 = Ca895, where their ideograms are virtually indistinguishable from those of the horses. The livestock ideograms are differentiated in a number of ways (see p. 196), but of these distinctions only that between males and females, also regularly shown in cuneiform lists, is certain; and it is not clear whether different breeds are represented (on a possible sign for the wild goat, see p. 302). Evans, Myres and Furumark wrongly identified the 'ox' sign (no. 109) as a horse, and the 'goat' (no. 107) as an ox.

Numerous flocks of sheep and goats (perhaps belonging to the king) are recorded as pasturing on the lands of neighbouring towns under their shepherds, each of whom is responsible to one of a small group of overseers who *agerei*, 'collects', the specified quotas of animals and wool (63 = Cc660). The wool, whose consignments are measured by weight, is spun and woven by the palace women, and the finished cloths are measured in the same units (see p. 316); the sheep also provide sheepskins, *kōuea*, presumably for use as rugs, bedspreads and ceremonial skirts (cf. fig. 15). A special category of sheep is recorded as being kept in sheep-pens, *stathmoi* (Cn09, Cn10).



Among the swine a valuable category of *sialoi* 'fat pigs' is mentioned (75 = Cn02), distinct from the larger herds listed with the sheep and goats (Cn11-Cn13), which were presumably left to forage in the woods. Among the relatively small numbers of cattle, teams of working oxen (*g<sup>u</sup>owes*) *wergatai*, are mentioned on Knossos 84 = G 59; and these include a number of pairs whose actual names are given (e.g. 85 = Ch896). Horses are rare (only two are listed on the surviving Pylos tablets), and were probably intended primarily for chariot work, although some riding must certainly have been done (Hood, 1953).

Deer occur on two Pylos tablets (Cn01, Cn868): their ideograms are not differentiated for sex, etc., and they probably represent carcasses of venison. The dog is implicit in the term *kun-āgetai* 'huntsmen' and occurs, of course, in Mycenaean hunting scenes.

The cattle provide ox-hides, from which various leather (*wrineios*) articles are made. Of dairy produce, only cheeses (*turoi*, 171 = Un718) are mentioned by name; milk, cream and butter, which figure in the Babylonian and Hittite records, do not have any certain Mycenaean ideograms, and do not seem to have been much used in later Greece. The composition of the *aleiphar* used in preparing aromatic unguent (103 = Un08), is uncertain, though the evidence of Pylos Gn1184 suggests that it may have been olive oil.

No birds or fish can be identified with certainty, though it is probable that the Mycenaeans kept or caught ducks, geese and pigeons. The man's name 'Αλεκτρυών (which also occurs in the *Iliad*) does nothing to solve the vexed question of when the cock was introduced into Greece, since the word probably simply means 'the pugnacious one'. The octopus (*polupos*) occurs as a decorative feature in ivory on 246 = Ta722, but it may well have been eaten, as it is today.

A large number of tablets from Pylos (108-154) apparently list the varying amounts of wheat which are to be sown on various fields. The practice of recording acreages by their amounts of seed (according to a fixed ratio which it is difficult to determine exactly) is also found at Nuzi and underlies the Sumerian methods of measuring area (Lewy, 1949). These tablets can thus be interpreted as a cadastral survey of land tenure, although the legal basis of such tenure and the exact purposes of the survey remain largely a matter of conjecture. The references to different types and sizes of holding (*temenos*, *ktaina*, *khama*, etc.), and to the different classes of individuals who occupy these, enable some deductions to be made as to the structure of society at Pylos (see above, pp. 120-4).

Discounting tablets whose entries are repetitious, the total amount of seed grain recorded on the surviving Pylos *E*-tablets appears to be about 720 dry



units of wheat, possibly about 86,400 litres, perhaps sufficient for an arable area of 1730 *ha* (4270 acres): with a fivefold yield, this might feed 1500 slaves for a year. But it is dangerous to deduce much from these figures, since the tablets are only a fragmentary set and the scope of the survey is unknown.

There are only a few Knossos tablets of a similar class recording holdings of wheat land (155–162), and they add little to our picture of Mycenaean land tenure, which is discussed in detail at the beginning of ch. viii. Also listed on a few tablets are orchards (*phutaliai*, KN E 849), whose olive and fig trees, numbered in hundreds, are illustrated ideographically (165 = Gv862, etc.).

## 7. INDUSTRY AND TRADE

The long list of trades and occupations which can be identified on the tablets (see p. 123) implies a specialization of labour which goes far beyond that seen in Homer, where King Odysseus knows how to build his own boat or bed, and boasts of his skill with the scythe and plough. The Homeric picture may be due in part to a lower standard of living in the eighth century B.C., but more, perhaps, to the fact that the poet's interest in institutions and economic life is not that of the modern sociologist, and introduces no more detail than is necessary to provide a consistent background for epic narrative. A more complex organization of production in Mycenaean times might in any case have been inferred from the high level of craftsmanship in many industries, from the size of the palace and settlements, and from the number of trades which can be identified on the similar tablets from Nuzi, Alalakh and Ugarit (see especially Virolleaud, 1940). This specialization is confirmed by nominal rolls (particularly the Pylos *E*-tablets, 108–151) where the individual names are regularly identified by their occupations: 'Eumedes the unguent-boiler', 'Brithawon the potter', 'Thisbaios the shepherd', etc.

It is more difficult to determine the precise status of these different tradesmen, to guess where in the topography of the excavated sites their places of work are likely to have been, and to assess how far the products of their labour may have been available in a free market.

In the Mesopotamian temple-state economy of the third millennium B.C. the craftsmen were bondmen controlled and fed by the palace, and this relationship is still reflected in the low status of the smith as a *muškenu* in the Code of Hammurabi (§ 274). The Ur tablets (Legrain, 1947) list the activities of eight palace workshops, those of the sculptors, goldsmiths, lapidaries, carpenters, smiths, fullers and tanners, tailors, and caulkers (bitumen workers). A large proportion of the remaining production (textiles, food, pottery, etc.) was



carried out by the large and varied female labour force attached to the palace. Imports from outside were the responsibility of the palace treasurer.

The later and more nearly contemporary records from Ugarit and Alalakh and from the Hittite country show the majority of the craftsmen constituting a more or less free 'middle class', organized in trade guilds and having their places of work in bazaars in the towns. Some craftsmen might be permanently employed by the palace, but a considerable proportion of its needs were fulfilled by outside hire and purchase (through the medium of silver), both of local production and of the imports made by more or less independent merchants.

It will be the task of the continuing analysis of the Mycenaean tablets to determine which of these two sets of conditions they more nearly fit. It is probable, at any rate, that the large numbers of women recorded on the Knossos and Pylos ration lists (see 1-28), whose occupational names are largely connected with textile production, had a servile status and were recruited by pillage and barter abroad. Such tablets as 50 = An18, with their enumeration of men pursuing fairly menial occupations, read like lists of palace servants; but others, like 52 = An26, with their record of tailors, potters and goldsmiths in different places, might more reasonably be taken to refer to trades whose products were not the exclusive monopoly of the palace. If so, the absence of payment in metal or in kind (except for occasional rations in cereals and fruit as on Fn02, An31) may suggest census and records of seasonal forced labour (like the *luzzi* to which the Hittite 'men of the tool' were subject). References to the 'estate of the cowherds' (Ea12) and 'of the swineherds' (Ea08) and 'of the beekeepers?' (Ea820) possibly indicate that these formed some kind of collective associations (cf. the classical Ποιμενίδαι, etc.). Many craftsmen are described as holding land at Pylos; and Palmer (1955, p. 13) suggests that δημοεργοί (which in the *Odyssey* is applied to seers, physicians, carpenters, bards and heralds) originally meant 'the class that tills the land of the village commune' rather than 'those who work for the common people', though this modification of the etymology does not seem essential to explain the apparent facts. Some of the craftsmen are expressly described as *wanakteros* 'belonging to the king' or as *lāwāgesios* 'belonging to the leader', which would certainly suggest that others of their profession were free to work on their own account. The occupations to which this applies are those of the *knapheus* 'fuller', *e-te-do-mo* 'artificer?', *poimēn* 'shepherd', *kerameus* 'potter' and *a-mo-te-u* 'chariot-builder and wheelwright?'; and it seems that groups of these, at any rate, must have formed part of the palace machine. The work of the potters was evidently decentralized to sites convenient for kilns, of which several Mycenaean remains have been found (Wace, 1949, p. 106); the workshop of the chariot-builders



is probably to be identified in the *a-mo-te-jo-na-de* of Pylos 252 = Vn06, the only place of work to be named specifically on the tablets.

Decentralization is also shown by the Pylos *ḡn*-tablets (253–256), which record the issue (or absence of issue) of weights of bronze to the smiths of a number of localities, similar to the distribution of piece-work from the palace store-houses recorded on the Sumerian inventories and on Alalakh tablets (396–408). Some of their headings look more like clan names than place-names, possibly suggesting small closed communities of tinkers. The smiths are the most frequent subject of an annotation in tribute lists which reads 'The So-and-so do not contribute' (e.g. on 176 = Ma12 and 192 = Na50), and this has generally been taken as a record of the preferential treatment which this trade receives on account of its full-time operations and its indispensability to the war effort: this status is paralleled in other primitive or early societies. The Pylos smiths are also distinguished by the possession of *doeloi* 'slaves'. In addition to bronze (*ka-ko*), other sets of tablets also mention gold (*ku-ru-so*, 231 = K 872, etc.), silver (*a-ku-ro*, 290 = Sa03) and lead (*ma-ri-wo-do*, 259 = Og1527); but there are no details of their working.

The inventories of pottery, metalware, furniture, weapons and chariots (see chs. x and xi) do not unfortunately record who made them or how they were acquired, and only seldom contain clues to a possible importation from outside. Among the latter, note the mention of Kydonia, Phaistos and *Se-to-i-ja* on the Knossos 'chariot' tablets (265–277), and the description *ke-re-si-jo we-ke*, 'of Cretan style or workmanship?', applied to tripod cauldrons on Pylos 236 = Ta641, etc. The Knossos tablets listing 'cloths' are, however, frequently introduced by adjectives derived from different Cretan place-names (e.g. 213 = L 641); but there is some uncertainty whether the textiles themselves always come directly from these towns, or are merely woven by women supplied to the palace by them.

Timbers specified on the 'chariot' and 'furniture' tablets include *pe-te-re-wa* (elm), *e-ri-ka* (willow), *ki-da-pa* (?), *ku-te-so* (ebony?), *mi-ra<sub>2</sub>* (yew?), *pu-ko-so* (boxwood) and *ku-pa-ri-se-ja* (adj., cypress). Other materials used in their details and decoration are *kyanos* (see 239 = Ta642), horn (adj. *\*ke-ra-i-jo*) and, as we should expect from Homer and from Egyptian and Syrian parallels, extensive areas of ivory inlay (*e-re-pa*, adj. *e-re-pa-te-jo*). Wace (1949, p. 108) agrees with Barnett in suggesting that the raw material was imported from Syria (whose carved ivories show affinities with the Mycenaean, and where the elephant existed in early times) rather than through Egypt.

Evidence of contact with Syria (e.g. Ugarit, Byblos, Beirut, Tyre) is shown by the Semitic names of the three condiments *sa-sa-ma* = σήσαμα, *ku-mi-no* =



κύμινον and *ku-pa-ro* = κύπριος (e.g. on 102 = Ga517, 103 = Un08, 105 = Ge602, etc.); it is uncertain whether these reflect continuing imports, or earlier loan-words (perhaps through a 'Minoan' intermediary) for things now obtained from other more local sources. The latter is almost certainly the case with the other two Semitic borrowings *ku-ru-so* = χρυσός (see p. 343) and *ki-to* = χιτών (p. 319). These five words are shown to have already been absorbed by Greek in the Bronze Age, and not to be borrowings from the time of Phoenician initiative in the eleventh–eighth centuries B.C.

On the other hand the Greek use of the word Φοίνικες for the Canaanites was probably already current at the time of our tablets, even though the detailed development of the various meanings of this probably non-Indo-European word is obscure: it is significant that the Semitic 'Canaan' (*Kināḥḥi*) itself appears to be related to a word for a dyestuff (cf. φοῖνιξ 'crimson'). *Po-ni-ki-ja* on the 'chariot' tablets (267 = Sd0409, etc.) is probably 'painted crimson'; while *po-ni-ke* (instr. sing. of φοῖνιξ) possibly means 'griffin' on 246 = Ta722. *Po-ni-ki-jo* as the name of an unidentified substance on 99 = Ga418, etc., may refer to its colour, but it may equally well describe it as 'the condiment from Canaan'. The spelling of the initial in these words disproves any connexion with φόνος 'murder' (\**q<sup>u</sup>honas*).

Though the word *ku-pi-ri-jo* is probably Κύπριος, and implies that Cyprus was already known by its classical name (which bears no relation to its Hittite, Semitic and Egyptian names), in the three Pylos occurrences it is a man's name; but on Knossos Ga517 and Ga676, where it occurs with κύπριος and coriander, it may well indicate an import from the east. The word *ai-ku-pi-ti-jo* (revealed by Bennett's join of Db1105 with X 1446) is also only a man's name, but it presupposes that Αἴγυπτος was already the Greek name for 'Egypt'. At the same period the name at Ugarit for both 'Egypt' and 'Memphis' was *Hikupta* (Virolleaud, 1953, p. 192), corresponding to the *Hikuptah* of the Amarna letters and to *Ht-k'-pṯh* in Egyptian; and from these the Mycenaean name was evidently borrowed.

The hierarchy of officials needed to supervise the many craftsmen and the volume of imports and exports can only be guessed; but it is possible that *A-ko-so-ta*, who appears with various functions in the preamble to a number of Pylos tablets (154 = Eq01, 103 = Un08, Pn01, Wa917), had a function similar to that of the *šatammum* or chief steward at Alalakh and at other places.



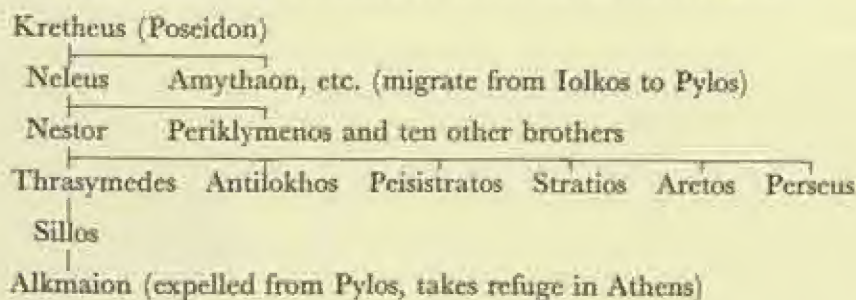
## 8. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

In the absence of any Mycenaean monumental inscriptions, or of any tablets other than palace or household accounts, the documentary evidence for historical situations and events is extremely fragmentary and indirect.

The mere fact that Greek can now be shown to have been written at Knossos in LM II does, of course, supply new and conclusive proof of the theory that Crete had begun to be occupied by the 'Achaeans' during the fifteenth century B.C. or earlier (see Foreword, pp. xxii ff.); and the close relationship apparent between their dialect and those of the later Arcadians and Cypriots provides some confirmatory evidence for the sequence in which the Greek tribes settled in the Aegean.

The place-names which appear on the Knossos and Pylos tablets, where they can be identified with known sites, provide some evidence for the areas effectively controlled by these kingdoms at the time (see pp. 139 ff.); and a few possible references to foreign lands have been discussed under 'Industry and trade'.

Although many of the men's names on the tablets are identical with those of heroes recorded in Homer and other epic writers, there are (as might be expected) no cases where an actual historical personage can be identified. The possibility is discussed on p. 265 that the name of the last king of Pylos in fact occurs in the spelling *E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo*, dat. *E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo-ne* (also *E-ke-ra-ne?*), gen. *E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo-no*. This does not fit the name of any Neleid king of Pylos preserved in the traditional genealogy, whose usual form reads:



Some similarity is shown by the name of Ekhelaos, son of Penthilos, colonizer of Lesbos; and by that of one of Nestor's brothers, which appears in different transmissions as Epilaos or Epileon.

Blegen's excavations show that the palace at Pylos was of comparatively short duration, 'wholly within the not very long stage called Late Helladic IIIB' (1955, p. 37); its foundation fairly late in the Mycenaean age may, as has been



suggested, be connected with the traditional arrival of Neleus, and with the transfer of 'Pylos' from another site recorded by Pausanias (iv, 36, 1). It has been proposed that the name *ma-to-ro-pu-ro* (Cn10.5) should be interpreted *Mātro-pulos*, i.e. 'the original Pylos'.

Though the tablets record local kings and chieftains, there is no surviving evidence for the organization and foreign relations of 'Achaea' as a centralized power (which the Hittite references to *Aḫḫijawā* lead one to expect), beyond the spelling *a-ka-wi-ja-de* on Knossos 78 = C 914: this may conceivably represent *Akhaiwiān-de*, but even so it may be the name of a town rather than of a state. The two occurrences of the patronymic *Eteuoklewēios* at Pylos confirm the Mycenaean connexions of the name Eteokles, and make it more probable that Forrer was right in identifying with it the name of the chieftain *Tawakalawas* who appears in Hittite correspondence with 'Achaea' concerning the port of *Milawata* (Miletos?).

Since the Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae tablets all appear to have been written shortly before the final destruction of their sites (probably by human agency), it is natural to speculate whether their subject-matter contains any anticipation of the impending catastrophe; but with few exceptions it would seem that their contents are no different from what one would expect from a routine year; the mere listing of swords, chariots and armour does not necessarily imply a desperate preparation against attack.

A definite historical value may, however, be given to the preamble of Pylos 53 = An12: *eretai Pleurōnade iontes* 'oarsmen to go to Pleuron'. Thirty men are listed in all, probably the complement of a single ship. If their destination is in fact the important Aetolian city of that name (cf. *Il.* ii, 639), their journey may have some connexion with the disturbances constituting the 'Dorian invasion': this is traditionally regarded as having crossed towards Elis from the nearby town of Naupaktos (cf. Pausanias, x, 38, 10), and its first victims may well have been the inhabitants of the Mycenaean enclave on the north shores of the Gulf of Corinth.

The same historical situation may lie behind several of the Pylos *An*-tablets listing officers and men (56–60, pp. 188–94), if their function is correctly interpreted as that of a kind of Home Guard detailed to watch sectors of the coast for the approach of enemy ships. The masons listed on 41 = An14 may possibly be effecting repairs to the defences of Pylos, though *toikho-* might imply the walls of individual buildings rather than city-walls (for which there is no archaeological evidence).



## 9. GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

\*Ἔστι Πύλος πρὸ Πύλοιο, Πύλος γὰρ μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη. (Proverbial)

The Cretan place-names played an important part in the process of decipherment (see p. 22). The characteristic feature of place-names thus revealed is the presence alongside the simple name of the ethnic adjective in *-ios*, and this provides a useful test by which the more frequently occurring names can be detected. A similar test is offered by names which recur with and without the suffix of 'motion towards' *-de*. With these criteria we can then establish the presence of a place-name in a set place in a formula, and deduce that all other words found in that position are likewise places. Similarly the presence of several place-names in a list may lead to the conclusion that the rest are also places.

Other formal considerations have been proposed, but these are somewhat dangerous. Turner (1954) in a very useful study of the Pylos place-names works also with the ending *-te*, which he interprets as the ablative suffix *-then*. There is no reason to doubt the existence of this suffix in Mycenaean, and it is probably to be found in *a-po-te-ro-te* = *amphoterōthen*; nor is it disputed that most of the words listed by Turner are place-names. But it is noticeable that the names ending in *-te* belong almost exclusively to a class in *-wo-te*. In a few cases other forms are found which reveal a declension: nom. *e-ri-no-wo*, gen. *e-ri-no-wo-to*, dat.-loc. *e-ri-no-wo-te*. Thus we may regard all these names as locative datives in *-lei*, and the ending cannot therefore be used as a test. The dative and instrumental plurals in *-si* and *-pi* can also be used as locatives; but this too is not helpful as a criterion.

The remarks made in ch. iv (p. 92) on the risks of translating Mycenaean spellings into classical names apply with almost equal force to the identification of place-names. Certainly when the Knossos tablets present spellings which resemble the names of prominent Cretan towns we can feel confidence in the equation. But the presence at Pylos of names which could be places as far distant as Orkomenos in Arcadia or even Corinth raises quite a different question. A glance at a classical dictionary is sufficient to disclose that in ancient Greece, as in every country, a number of places bear the same name. Thus even if we correctly interpret the spelling as a name, there is no guarantee, apart from the probability engendered by geographical proximity, that the name can be safely attached to any site. The case of the common Pylos name *Re-u-ko-to-ro* is instructive: there can be little doubt that this represents a name known in classical Greek as Λεῦκτρον. But unfortunately there are three such



places known in the Peloponnese, two of them within reasonable distance of Pylos. And who is to say that there were not others, of which we have no record in our ancient sources? Mühlestein (1955*a*) in a suggestive pamphlet has spread the limits of the Pylian kingdom over half the Peloponnese; we beg to suggest that it is a sounder policy to expect the names to be confined to Messenia, or at least the south-western quarter of the Peloponnese. Names which seem to be located outside this area should be regarded with grave suspicion and not identified without strong reason.

Another difficulty that must be faced is the habit of migrants taking the name of their towns with them. Many of the duplicated names in Greece are said to be due to this process; but equally many may be common nouns in some pre-Greek language, and in default of clear historical tradition these two cases cannot now be distinguished. Old names may have been replaced for other reasons, and the decay of ancient towns and the rise of their neighbours is another factor leading to profound changes on a political map. If an expected name—for instance Gortys in Crete—is apparently absent from the tablets, we must not jump to hasty conclusions; it may be represented under a different name. Equally if an obviously important town on the tablets has no apparent equivalent in classical geography, no deductions are safe. The Messenian Pylos would appear to have moved twice: from its Mycenaean site at Ano Englianos to the classical one at Coryphasion (Paleókastro); and from there to its present position at the southern end of the bay of Navarino. Extreme caution must therefore guide our tentative discussion of the political geography of Mycenaean Crete and Messenia.

The analysis of the types of names found does not at Knossos lead to any striking conclusions. The absence of names beginning with *n*, *o* or *q* may be purely accidental. At Pylos there are two distinctive types, neither of which is represented in the Knossos list. One is the type ending in *-e-wa*: *A-ke-re-wa*, *A-pi-te-wa*, *E-ra-te-wa* (plural), *I-te-re-wa*, *Si-re-wa*, *Wo-no-qe-wa*. These may correspond to the type of Τεγέα, Μαλέα, Κροκεαί, etc.; but the loss of the distinctive digamma makes this uncertain. The other has the dative ending *-wo-te* referred to above: *A<sub>2</sub>-pa-tu-wo-te*, *A<sub>2</sub>-ru-wo-te*, *Do-ro-qa-so-wo-te*, *E-ri-no-wo-te* (nom. *E-ri-no-wo*), acc. *Ne-do-wo-ta*, *Pe-re-wo-te*, *Sa-ri-mu-wo-te*, *Si-jo-wo-te*. With one exception the preceding vowel is *o* or *u*, which suggests that the termination is added directly to a stem ending in a consonant. We may have here the origin of the type in *-oūs*, *-oūntos* as in Σκίλλοϋς, Φλιούς, etc., though some may represent rather *-ων*, *-οντος*. There are also a number ending in *-eus*, but these are hard to separate from the ordinary ethnics of this form. The rarity of names with clear Greek meanings is obvious both at Knossos and Pylos.



The words which can plausibly be identified as place-names in the Knossos tablets are listed below. They amount to fifty-two separate places, excluding the reference to Cyprus. Of these twelve can with varying degrees of certainty be located on a map: Amnisos, Aptara, Dikte, Inatos, Itanos, Knossos, Kydonia, Lato, Lyktos (Lyttos), Phaistos, Setaia, Tylissos. The doubtful cases are Itanos, spelt *U-ta-no* (for other cases of variation between *i* and *u* see p. 77) and Setaia, spelt *Se-to-i-ja*; *a* and *o* are confused elsewhere (see p. 77), but not in a diphthong. To these we may perhaps add *Pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-i-so* = Praisos and *Su-ki-ri-ta* = Sybrita.

Two facts emerge clearly from these names: that the area in contact with, and probably subject to, Knossos covers virtually the whole of Crete; and that no names can be located outside the island. The isolated case of *Kuprios* applied to spices implies no more than trade. Thus there is so far no evidence to support the theory of a thalassocracy, at least at the time of the fall of Knossos.

The list of towns subject to Idomeneus in the Catalogue (*Il.* ii, 645-9) is restricted to the central area: Knossos, Gortys, Lyktos, Miletos, Lykastos, Phaistos and Rhytion. Four of these do not appear (in a recognizable form) on the tablets. Elsewhere in Homer we meet the *Kúδωνες* (*Od.* iii, 292; xix, 176); their town Kydonia, which is mentioned on the tablets, is excluded from Homer by its metrical shape. The same applies to Akhaiwia, which may be connected with the Cretan *Ἀχαιοί* of *Od.* xix, 175.

There does not seem to be sufficient evidence on which to found any attempt at locating the place-names which cannot be identified. Most of them occur singly on separate tablets, and there is nothing to show that lists such as 83 = Ch902 follow any regular geographical order.

Even more difficult to place on the map are the names on the Pylos tablets, though this is perhaps not altogether surprising in view of the scanty information about Messenia given by the ancient authorities. The first problem concerns the site of Pylos itself, a hotly disputed subject even in antiquity. One new fact which the decipherment has contributed to this problem is that the tablets refer repeatedly to a place called *Pu-ro*; and that this is of supreme importance appears from its prominence on a tablet such as 172 = Kn02, or from the numbers of women assigned to it on the *Ab* tablets; and not less from its omission from all documents which can be regarded as tribute lists. It is a reasonable conjecture that it is the name of the site where the tablets were found. The next step, that of identifying the Palace at Ano Englianos with the Pylos of Nestor, was taken in advance of the decipherment by Blegen and Kourouniotis (1939*b*), and although their view has been challenged it obviously



now receives very strong support. The absence from the tablets of the names of Nestor and his family is no objection if the fall of Pylos took place a generation or more after the Trojan War, which is the conclusion of the most recent chronological surveys. The suggestion of Turner (1954, p. 20) that Pylos is the name of the aggregate of towns forming the kingdom is worth considering, though it appears to be used as an ordinary place-name, and can serve as an adequate definition of the whereabouts of two masons (41 = An14). The name *Ke-re-za* appears to be a part of Pylos.

Two lists (75 = Cn02, 250 = Vn01) enumerate nine towns in the same order; and a third example of this list can be restored in Vn05 owing to the joining of a new fragment. The same names form the first nine entries on the tablet dealing with contributions of bronze 257 = Jn09, except that *Re-u-so* replaces *E-ra-to*. It is clear that these are the principal towns of the kingdom, and their occurrence in a fixed order has given rise to some speculation. The order cannot be one of relative importance, for *Pe-to-no*, the third, makes the largest contribution of fat hogs and receives the largest share of the wine (?) and probably also of the *sa-pi-de*; Jn09 is useless for this purpose as the contribution of all nine is the same. The figures are as follows:

	Cn02	Vn01	Vn05
<i>Pi-*82</i>	3	50	—
<i>Me-ta-pa</i>	3	50	—
<i>Pe-to-no</i>	6	100	200
<i>Pa-ki-ja-</i>	2	35	80
<i>A-pu<sub>2</sub>?</i>	2	35	60
<i>A-ke-re-wo</i>	2	30	40
<i>E-ra-to</i>	3	50	—
<i>Ka-ra-do-ro</i>	2	40	—
<i>Ri-jo</i>	2	20	—

The suggestion that the order is based on a standard (quasi-alphabetical) order of the syllabary—the two names which begin with the same sign come together—is ingenious but unverifiable. It is more plausible to assume a geographical order (north to south?), though this too cannot be demonstrated with certainty; and the parallel of the Athenian tribute lists shows that purely arbitrary orders may be adopted in such cases; it would be impossible to reconstruct the map of the Aegean merely from the Athenian documents. Only one of the places can be fixed with much probability; *Ri-jo* must be Rhion, a name associated with the promontory on which stands the modern Koróni (the ancient Asine); even this is not certain, for it is a name applicable to any promontory. *Ka-ra-do-ro* = *Kharadros* is likewise the name of a common geographical feature.



We were at first inclined to associate *Pa-ki-ja-* with Σφαγία, a known name of the island of Sphakteria. Two considerations, however, have caused us to question this: the Mycenaean name appears to be alternatively *Pa-ki-ja-na*, *Pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* (fem. *a*-stem?) or *Pa-ki-ja-ne* (= *-ānes*, plural), neither of which corresponds closely with any classical form of the name; and Webster has pointed out that it is an important place and that the amount of land it possesses seems too large for that available on Sphakteria; Chadwick was told in Pylos that the island is not now cultivable. It is possible that the name refers to the whole area of the mainland bordering the bay of Navarino, but this is only a guess. Metapa is known as the name of a town in Acarnania, but there were no doubt several of the same name. The most significant evidence here is that of an inscription in the Elean dialect found at Olympia (Schwyzer, *Dial.* 414) which mentions the Μετάπιοι. Perhaps therefore the town is to be located in the direction of Elis, somewhere in Triphylia. If Palmer's value for \*82 = *ja*<sub>2</sub> is right, *Pi-ja*<sub>2</sub> may be equated with Φειά in Pisatis, the modern Katákolō; but this is to stretch rather far the northern limits of the kingdom. Homer (*Od.* xv, 297) apparently mentions Φειά as a place passed by Telemachos between Pylos and Elis.

It has not passed unnoticed that Homer assigns nine towns to Nestor's kingdom:

οἱ δὲ Πύλον τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀρήνην ἑρατεινὴν  
καὶ Θρύον, Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον, καὶ ἔϋκτιτον Αἰπύ  
καὶ Κυπαρισσῆντα καὶ Ἀμφιγένειαν ἑναίον  
καὶ Πτελεὸν καὶ Ἔλος καὶ Δῶριον.

(*Il.* ii, 591-4)

Similarly in the *Odyssey* (iii, 7) Telemachos arriving at Pylos finds the citizens sacrificing at nine altars. The coincidence is remarkable and may well be historical; it should, however, be noted that Homer's list includes Pylos in the nine, the tablets exclude it. Only one pair in the two sets of nine can be equated; *A-pu*<sub>2</sub> is perhaps Αἰπύ, a name appropriate to any town on a height. It is not securely identified but is said to be in Elis. Of the other Homeric names Κυπαρισσῆς is represented on the tablets by the ethnic *Kyparissioi* and still bears a similar name, Kyparissia; the name [*Ku*]-*pa-ri-so* is a likely restoration on 187 = Na49. The word *A-pi-ke-ne-a* on a fragment could be Ἀμφιγένεια. Ἔλος is no doubt the correct interpretation of the dative *E-re-e* or *E-re-i*, but its location is uncertain. The meaning suggests that we should look for a site on marshy ground, and the obvious place is the seaward end of the Messenian plain.

This brings us to the remaining seven names of 257 = Jn09: *Ti-mi-to a-ke-e*, *Ra-wa-ra-ta*<sub>2</sub>, *Sa-ma-ra*, *A-si-ja-ti-ja*, *E-ra-te-re-wa-pi*, *Ja-ma-e-wi-ja*, *E-re-i*. These



seem to form another group; they recur (except for the last) on the *Ma* tablets, so are certainly also tributary. On 257 = Jn09 they contribute no less bronze, and in some cases more, than the first nine, so they cannot be dismissed as less important towns. This is confirmed by their assessments on the *Ma* tablets (p. 291) where *Ra-wa-ra-ta<sub>2</sub>* has a larger assessment than *Pe-to-no*. Their grouping is therefore probably geographical. Now the two *Ng* tablets (198 and 199) record the totals for two districts which are called *De-we-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-ja* and *Pe-ra<sub>2</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja*, i.e. on this side and on that of some feature called *Ai-ko-ra*. The most prominent natural feature visible from the site of the Palace is the wall of hills (Ayá, Antiláris, etc.) which runs parallel with the sea from Kyparissia in the north to a little south of Khora (Ligoudista). This is identified by Kiepert, by Blegen, by educated locals and by most modern maps with the Αἰγολέων mentioned by Strabo (viii, 4, 2) as the mountain under which the first city of Pylos had stood; it is tempting to regard this as the name contained in the compounds, for the substitution of *o* for *a* is not unusual. Marinatos once suggested Αἰγολέων was the smaller hill of Manglavá, between Antiláris and Likódimo, and above the Mycenaean settlement at Ikliná. On some maps the name Αἰγολέων is attributed to the conical hill of Άγος Νικόλαος (above the present town of Pylos/Navarino), for no good reason. The damaged tablet On01 seems to show that these two districts correspond to the groups of nine and seven. The heading is lost, but may be conjectured to have contained *De-we-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-jo*. The names preserved in the first paragraph are *E-ra-to* (in the adjectival form *E-ra-te-i-jo*) and *Pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* on a new fragment; both these belong to the nine. The second paragraph is headed *Pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo*, and contains the names of five out of the seven (some differently spelt) together with *E-sa-re-wi-ja*, perhaps in place of *Ζa-ma-e-wi-ja* with which it is coupled in Vn03.

*Ti-mi-to a-ke-e* is interpreted by Palmer (1954*b*, p. 49) as *Themi(s)tos ageei* (ἄγος being given the sense 'sacred land'). This ingenious idea does not help us to locate it, for whatever its meaning it is undoubtedly the name of a locality like the others in this list. It has the variant form *Ti-mi-ti-ja* or *Te-mi-ti-ja*, where the preservation of *-ti-* goes to confirm the interpretation *Themistia*.

How far to the east the kingdom extends is not easy to determine. If *Ne-do-wo-ta* (acc.) on the military tablets is the river Νέδων flowing into the Messenian gulf, this might be a clue; but the interpretation comes into conflict with *U-ru-pi-ja-jo* = *Olumpiaioi* in the same line. *Re-u-ko-to-ro* might be the town usually called Λεῦκτρα on the Laconian border; but there is nothing to connect it with the coast, and it could equally well be Λεῦκτρον in southern Arcadia, if either of the two. The seven πτολιεθρα offered by Agamemnon to Achilles



(II. IX, 149-52) are described as νέεσσι Πύλου ἡμαθόεντος, and seem to lie round the shores of the Messenian gulf; they must at that time have been an independent area belonging neither to Menelaos nor to Nestor, or some protest would have been made. This would limit the eastward extension of the kingdom, but there is nothing in the tablets to prove that this was also the situation at the time of the fall of Pylos.

To the north-east too the limits are undefined. A number of names can be equated with places in Arcadia, but how many of these should be accepted is doubtful. *Ro-u-so* = Λουσοί, *Ru-ko-a<sub>2</sub>* = Λυκόα, *A-si-ja-ti-ja* = Ἀσέα are plausible guesses; *E-ko-me-no*, however, is hardly likely to be the Arcadian Ὀρχομενός, nor *I-wa-so* Ἰάσος on the eastern border of Arcadia.

The names of the places from which rowers come are presumably on the coast. *Ro-o-wa* may be the port of Pylos (see p. 187); *Ri-jo* and *A-ke-re-wa* are among the nine. *E-wi-ri-po* offers hope of identification, for Euripos implies the existence of a strait with an appreciable current. There are only two straits off the Messenian coast: that between the island of Próti and the mainland, which is relatively wide and affords a safe anchorage; and the Methóni strait formed by the island of Sapientisa. This is restricted by rocks and shoals to a narrow navigable channel, and according to the Admiralty Mediterranean Pilot Book (III, p. 61) 'the current sets westward through the Methóni strait at the rate of about one knot during moderate weather'. This strongly suggests a location near this channel.

The military tablets (56-60) are prefaced by a reference to the coast which implies that the places where troops are stationed are coastal towns. This confirms the placing of *Ro-o-wa* and *A-ke-re-wa*, and adds *O-wi-to-no* and *Ti-mi-to a-ke-i*. The mention in these tablets of *U-ru-pi-ja-jo* and *O-ru-ma-si-ja-jo* strongly suggests Ὀλυμπία and Ἐρύμανθος, which would imply contacts far to the north; but these names are not found in the tribute lists, and they may well lie outside the limits of the kingdom of Pylos, though perhaps allied to it for defence. The same applies to the two references to Pleuron, if this is the famous city in Aetolia.

Other ethnic groups mentioned are the *Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* who may be from Corcyra or Krokyleia; and the Zakynthians whose name is also associated with chariot wheels. The ethnic adjectives used to describe slave-women (see p. 156) seem to belong to Asia Minor: Lemnos, Knidos and Miletos (though this might be the Cretan town) and possibly Khios. There are also women from Kythera, and perhaps even a colony of men from that island in the territory of Pylos.



## 10. LIST OF PLACES NAMED AT KNOSSOS AND PYLOS

The following two lists index the words which can be plausibly identified as place-names at Knossos and Pylos respectively. Only one reference is usually given for each form quoted, additional examples being indicated by the plus sign (+). Names which can with reasonable certainty be located on a map are printed in bold type.

## KNOSSOS

- a-ka*, Da1350+. Ethnic.  
*a-ka-i-jo*, Vd62+. Ethnic.  
*a-ka-wi-ja-de*, 78=C 914. *Akhaiwian-de*. [Cf. Hitt. *Ahhijawā*.]  
*a-mi-ni-so*, 200=Fp1+. *Amnisos* (on the site see p. 310). [*Ἀμισός* *Od.* xix, 188.]  
*a-mi-ni-so-de*, 201=Fp14+. *Amnisian-de*.  
*a-mi-ni-ri-jo-ja*, 34=Am601+. Ethnic: *Amnisias*.  
*a-pa-ta-wa*, 83=Ch902+. *Aptarica*. [*Ἀπταρα*; the form *Ἀπτερα* is due to popular etymology.]  
*a-po-ta-wa-jo*, 47=Am826+. Ethnic: *Aptaricaios*.  
*da-da-re-jo-de*, 200=Fp1+. *Daidaleion-de*. [Cf. *Δαίδαλος* *Il.* xviii, 392; *Δαίδαλιδαι* Attic deme.]  
*da-mi-ni-jo*, V 337+. Ethnic? [Cf. *Ἐπίδαμνος*; also PY *da-mi-ni-jo*.] See p. 161.  
*da-ra-ko*, Dd1579+.  
*da-wo*, 84=C 59+. Ventris: *Dāwos*=*Δῆλος*?  
*da-wi-jo-ja*, Am568+. Ethnic.  
*da-\*z2-to*, As40+ (also *ΕΛΕΥΘΙΣ* i). Georgiev: *Dakynthos*=*Ζάκυνθος*.  
*da-\*z2-ti-jo-ja*, F 669+. Ethnic.  
*da-\*z3-ja*, Dv1086.  
*da-\*z3-ja-de*, Fp363+. Acc. + -de.  
*da-\*z3-ja-i*, F 670. Loc. plur.: -i'.  
*di-ka-ta-de*, Fp7+. *Diktan-de*. [*Δίκτη*.]  
*di-ka-ta-jo*, 200=Fp1. Ethnic: *Diktaios*.  
*di-ro*, Dal167+.  
*do-ti-ja*, Ce139+. (In some cases possibly fem. or neut. ethnic.) [Cf. *Δωτίων πεδίων* in Thessaly.]  
*e-ko-so*, Dx46+. *Ekos*? [Not *Ἄξος*=*Φόξος*.]  
*e-ki-si-jo-ja*, As821+.  
*e-ra*, Dc1298+.  
*e-ra-de*, Fh357. Acc. + -de.  
*e-ra-jo-ja*, V 431+. Ethnic.  
*e-ti-wa*, Fs19.  
*e-ti-wa-ja*, X 681. Ethnic; cf. woman's name Ap639.  
*ko-no-so*, 213=L 641+. *Knōsos*. [*Κνωσός* *Il.* ii, 646+.]  
*ko-no-ti-jo-ja*, V 56+. Ethnic: *Knōsios*.  
*ku-do-ni-ja*, 84=C 59+. *Kudōnia*. [*Κυδωνία*; cf. *Κύδωνες* *Od.* iii, 292.]  
*ku-do-ni-ja-de*, L 588. *Kudōnian-de*.

- ku-pi-ri-jo*, Fh347+. Ethnic: *Kuprias*. (Applied to spices; cf. man's name at Pylos.) [*Κύπριος*; cf. *Κύπρος* *Od.* iv, 83.]  
*ku-ta-to*, X 80+. *Kutaistos*? [Cf. *Κότταιον*.]  
*ku-ta-i-to*, 83=Ch902. Alternative spelling of the preceding?  
*ku-ta-ti-jo-ja*, Ga419+. Ethnic.  
*mu-ri*, Df 947+.  
*ma-sa*, Dw42+.  
*ma-sa-de*, X 744. Acc. + -de.  
*pa-i-to*, E 36+. *Phaistos*. [*Φαιστός* *Il.* ii, 648.]  
*pa-i-ti-jo-ja*, X 681+. Ethnic: *Phaistios*.  
*pa-ko-we*, Ar618+ (also *ΤΙΚΥΝΣ* ii). The tempting identification *Phāgouens* (cf. Attic deme *Φηγός*) is belied by the declension and derivatives.  
*pa-ko-we-e*, *pa-ko-we-i*, Dx794, Dn1093+. Loc.  
*pa-ko-we-i-jo-ja*, 100=Og424+. Ethnic.  
*pa-mo*, Ga417+.  
*pa-mi-jo-ja*, 88=E 749+. Ethnic.  
*pa-na-so*, E 843+. *Parnassos*?  
*pa-ra*, L 473+. Furumark: *Pharai*. [*Φαραί* in various parts of the mainland, none in Crete.]  
*pa-ra-jo*, Ga423+. Ethnic: *Pharaios*.  
*pa-ra-i-so*, V 466, [X 5285]. Georgiev: *Paraisos* or *Praisos* (possibly a man's name). [*Πραισός*.]  
*pa-ra-ro-we*, Db1329. Ventris: *Psallawens*. [Cf. *ψάλλος*: *Ὠλη* Hesych.]  
*pu-na-so*, X 967+.  
*pu-na-ti-jo*, Ga34+. Ethnic.  
*pu-so*, As604+.  
*pu-ti-jo-ja*, 88=E 749+. Ethnic.  
*ra-ja*, Da1202+. *Laia*? [Cf. *Λαία* people in Macedonia; Pylos place-name *ra-i-pi*.]  
*ra-mi-na-de*, Fh353. Acc. + -de. [Cf. *Ῥαμνοῦς*, *Λῆμνος*?; Pylos *ra-mi-ni-jo*.]  
*ra-ta-to*, As606+. *Lamynthos*? [Cf. *Λάσος*, *Λασαία*.]  
*ra-ta-ti-jo*, Lc761. Ethnic.  
*ra-to*, J 58+. *Lētō*. [*Λατώ*.]  
*ra-ti-jo*, 87=E 668. Ethnic: *Lātios*.  
*re-ko-no*, C 918.  
*re-ko-no-jo*, C 912+. Gen.  
*ri-jo-no*, Dm1174+. [Cf. *Ῥιανός* Cretan poet.]  
*ri-a-no*, X 149. Alternative spelling of the preceding?  
*ri-\*z5-no*, U 49. Perhaps alternative spelling.  
*ri-jo-ni-jo-ja*, Od563+. Ethnic.



*ru-ki-to*, V 159+. *Luktios*. [*Λούκιος* *Il.* ii, 647.]  
*ru-ki-ti-jo/-ja*, X 37+. Ethnic: *Luktios*.  
*sa-nu-to-de*, F52+. Acc. + *-de*.  
*sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*, D1941. Sittig: *Sphakteria*.  
*se-to-t-ja*, A540+. *Sētoia*. [= *Σητοία*.]  
*si-ja-du-tes*, D1930+.  
*si-ra-ro*, 83 = Ch902+.  
*si-ra-ri-ja*, Lc512. Ethnic.  
*su-ki-ri-ta*, Dn1092+. *Sugrita*? [= *Σύβριτα*?]  
*su-ki-ri-ta-jo*, C 911+. Ethnic: *Sugritaios*.  
*su-ri-mo*, 29 = A5821+.  
*su-ri-mi-jo*, 99 = Ga418. Ethnic.  
*te-ro-no*, Fp363. [Cf. *Θήρη* river near Knossos.]  
*ti-ri-to*, Uf120+. [Cf. *Τρίτα* old name for Knossos (Hesych.).]

*ti-ri-ti-jo/-ja*, 88 = E 749+. Ethnic.  
*tu-ni-ja*, Db1606+. Place or ethnic? [Cf. *Ἐλυνία* (now *Kunári*) south of *Knossos*.]  
*tu-ri-so*, 84 = C 59+. *Tulisos*. [*Τυλισός* *Inscr. Cret.* i, 30, 1; now *Tylissos*.]  
*tu-ri-ti-jo / -ja*, 87 = E 668+. Ethnic: *Tulisios*.  
*u-ta-no*, 202 = Fp13+. *Utanos*. [= *Ἰτανός*.]  
*u-ta-ni-ja*, 88 = E 749+. Ethnic: *Utanos*.  
*wi-na-to*, A5604+. *Winatos*. [*Ἰνάτος*; probably on the present bay of *Tsitsuro*.]  
Place-names with untranscribed initials.  
\*47-*da-de*, 200 = Fp1.  
\*47-*ku-to-de*, 202 = Fp13. Acc. + *-de*.  
\*47-*so-de*, Fh351+. Acc. + *-de*.  
\*85-*ri-mo-de*, 202 = Fp13. Acc. + *-de*. [Cf. *su-ri-mo*.]

## PYLOS

*a-da-ra-ia-ja*, Aa785 [44 = An29]. Place or description of women? *Adrasteia*(i)? [Cf. *Ἀδρήστεια* *Il.* ii, 828.]  
*ai-wei-jo*, Na25.  
*a<sub>2</sub>-ka-<sub>2</sub>-ki-ri-jo*, 60 = An661. ---- *akrion*?  
*a<sub>2</sub>-ka-a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ri-ja-jo*, 76 = Cn22. Ethnic?  
*a-ka-ti-jo-ne*, 254 = Jn04. Loc.?  
*a-ke-re-ua*, 54 = An19+. (One of the nine towns.)  
*a-ke-re-ua-de*, 250 = Vn01. Acc. + *-de*.  
*a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ja*, 45 = An830.  
*a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ra*, Na856.  
*a<sub>2</sub>-ma-i-ua*, Na39. [Cf. *Ἀμολα* title of *Demeter*.]  
*a-ne-u-te*, Cn14. Loc.?  
*a<sub>2</sub>-ne-u-te*, Cn12. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
*a-pu-ua*, 52 = An26.  
*a-pa-re-u-pi*, Cn643+. Loc. plur. Mühlestein: cf. *Ἀπαρεῦς*.  
*a-pa-ri-ku-na-ue-ja*, Na16.  
*a-pa-ta*, Na27.  
*a<sub>2</sub>-pa-tu-ue-te*, Cn12. Loc. [Cf. *Ἀπατούρια*?]  
*a-pe-ka-e*, Jn03. Loc.  
*a-pe-ke-i-jo*, Jn03. Ethnic.  
*a-pi-ke-ne-a*, Xa12. *Amphigenea*? [Cf. *Ἀμφιγένεια* *Il.* ii, 593.]  
*a-pi-ne-u-ai-jo*, 184 = Nn01+. Place or ethnic?  
*a-pi-te-ua*, 57 = An43+.  
*a-po-ne-ue*, 53 = An12+. Loc.  
*a-pu-ne-ue*, 15 = Ad684. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
*a-pu-ka*, 44 = An29. Ethnic: *-ān*?  
*a-pu<sub>2</sub>-ka-ne*, 59 = An656+. Nom. plur. of the preceding?  
*a-pu<sub>2</sub>-u-ue*, 49 = An07+. Loc. *Aipui*? (One of the nine towns.) [A1πύ *Il.* ii, 592.]  
*a-pu<sub>2</sub>-de*, 250 = Vn01. *Aipu-de*.  
*a-pu<sub>2</sub>-ja*, 258 = Kn01. Ethnic: *Aipua*?  
*a<sub>2</sub>-ra-ta-a*, 76 = Cn22. Mühlestein: cf. *Ἀραιθυρέα*, *Ἀραυρία*, old names of *Phlius*.  
*a<sub>2</sub>-ra-tu-ua*, 57 = An43. Alternative spelling of the preceding.

*a<sub>2</sub>-ru-ue-te*, 56 = An657. Loc.: *Halimontei*? [*Ἀλοῦς* *Arcadia*, *Paus.* viii, 25, 2.]  
*a-ru-ue*, 251 = Vn02. Possibly nom. of the preceding; or a common noun; see *Vocabulary*, p. 389.  
*a-sa-pi*, Na33. Loc. plur.  
*a-si-ja-ti-ja*, 31 = Ac04+. [Cf. *Ἀσία* *Arcadia*, (founded by *Ἀσιότας*)?]  
*a-sa-ti-ja*, Mn02. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
*a-\*85-ta<sub>2</sub>*, Ma17. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
*a-te-re-ai-ja*, Cn14+. [Cf. *Ἀτρεῦς*?]  
*da-mi-ni-jo/-ja*, 54 = An19+. Ethnic or place? [Cf. *Ἐπίδαμνος*; KN *da-mi-ni-jo*.]  
*da-ue-u-pi*, Cn03 [925]. Loc. plur.  
*de-ue-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-ja*, 198 = Ng02. Name of a district; see p. 144. *Deuro-aigolaia*?  
*di-ai-ja-ta*, 184 = Nn01.  
*do-ro-fo-ro-ue-te*, Na07. Loc. (Divider after *go* doubtful.)  
*e-ko-me-no*, Cn12+. *Erkhomenos*. [*Ἐρχομάνος* = *Ὀρχομάνος*, but hardly that in *Arcadia*.]  
*e-ko-me-ne-u*, 183 = Nn831 (=02). Ethnic or man's name?: *Erkhomenus*. [Cf. man's name *O-ko-me-ne-u*.]  
*e-ko-me-na-ta-a*, 44 = An29+. Gen. plur. of ethnic: *Erkhomeniādn*.  
*e-ko-so-no*, Na31.  
*e-na-po-ro*, 76 = Cn22+. *Enatiphoros*? [*Spartan hero* *Ἐνασιφόρος* *Alcm. Parth.* 3; not a common noun (Debrunner, *Von der Mühl*).]  
*e-ni-pa-te-ue*, 255 = Jn658+. Loc. [Cf. river-god *Ἐνπιεύς* *Od.* xi, 238?]  
*e-pi-fo-ra<sub>2</sub>*, Mn01. Place or common noun; see *Vocabulary*, p. 392. *Epirolai*? [*Ἐπιπολαί*.]  
*e-ra-te-te-ua-a*, 258 = Kn01+. Gen. plur.: *Elatrodān*. [Cf. *Ἐλάτρη(ε)ία* = *Ἐλάστεια* *Thesprotia*; man's name *Ἐλαστρεύς* *Od.* viii, 11.]  
*e-ra-te-re-ua-pi*, Cn01. Loc. plur.: *Elatrodphi*.  
*e-ra-te-re-ue*, Ma07. Loc. sing.: *Elatrēuei*. (Possibly a different place.)



*e-ra-lo-de*, 250 = Vn01. *Elátos-de?* (One of the nine towns.) [Cf. man's name \*Ελατος II. vi, 39.]  
*e-ra-le-i*, 75 = Cn02. Loc.: *Elatei*.  
*e-ra-te-i-jo*, On01. Ethnic: *Elateios*.  
*e-re-e*, 258 = Kn01+. Loc.: *Helel*. [\*Ελος II. ii, 594.]  
*e-re-i*, 257 = Jn09. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
*e-re-e-u*, 183 = Nn831 (=02). Ethnic of preceding or separate name; not a place?  
*e-re-e-wo*, Na60. Gen.: *-éwos*.  
*e-re-e-we*, An723+. Loc.: *-éwri*.  
*e-ri-na-wo*, Na51.  
*e-ri-na-wo-to*, 154 = Eq01. Gen.: *-wontos?*  
*e-ri-na-wo-le*, Cn09+. Loc.: *-wontei?*  
*e-ro-ma-to*, An25. [Cf. *o-ro-ma-to?*]  
*e-ro-ne*, Na34. Loc. Palmer: cf. *Ελαών* II. ii, 500.  
*e-za-re-wo-ja*, Ma15+. Derivative of the title *e-za-re-u* (cf. *pa-si-re-wo-ja*, *za-ma-e-wo-ja*); = 'estate of the *e*'?  
*e-u-de-wo-ro*, 6 = Ab02+. *Eudaiolos?* [Cf. Εὐδαίλος name of Aspledon, Strabo.]  
*e-u-ta-re-*, Na1085.  
*e-wo-ka-wo-le*, Na10. Loc.: *-wontei?*  
*e-wo-ri-jo*, 54 = An19. *Ewaripos*. [Εὔριπος; probably Methóni, see p. 145.]  
*e-wo-ri-pi-jo*, An06. Ethnic: *Ewaripiai*.  
*e-wo-te-u*, Cn17.  
*e-wo-te-wo-ja*, Mn01+. Ethnic.  
*i-na-ne*, 51 = An20. Nom. plur.?  
*i-na-pi*, An24. Loc. plur.  
*i-na-pi-ja*, Ae01+. Ethnic or place?; cf. *pa-ki-ja-mi-ja*.  
*i-te-re-wo*, 258 = Kn01+.  
*i-wo-so*, 57 = An43+. *Iwasos*. [Cf. Ἰασον \*Αργος Od. xviii, 246; Mühlstein identifies with Ἰασος on Arcadian-Laconian border.]  
*i-wo-si-jo-to*, 76 = Cn22. Ethnic: *Iwasitai*.  
*ka-pa-ra-de*, 26 = An02+. Fem. ethnic? (nom. plur.).  
*ka-pa-ra-do*, Ad679. Gen. plur.  
*ka-ra-do-ro*, 257 = Jn09+. *Kharadros*. (One of the nine towns.) [Χάραδρος river near Messene, Paus. iv, 29, 5; cf. Χαλάδριοι in Elean inscr. Schwyzer, *Dial.* 415.]  
*ka-ra-do-ro-de*, 250 = Vn01. *Kharadron-de*.  
*ka-ra-u-jo*, An09.  
*ka-ro-ke-e*, 52 = An26.  
*ke-e*, Aa10+. Loc.?  
*ke-i-jo*, Na29. Ethnic or place? Georgiev: *Kzias*.  
*ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na*, 184 = Nn01. ---- *krānd?*  
*ze-i-ja-ka-ra-na*, Xa07. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
*ke-ra-ti-jo-ja*, An09. Gen.: *Geraisthio*. [Γεραίστιον Arcadia.]  
*ke-re-le*, An31. Nom. plur.: *Krētes?* [Κρής.]  
*ke-re-ti-wo*, Na09.  
*ke-re-za*, Ab25+. A place at Pylos. [Not = Κρήσσα.]  
*ki-ka-ne-wo-ja-de*, Vn07. Acc. + *-de*.

*ki-ni-di-ja*, Ab12+. Fem. ethnic: *Knidiai*. [Κνιδίαι.]  
*ki-ni-di-ja-o*, Ad683. Gen. plur.: *Knidiān*.  
*ki-si-wo-ja*, Aa770. Fem. ethnic: *Xiciiai*. [= Χίται? (Χίος < Χίλος).]  
*ki-si-wo-ja-o*, Ad675. Gen. plur.: *Xiwiān*.  
*ka-ri-to*, Ad07. *Korinthos*. [Not the known Κόρινθος.]  
*ko-ri-si-jo*, 52 = An26+. Ethnic: *Korinsios*. [Cf. woman's name *ko-ri-si-ja*.]  
*ko-ro-du-wo*, Na1041.  
*ko-ro-jo-wo-wo-ja*, Mn01. *Khōroia iworwia?*  
*ko-ro-ki-ja*, 26 = An02+. Fem. ethnic?  
*ko-ro-ki-ja-o*, Ad680. Gen. plur.  
*ka-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*, Na45+. Ethnic: *Ventris*, *Furumark*: *Krokalaioi* (cf. Κροκύλαια); *Sittig*: *Kerkurainoi*.  
*ko-tu-wo*, 131 = Eq01. Gen.  
*ka-tu-wo*, Na908. Loc.  
*[ku]-pa-ri-ro*, 187 = Na49. *Kuparissos*. [Κυπαρισσός, Hom. Κυπαρισσῆς II. ii, 593, now Kyparissia.]  
*ku-pa-ri-si-jo*, 56 = An657. Ethnic: *Kuparissioi*.  
*ku-te-ra*, Aa14. Fem. ethnic?: *Kuthērai*. [Κύθηρα.]  
*ku-te-ra-o*, Ad696. Gen. plur.: *Kuthēōn*.  
*ku-te-re-u-pi*, 28 = An42+. Loc. plur. of ethnic or place: *Kuthēreuphi?*  
*ma-ra-ne-nu-wo*, 54 = An19. Loc.  
*ma-ra-ne-ni-jo*, 175 = Ma10. Ethnic.  
*ma-ro*, Cn05+. [Cf. Μηλος.]  
*ma-ro-pi*, 61 = Cn04+. Loc. plur.?  
*ma-to-ro-pu-ro*, Cn10. Mühlstein: *Mátro-pulos* (i.e. the city from which Pylos was founded).  
*me-ka-o*, Na12. Gen.: *Megāo?* [Cf. men's names Μέγης, Μεγάδης.]  
*me-so-ro*, Na28. *Meuapoi?* [Cf. Μεσσαπῆται Laconia.]  
*me-ta-ro*, 44 = An29+. *Metapa*. (One of the nine towns.) [Μέταπα; cf. τὸς Μετανίος in Elean inscr. Schwyzer, *Dial.* 414.]  
*me-ta-ro-de*, 250 = Vn01. *Metapan-de*.  
*me-ta-pi-jo*, 58 = An654. Ethnic: *Metapios*.  
*me-te-to*, Na04+.  
*me-te-to-de*, 41 = An14. Acc. + *-de*.  
*mi-ra-ti-ja*, Aa17+. Fem. ethnic: *Mildāiai*. [Μιλῆτος in Ionia or Μίλατος in Crete?]  
*mi-ra-ti-ja-o*, Ad09, Ad689. Gen. plur.: *Mildāiān*.  
*na-i-se-wo-ja*, Jn692+. Ethnic?  
*no-do-wo-to-de*, 60 = An661. *Nadwonta-de?* [Νιδων river of E. Messenia.]  
*no-wo-u*, Ad02. Masc. ethnic?  
*no-wo-wo-ja*, Ab20+. Fem. ethnic.  
*no-wo-wo-ja-o*, Ad01. Gen. plur.  
*o-pi-ke-ri-jo*, An35. Perhaps not a place: *Opi-ikherian?*  
*o-pi-ke-ri-jo-de*, 55 = An724 (=32). Acc. + *-de?*  
*o-re-e-wo*, Cn11. Gen.: *Oreōios?* [Cf. Ὀρεός Euboea.]  
*o-re-mo a-ke-re-u*, Jn06.



o-ru-ma-to, 76 = Cn22. *Orumanthos*? [= Ἐρύμανθος.]  
 o-ru-ma-ti-ja-jo, 57 = An43. Ethnic.  
 o-wei-to-wo, 44 = An29+.  
 o-wei-ti-ni-jo, 56 = An657. Ethnic.  
 pa-ka-a-la-ri, 196 = Na70. *Pāgā Akharis*?  
 pa-ki-ja-na, 114 = En02, Na11+. Apparently gen. and loc. (One of the nine towns.) [Possibly *Sphagian-*, cf. Σφαγία = Σφακτηρία: see p. 143.]  
 pa-ki-ja-ni-ja, 114 = En02. Ethnic or alternative spelling?  
 pa-ki-ja-ne, Xc01. Ethnic (masc. plur.) used as place-name?  
 pa-ki-ja-pi, 257 = Jn09. Instr.-loc. plur.  
 pa-ki-ja-si, 51 = An20+. Dat.-loc. plur.  
 pa-ko, 49 = An07. *Phāgos*? [Cf. Φηγός Thessaly, Φήγεια Arcadia.]  
 pa-na-pi, Cn13. Loc. plur.: *Phanāphi*? [Cf. Φανά Αetolia.]  
 pa<sub>2</sub>-wo-na-de, Vn07. Acc. + -de.  
 pe-ra<sub>2</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja, 199 = Ng01+. *Pera-aigolaia*? See p. 144.  
 pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-ja, On01. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
 pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja, Ad15. Alternative (defective?) spelling.  
 pe-re-u-ro-na-de, 53 = An12. *Pleurāna-de*. [Πλευρών Αetolia, *Il.* ii, 639+.]  
 pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo, 59 = An656. Ethnic: *Pleurānias*.  
 pe-te-wo-te, Na08+. Loc.  
 pe-to-no, 75 = Cn02+. (One of the nine towns.)  
 pe-to-no-de, 250 = Vn01. Acc. + -de.  
 pi-ka-na, 194 = Na58.  
 pi-pu-te, 49 = An07. Loc.  
 pi<sup>a</sup>-de, 75 = Cn02+. (One of the nine towns.)  
*Phia*? [Φεία Triphylia? Cf. Φεαί, dubious reading in *Od.* xv, 297.]  
 pi<sup>a</sup>-de-de, 250 = Vn01. *Phian-de*.  
 po-ra-i, 59 = An656. Dat.-loc. plur. = *po-ra-pi*?  
 po-ra-pi, 53 = An12+. Loc. plur.: *Pharāphi*? [Φαρὰ Messenia?]  
 po-ti-ja-ke-e, 54 = An19+. Loc. [Cf. τί-μι-το α-κε-ε.]  
 po-to-to-wa-pi, Aa11+. Loc. plur.  
 po-wei-te-ja, Jn02+.  
 pu<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-a-ke-te-u, 184 = Nn01. Ethnic? Palmer: *Puragteus*.  
 pu<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-a-ki-ri-jo, Na52. Alternative spelling of the preceding?  
 pu-ro, Aa15+. *Pulos*. [Πύλος *Il.* xi, 671+.]  
 pu-ro-jo, An15. Gen.: *Puloio*.  
 qe-re-me-e, Na10. Loc.  
 qo-pi-ja, Na30. [Cf. Βοίβη Thessaly, *Il.* ii, 712; or Φοιβία Sicyon.]  
 qo-ro-mu-ro, Na841. *Brōmulo*? [Cf. Βρόμος, Brōmōskos against etymology.]  
 qo-ta, Na23.  
 qo-ta-wo, 50 = An18 rev.+.  
 ra-i-pi, Na17.  
 ra-mi-ni-jo/-ja, An13+. Ethnic. *Lāmmios* or *Rhāmmios*? [Λήμιος, Ῥαμνιός.]  
 ra-ni-jo-ne, 52 = An26.

ra-u-ra-ti-ja, On01. *Lauranthia*?  
 ra-wo-ra-ia<sub>2</sub>, 257 = Jn09+. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
 ra-u-ra-ti-jo, Ad664. Ethnic.  
 ra-wo-ra-ti-jo/-ja, Cn13, 45 = An830. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
 re-ka-ta-ne, 52 = An26. Loc. or ethnic?  
 re-pa<sub>2</sub>-se-wo, Cn11. Gen.: -*seuos*.  
 re-pe-u-ri-jo, Cn14. *Lepcurion*? [Cf. Λεπρεον Triphylia.]  
 ri-si-wo-e, 51 = An20. Loc.  
 re-u-ko-to-ro, 41 = An14+. *Leuktron*. [Λευκτρον Laconia, Arcadia, Achaea.]  
 ri-jo, 53 = An12+. (One of the nine towns.)  
*Rhion*. [Ῥίον Messenia (Strabo, viii, 360); modern Korōni.]  
 ri-sa-pi, Na71. Loc. plur.: *Lissāphi*? [Cf. Λίσσα Crete, Λίσσαι Thracē.]  
 ri-to-wo-ja, Na26.  
 ro-o-wo, 53 = An12+. (Possibly the port of Pylos; see p. 187.)  
 ro-u-so, 7 = Aa717+. *Lousoi*. [Λουσολ Arcadia.]  
 ro-u-si-jo, 252 = Vn06+. Ethnic: *Lousios*.  
 ra-ke-wo-wo-wei-ja, Na35. *Lu(n)kēos wortais*?  
 ru-ko-a<sub>2</sub>-[ke]-re-u-te, Jn08. *Lukoagreuthen*? [Cf. Λυκόα Arcadia.]  
 sa-ma-ra, 181 = Ma14+.  
 sa-ma-ra-de, 41 = An14. Acc. + -de.  
 sa-ma-ri-wo, Na73.  
 sa-ri-nu-zou-te, An09+. Loc.: *Salimvontai*? [Σαλινούς stream in Triphylia.]  
 sa-ri-no-te, Vn04. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
 si-jo-wo-te, Cn09. Loc.  
 si-re-wo, 182 = Ma18+.  
 so-ro-pe-o, 52 = An26.  
 so-wo-te, see do-ro-go-so-wo-te.  
 ta-mi-ta-na, 191 = Na26.  
 to-ra-ke-wei-, An25. *Trakheui[a]*? [Τραχίλα.]  
 te-mi-ti-ja, On01. = *ti-mi-ti-ja*.  
 te-re-ne-wo, 51 = An20. Loc. sing. or nom. plur.?  
 te-re-ne-wei-ja, An38. Ethnic.  
 te-re-e, Na15. Loc.  
 te-to-ro-ne, 53 = An12+. Loc. or nom. plur. [Carratelli Τερρώνη.]  
 te-tu-ru-wo, 184 = Nn01+. Loc. (Same place as the preceding?)  
 ti-mi-to a-ke-e, 176 = Ma12+. Palmer: *Them(i)tos agēvi*.  
 ti-mi-jo a-ke-i, 60 = An661. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
 ti-mi-ti-ja, 258 = Kn01+. Apparently not ethnic, but an alternative form of the place-name: *Themistia*. [Cf. *te-mi-ti-ja*.]  
 ti-pira-si-jo/-ja, 258 = Kn01+. Ethnic. [Cf. Τρινασός?]  
 ti-pira-ti-ja-o, 15 = Ad684, cf. Xa633. Alternative spelling of the gen. plur. fern. of the preceding.  
 to-ro-wo-so, Na47.  
 u-ke-jo, 184 = Nn01.



- u-pa-ra-ki-ri-ja*, An08. *Huparakria*? [= \*Υπερ-  
 ακρία.]  
*u-po-ra-ki-ri-ja*, Cn13. Alternative spelling of the  
 preceding.  
*u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*, 58 = An654. Alternative spelling?  
*u-po-di-jo-no*, Na18. Gen.  
*u-ra*-\*86, Na37.  
*u-tu-pi-ja-jo*, 57 = An43+. Ethnic: *Ulympaios*.  
 Cf. *u-tu-pi-ja*-[ KN X 392. [Cf. \*Υλυπος  
 = \*Ολυπος.]  
*u-tu-pi-ja-jo-jo*, 76 = Cn22. Gen.: *Ulympiaioia*.  
*u-we-si*, 59 = An656. Dat.-loc. plur.  
*wa-a<sub>2</sub>-te-pi*, Na19. Loc. plur.?  
*wa-a<sub>2</sub>-te-we*, 52 = An26. Ethnic?  
*wa-re-u-ka-ra*, Na576.
- wa-wo-u-de*, 58 = An654, cf. Xb02.  
*wi-ja-da-ra*, Ad02.  
*wi-ja-we-ra<sub>2</sub>*, Jn05+.  
*wi-nu-ri-jo*, 54 = An19.  
*wo-eo-ge-wo*, Na45, cf. 258 = Kn01.  
*wo-ge-we*, 54 = An19+. (Same place as the pre-  
 ceding?)  
*wo-tu-wa-ne*, Cn09.  
*za-ku-si-ja/-ja*, [54 = An19] 286 = Sa787+. Ethnic:  
*Zakunsias*. [Ζάκυνθος; cf. man's name  
*za-ku-si-jo*.]  
*za-ma-e-wi-ja*, 257 = Jn09 [Ma10 Vn03]. [Cf.  
*ka-ma-e-u* in Vocabulary.]  
*ze-i-ja-ka-ra-na*, see after *ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na*.  
*[.]ka-si-da*, 52 = An26.



PART II

SELECTED TABLETS

TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLATION,  
COMMENTARY







## EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE PRESENTATION

### NUMBERING

We have chosen 300 of the most interesting Mycenaean tablets for discussion here; they include 122 from the Knossos excavations of 1900-4, 105 from Pylos 1939, sixty-three from Pylos 1952, one from Pylos 1953, five from Mycenae 1952 and four from Mycenae 1954. They have been arranged in groups according to their context and given consecutive numbers from 1 to 300. These numbers are intended to help the user of this book, but Bennett's classification is everywhere added (e.g. 1 = Aa01), and should continue to be used alone in future references to the tablets. The new numbers adopted in *PT II* for the 1939 tablets were received too late for general use in this book, but have been added in square brackets where such tablets are transcribed.

A concordance of these tablets in the order of their original publication will be found on pp. 445-8; for the Knossos tablets Bennett's references consist of Evans' numeration (*SM II*) with the addition of a two-letter prefix indicating the context. A further concordance (pp. 449-52) lists all the 1939 Pylos tablets in serial order of their new numbers, irrespective of prefix, together with their old numbers. The Pylos tablets found in 1952 and later are referenced by their inventory numbers (as in *PT II*), which run upwards from 622.

The bracketed letters added by us to the Knossos tablet headings refer to the alleged find-spot (see fig. 13, p. 115), the Roman figures to the plate in *SM II* on which a legible photograph may be found; e.g. 29 = As821 (K. lix).

### TRANSCRIPTION

The transcription of the Mycenaean phonetic signs follows the values given in fig. 4, p. 23; where the value is unknown, Bennett's signary numbers are used with an asterisk, e.g. \*85-*de-we-sa*. Ideograms are transcribed in small capitals with the meanings suggested in fig. 10, pp. 50-1, and in the 'boxes' at the head of each section; evidence for these identifications will be given in the commentary. Unidentified ideograms are referred to by asterisked numbers \*100-\*243 as in fig. 10. Such spellings as *o.ki. SHEEP* refer to small syllabic signs used as 'adjuncts' (i.e. abbreviated descriptive notes): their function is discussed on p. 53 and in the commentary to the relevant groups of tablets. Weights and measures are printed with the original Mycenaean symbols, but in the translation are converted into their suggested metric equivalents with the ratios proposed on pp. 57-60.

The tablet readings published by Evans and Bennett have been independently checked by one or both of us from the originals in Greece. The state of the text is shown by the following conventions:

- fp-sp* Faint, damaged or careless signs, whose traces are compatible with the restoration proposed, though not necessarily to the exclusion of other possible readings.  
[ End of the line broken off, or too abraded to be read.



[?	Uncertain whether part of the text has been lost or not.
to-so [	The evidence of the tablet, or reliable analogy, indicates that the word is complete before the lacuna.
to-so-[	The evidence indicates that the word is not complete.
to-so[	The evidence is insufficient to decide the question.
[to]-so	Editors' restoration of sign completely lost.
[. .]	Two signs lost.
[ ± 15]	Space for approximately fifteen lost or illegible signs.
[X]	A missing ideogram, whose identity cannot be inferred.
[nn]	Missing numerals and weights and measures.
25 [	Numerals probably complete.
+ ]25	Tens probably incomplete.
25[ +	Digits probably incomplete.
25[	Uncertain whether numerals are complete or not.
{to}	Superfluous sign added in error by the scribe.
<to>	Sign accidentally or deliberately omitted by the scribe.
[to]	Sign erased by the scribe.
'to'	Scribe's corrected reading over erasure, or sign squeezed in above the line.
/	Change by the scribe to a different size of writing.

## TRANSLATION

An attempted English rendering of each tablet is added, except where it consists entirely of repetitive phrases. Doubtful and controversial translations of words and ideograms are printed in italics, without which a number of the tablets would appear as an impenetrable forest of question-marks.

Proper names which do not have a possible Greek explanation are printed in the transcription form; otherwise they are 'translated' into an approximation to the contemporary Greek form. Where the assumed classical parallel is obscured by phonetic changes (e.g. *po-ru-qa-ta* = *Polug'hontās* = Πολυφόντης), the reading can be checked in the index of personal names (pp. 414-27) and of place-names (pp. 146-50). Where necessary, place-names are distinguished by *p*, men's names by *m* and women's by *f*.

## NOTES

It was felt that a complete Greek version of each tablet would demand both excessive space and a premature finality in the interpretation. Where the equivalent Greek vocabulary and syntax are not obvious from the transcription and translation, they will be discussed in the Notes on the first appearance of the formula. The suggested Greek pronunciation and etymology of every word appearing on the published tablets can in any case be checked against the comprehensive Vocabulary (pp. 385-413).

Greek type will only be used for classical forms and quotations, the approximate Mycenaean pronunciation being indicated in Roman letters on the lines discussed in the Preface. We have adopted a conventional spelling of datives singular in *-ei* (e.g. *poimenei*, *wanaktei*) and of datives plural in *-a'i* (fem.) and *-oi'i* (masc.); the actual pronunciation of these forms is disputed (see p. 85).



## CHAPTER VI

### LISTS OF PERSONNEL

#### 1. WOMEN AND CHILDREN AT PYLOS (Aa, Ab, Ad)

THE Pylos tablets of these three series form a connected group. *Aa* and *Ab* tablets both enumerate women and children, the latter adding a reference to two commodities, wheat and figs. The *Ad* tablets list men and boys who are specifically stated to be the sons of various groups of women largely identifiable with those mentioned in *Aa* and *Ab*.

The relation between the *Aa* and *Ab* series seems to be unique, for the headings in at least twenty-one cases are repeated in each series; and there is a general resemblance in the figures given which suggests that these record the numerical strength of the same groups at different times. Contrary to what appears to have been the usual custom, the first set were not destroyed on being replaced; possibly the second census was not complete when the records came to an end. There does not seem to be any means of gauging the interval between the two counts, though we may conjecture an annual revision of the lists to be likely. In one case the numbers remain constant (*Aa*795: *Ab*19; probably also *Aa*05: *Ab*11+35); elsewhere the increases and decreases seem to be about equal. The total of the numbers preserved on the *Aa* tablets is 631 women, 376 girls and 261 boys, or 1268 souls in all. Those on the *Ab* series are smaller ( $370+190+149=709$ ). In estimating the actual numbers of this class allowance must be made for lost or damaged tablets; but the *Aa* group may contain a few duplicates.

Since some of these tablets contain nothing but an enumeration of the women and children, it follows that the record is primarily a census and the other entries are subsidiary. The same applies to the *Ad* tablets, where the only entry is the number of men and boys, except for three cases in which there is a further note of a deficit (*o-pe-ro*).

The groups of women are described in three ways, which may be variously combined. The description usually begins with a place-name, though this may be omitted (see below). Then the group is normally described by its trade or occupation: e.g. *lewotrokhowi* 'bath-attendants', *meletriai* 'corn-grinders',

100		MAN
103		MAN <sup>b</sup>
101		MAN <sup>c</sup>
102		WOMAN



*ampukoworgoi* 'headband-makers', *alakateiai* 'spinners', *pektriai* 'carders'. In some cases an ethnic adjective appears to be substituted for the trade: *Knidiai* (Knidos), *Milātiai* (Miletus), *Kuthēr(i)ai* (Kythera), *Lāmniai* (?) (Lemnos). Others not identifiable but probably ethnic are *ti-nwa-si-ja*, *a-da-ra-te-ja* (cf. Ἀδρήστεια, *Il.* II, 828), *ze-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra*, *ki-si-wi-ja* (from an early form of Khios?). In the *Ad* tablets both trade and ethnic may be coupled: e.g. *ti-nwa-ti-ja-o i-te-ja-o* 'of the weavers of T.' (15 = Ad684). Here too there may in some cases be an indication of the fathers of the children; as in this same tablet where they are also called: *a-pu-ne-we e-re-ta-o ko-wo* 'the sons of rowers at A.'

It is tempting to speculate about the status and origin of these women. The menial tasks that they perform suggest that they were slaves: possibly the labour force for the industry on which the wealth of the Mycenaean kingdoms must at least in part have been built. The casual references to the fathers of the children also seem to indicate that they are not the product of any regular union. The absence of men listed in their own right is surprising; women appear to predominate, and where the men are listed it is as the sons of the women. The deficiency of men is to some extent compensated by certain of the lists in the *An* series, though these may not be strictly parallel; some at least seem to be allocations of labour for special purposes. It may be suggested that the labour force is in part the product of piratical raids on the non-Greek areas of the Aegean. If the defeated inhabitants were carried off into slavery this would account for the preponderance of women and children, most of the men being killed in the fighting or subsequently slaughtered. The interpretation of *ra-wi-ja-ja* as 'captives' (see 16 = Ad686) supports this view; though it might be supposed that these women are distinguished from the other categories. They would, however, only be called 'captives' for a short time, before being assigned to an occupation. Virolleaud (1953, p. 193) quotes an Ugaritic text which refers to *bn amht kt* 'the sons of the slave-women of *Kt*' (= Kition in Cyprus?)—an almost exact parallel for the *Ad* tablets. The ethnic names may then be a clue to the places raided by the ships of Pylos. It is plain from numerous references in Homer that 'Viking' raids of this sort were everyday occurrences in Mycenaean Greece; and the incursion of sea-peoples repelled by Ramses III was probably a major expedition of this type. Indeed the Trojan War may have begun as a similar operation. The insecurity of early Greece as described by Thucydides (I, 5, 6) is likely enough; and the *raison d'être* of the hegemony of Mycenae was probably the comparative security it afforded to the subordinate powers.

A notable characteristic of the *Ab* tablets, apart from the added formula, is a difference in the form of the heading. In *Aa* the location is ordinarily



omitted if it is Pylos; Aa15 is exceptional, Aa16 is now reclassified as Ab564. The writer of the *Ab* series begins each entry with a place-name, though once or twice he seems to have forgotten it (e.g. Ab03) or to have inserted it as an afterthought (Ab23, Ab31+789). The hypothesis of at least two writers is supported by differences in spelling: *Aa* spells the feminine agent suffix *-ti-ri-ja*, *Ab* *-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>*. A study of the handwriting confirms this conclusion.

Tablets of both groups end with a formula which has the usual form: DA I TA I (*Aa*) or DA TA (*Ab*); the distinction is not, however, absolute, and within each group either part or the whole formula may be omitted; the order may also be reversed. No numbers other than one ever appear, and it is therefore certain that the formula does not express any ration or allocation, which should show some variation according to the numbers of women concerned. This disproves Webster's suggestion (1954, p. 11) that DA is a measure of land, as in PY 114=En02, where DA 40 is glossed *to-sa da-ma-te*. The same abbreviation may have different meanings in different contexts. For a possible correlation of this formula with the rations on the *Ab* tablets see below. The same formula appears on some Knossos tablets dealing with women and children (e.g. 18=Ak611), and there the numeral following TA may be 2.

Where a ration of wheat and figs is specified (*Ab* tablets only), the amounts are roughly proportional to the numbers of women and children. The amounts of the two commodities are always identical. The basis of the calculation would appear to be a ration of T 2 for each woman, with half that amount for each child irrespective of sex. This is further proof that the calculation of rations is not the sole purpose of the census. In Ab15+899 eight women, three girls and three boys receive T 22 ( $=8 \times 2 + 6$ ); Ab31+789 six women, six girls ('boys' is here a scribal error) and three boys receive T 21 ( $=6 \times 2 + 9$ ); Ab41+745 two women and one girl receive T 5 ( $=2 \times 2 + 1$ ). The same scale is suggested by Ab06 where there are no children, but the number of women is damaged; the ration, however, is T 4, i.e. that presumed for two women.

Although the figures never fall below this basic level, in most cases the ration is supplemented by a factor varying up to more than one-half (Ab19), and not infrequently one-third or more (Ab01, 6=Ab02, Ab09, Ab17, Ab30). There appears to be no principle by which the amount of this supplement can be derived from the details recorded; it is perhaps an allowance for the skilled or heavy nature of the work performed. Of the three clear cases of the basic ration it is noticeable that in two the DA TA formula is absent, while in the third the right-hand edge of the tablet is missing; Ab06 has only TA. Wherever the full formula DA TA (or TA DA) is found, there is an improvement on the



basic ration; TA alone is accompanied by a very small supplement (one-twelfth) on Ab16. This correlation may, however, be accidental, for the presence of the formula will not explain the variations in the proportion of the increase.

It was suggested in ch. II (p. 60) that T 2 represents an absolute value of approximately 24 litres. This was based partly on a possible equation between weight and bulk in the case of *knakos* 'safflower', and on a reasonable range of values for the smallest unit  $\varnothing$  1; but also on the specific assumption that these Ab rations are monthly ones. Such a ration of 24 litres is little less than the *khoinix* (27 litres) regarded as the classical monthly ration for a fighting man; it is often supplemented and is in any case accompanied by an equal quantity of another commodity which is almost certainly figs. The identification is to some extent guesswork, but a monthly ration seems to fit better than a daily or yearly one.

Rations of figs are not unknown in antiquity. Two Cretan inscriptions (*Inscr. Cret.* IV, 79 and 144) give yearly rations (possibly for a group) which include 100 *medimni* of figs and 200 *medimni* of barley; cf. also IV, 77. Cato (*Agr.* 56) recommends a reduction in the ration of bread for slaves 'when they start eating figs'.

### 1 = Aa01 [62]

*me-re-ti-ri-ja* WOMEN 7 *ko-wa* 10 *ko-wo* 6

Seven corn-grinding women, ten girls, six boys.

*me-re-ti-ri-ja*: the identification of this word depends upon the interpretation of *me-re-u-ro* as 'flour' in PY 171 = Un718 (see Vocabulary, p. 399). Corn grinding is one of the tasks commonly undertaken by women; cf. γυνή... ἄλετρις (*Od.* XX, 105).

### 2 = Aa815

*a-ke-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>* WOMEN 38 *ko-wa* 33 *ko-wo* 16 DA I TA I

Thirty-eight nurses, thirty-three girls, sixteen boys; one *da-*, one *ta-*.

*a-ke-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>*: not satisfactorily identified; for other suggestions see Vocabulary (p. 387).

It is plainly a common occupation among women. The translation 'nurses' is based on the gloss of Hesychius ἀγέρτρια· μαῖα; McKenzie's suggestion (*Cl. Quart.* XV, 48) that this word is a dissimilation of \*ἀγέρτρια is only a guess, and the dissimilation might even be of Mycenaean date. On DA TA see above (p. 157).

### 3 = Ad694

*pe-ki-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>-o* *ko-wo* MEN 4 *ko-wo* 3

Four sons of the carders, three boys.

*pe-ki-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>-o*: *pektriān*, from πίκω.



*ko-wo*: this word is used on these tablets in two senses: (a) 'son (of)', (b) 'boy' (as opposed to grown man).

4 = Aa04 [240]

*a-ra-ka-te-ja* WOMEN 21 *ko-wa* 25 *ko-wo* 4 TA I

Twenty-one spinning-women, twenty-five girls, four boys; one *ta*-.

*a-ra-ka-te-ja*: a derivative of ἡλακάτη. This tablet and Aa03 appear to break the rule that there are not two tablets in the same series with identical headings; possibly the broken portion contained the statement of rations, which would assign it to the Ab class; but in these TA DA usually follows the rations.

5 = Aa792

*ki-ni-di-ja* WOMEN 21 *ko-wa* 12 *ko-wo* 10 DA I TA I

Twenty-one Cnidian women, twelve girls, ten boys; one *da*-, one *ta*-.

*ki-ni-di-ja*: *Knidiai*, ethnic of Κνίδιος.

6 = Ab02 [379]

*e-u-de-we-ro* WOMEN 8 *ko-wa* 2 *ko-wo* 3 WHEAT 2 T 8  
FIGS 2 T 8 TA DA

At Eudeiweilos: eight women, two girls, three boys; 336 l. of wheat, 336 l. of figs; *ta*-, *da*-.

*e-u-de-we-ro*: an unidentified place-name, which recalls the Homeric epithet, of uncertain meaning and etymology, εὐδείελος; if this is correct the spelling will help to resolve some of the difficulties of the Homeric word.

7 = Aa717

*ro-u-so a-ke-ti-ri-ja* WOMEN 32 *ko-wa* 18 *ko-wo* 8 DA I TA I

At Lousoi: thirty-two nurses, eighteen girls, eight boys; one *da*-, one *ta*-.

*ro-u-so*: a place under the control of Pylos, cf. 178 = Ma13, 252 = Vn06, probably Λουσολ in Arcadia. The addition of the place-name distinguishes this entry from the nurses at Pylos (2 = Aa815).

8 = Ad670

*e-u-de-we-ro ri-ne-ja-o* *ko-wo* MEN 4

At Eudeiweilos: four sons of the flax-workers.

The women are here given a trade-name, but may be the same group as those meant in 6 = Ab02 above.

*ri-ne-ja-jo*: a common occupation among women, probably *lineiāōn*, a derivative of λίνον.







## 13 = Ad691

*e-ke-ro-qo-no-ge pa-wo-ko-ge.*

*pu-ro o-pi-ro-qo ko-wo* MEN 9

At Pylos: nine sons of the supernumerary women, and of the wage-earners and casual workers.

*o-pi-ro-qo*: *opiloioqōn*, = ἐπιλοίπων; i.e. the women not yet allocated to particular duties.

*e-ke-ro-qo-no-ge*: Palmer (1954*b*, p. 23) proposes *enkhéroqōinōn*, from \*ἐγχειρό-ποινος. For ἐγχειρά = μισθός cf. Schwyzer, *Dial.* 325<sup>4</sup>, and Cypr. ὑχέρων Schwyzer, *Dial.* 679*A*<sup>5</sup>.

*pa-wo-ko-ge*: the nominative *pa-wo-ke* occurs in Aa795. Palmer proposes *par-worges*, a compound of παρ- with the base \*worg-. The apocope of a preposition cannot yet be paralleled.

## 14 = Ad697 + 698

*da-mi-ni-ja e-re-[.] -ge-ro-me-no* MEN[  
[ri]-ne-ja-o ko-wo

At Damnia: *x* sons of the flax-workers; . . .

*da-mi-ni-ja*: presumably a place-name since it is not a genitive plural. Cf. \*Ἐπί-δαμνος? *da-mi-ni-ja* MEN 40 occurs on 54 = PY An19 and is common on the Knossos tablets, chiefly those dealing with sheep (see p. 203). The top line gives further information about this group. Possibly restore *e-re-[e] ge-ro-me-no* = *ereen g<sup>o</sup>elomenoi* 'willing to row', or *e-re-[ta] ge-ro-me-no* = *eretai g<sup>o</sup>elomenoi* 'becoming rowers' (cf. Hom. πέλονται).

## 15 = Ad684

*a-pu-ne-we e-re-ta-o ko-wo*

*pu-ro ti-nwa-ti-ja-o i-te-ja-o ko-wo* MEN 5 *ko-wo* 2

At Pylos: five sons of the *Ti-nwa*-sian weavers (sons of rowers at *A-pu-ne-we*), two boys.

*ti-nwa-ti-ja-o*: the same as the *ti-nwa-si-ja* (nom.) PY Ab14. It is probably an ethnic adjective from an unrecorded place-name \**ti-nwa-to* (-ανθος?). Nouns in *-ti-* usually form adjectives in *-si-jo* = -σιος (see p. 73); but there is some wavering, e.g. *mi-ra-ti-ja* from Μιλάτος. It is possible that the sound was at this stage intermediate, perhaps *-ti-* as suggested by Andrews.

*i-te-ja-o*: *histeiāōn*, a derivative with the suffix *-eia* from ιστός (cf. ιστουργός)?

*a-pu-ne-we*: a place-name, elsewhere spelt *a-po-ne-we* 53 = An12, 54 = An19, probably in the dative case. The top line is to be read together with the lower; i.e. the parentage is recorded on both sides, cf. 28 = An42.

## 16 = Ad686

*o-u-pa-ro-ke-ne-[to ?a]-ka-wo-ta-ra-ko-po-ro*

*pu-ro ke-re-za ra-wi-ja-ja-o ko-wo* MEN 15



At *Ko-re-za*, Pylos: fifteen sons of the captives; *Alkaiwon* the. . . did not present himself.

*ke-re-za*: this word was taken by Furumark in Ab25 and Ab26 (reading *ke-re-ta<sub>2</sub>*) as *Κρητταί*; but although this interpretation might still be possible owing to the ambiguity of *za*, it seems to be disproved by this tablet, which shows that it is not part of the description of the women since it is not a genitive plural. It occurs as first word, followed by *ra-wi-ja-ja* on Aa807; and on Ab25 and Ab26 it is preceded by *pu-ro*, apparently without a divider. It seems more likely therefore that it is a place at Pylos.

*ra-wi-ja-ja-jo*: *lāwiaiāōn*, derivative of Dor. *λαία*, Ion. *λητή* 'booty'; cf. *ληϊάδας*. . . *γυναικας* (Il. xx, 193). This has also been proposed by Georgiev.

*ou parogeneto Alkaiwōn*. . . *-phoros*: the name *a-ka-wo* occurs in other tablets at Pylos, though not qualified.

*ta-ra-ko-po-ro*: hardly *tragophoros* 'wearing a goat-skin' (cf. *τραγηφόρος*, *di-pte-ra-po-ro*). The reading *-ko-* is very uncertain.

## 2. WOMEN AND CHILDREN AT KNOSSOS (Ai, Ak)

This is a much less homogeneous group than the corresponding tablets at Pylos. The introductory word may be a Cretan place-name or the feminine of the ethnic adjective derived from one. In some cases there is added or substituted a man's name, which may be in the genitive (e.g. Ai63, Ak622), though in other cases the syntactic relationship is unexpressed and the name stands in the nominative as a mere heading (e.g. Ag91, 20 = Ak824; in this tablet Furumark is unjustified in presuming *a-pi-qo-i-ta* to be an adjective in agreement with *do-e-ra*, since a compound adjective should normally have only two terminations). This tablet specifically refers to the women as slaves, and it is likely that the same applies to the whole group. The children are further subdivided into 'older' (*me-zo*) and 'younger' (*me-wi-jo*, *me-u-jo*).

There are a number of other annotations, mostly abbreviations at which we can only guess (e.g. *pa. di.-*, *pe. di.-*, *ne. di.-*, *di. za.-*, *zo. di.-*, *de.-*, *tu.-*, \*85.-). The frequent *di.-* is fairly certainly a contraction of a word spelt more fully *di-da-ka-re ne. 22* = Ak781, *di-da-ka-re* Ak783, Ak784, *di-da-ka-* Ak828. The form of this word is obscure; the final *ne.-* is probably an independent abbreviation (see below). The recurrent *di-da-ka-re* may then be for *didaskale(ion)*, but the dropping of the extra sign needed is surprising though not impossible; in the other cases the end of the word is lost and *di-da-ka* might stand for *didakhā(i)*. But the *-re* appears to be part of the word. Ventris suggests *didaskalei*, a locative of the type of *oīkai*. Whatever the exact form it seems plausible to conjecture a meaning 'under instruction' or the like, and to compare it with



*de-di-ku-ja* 18 = Ak611 (abbreviated to *de-* Ak620?). This word too appears to be incorrectly spelt if intended for *dedidakhui*, perfect participle of διδάσκω; the meaning is clearly intransitive (see p. 89) 'having completed their training'. It is hardly likely that this has reference to general education; much more probably these are women newly enslaved who have to be taught a trade; cf. the Homeric custom by which slave-women are regularly described by such phrases as ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδνίας (*Il.* ix, 270); cf. τὰς . . . ἔργα διδάξαμεν ἐργάζεσθαι *Od.* xxii, 422.

Of the other abbreviations *ne-* and *pe-* may be *newōterai* (or simply *newai*) and *presguterai*; *pa-* possibly *palaiai*. The same suggestions were made by Furumark (1954).

The expression DA I TA I already noted at Pylos recurs at Knossos, and here we have also TA 2. The relation of these entries to the rest of the text remains obscure.

17 = Ai739 (H li)

<sup>1</sup> *ra-su-to* / *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* WOMEN 2

<sup>2</sup> *ko-wa* 1 *ko-wo* 1

At *Lasunthos*: two nurses, one girl, one boy.

*ra-su-to*: a place-name; the adjective *ra-su-ti-jo* occurs on Lc761; cf. Λάσος, Λασαία.

18 = Ak611 (? xliv)

<sup>1</sup> *to-te-ja* <sup>DA I</sup> TA 2 WOMEN 10[+ ] *de-di-ku-ja* WOMAN 1 [

<sup>2</sup> *ko-wa me-zo-e* 4 *ko-wo me-wi-jo* 1 [

—: two *ta-*, one *da-*; 10+ women; one *trained* woman; four older girls, one younger boy.

*to-te-ja*: not found elsewhere.

*de-di-ku-ja*: see above.

*me-zo-e*: *mezoēs*; on the form of the declension of *me-zo* and *me-wi-jo* see p. 86.

19 = Ak627 (F? lii)

<sup>1</sup> [ ]-*to a-no-zo-jo* <sup>DA I</sup> TA 1 [WOMEN] 9 *pe. di.* 2

<sup>2</sup> *ko-wa me]-zo-e* 7 *ko-wo me-wi-jo-e* [9] '10'

<sup>3</sup> *ko-wo me-zo]-e* 2 *ko-wo me-wi-jo-e* [9] '10'

At —: *to*: nine [female] (slaves) of *A-no-zo*; one *da-*, one *ta-*; two *older women under instruction*; seven older girls, ten younger girls, two older boys, ten younger boys.



*a-no-za-jo*: presumably a man's name in the genitive.

*pe. di*:- see above, p. 162.

*me-za-e* (line 3): here dual *mezoē*.

Compare the women and children of two sizes listed on the Sumerian palace ration-lists from Lagaš (e.g. Genouillac 1909, *TSA*, xn):

40 l. of emmer-wheat to the woman Iduḫaḫḫa,  
20 l. to a boy (*dumu-nita*),  
two girls (*dumu-sal*) at 20 l.,  
six serving-women at 40 l.,  
one small boy (*ṣag-dug-nita*) at 20 l.,  
two small girls (*ṣag-dug-sal*) at 20 l., etc.

20 = Ak824 (K lviii)

<sup>1</sup> *a-pi-go-i-ta* | *do-e-ra* WOMEN 32 *ko-wa me-za-e* 5 *ko-wa me-wi-jo-e* 15  
<sup>2</sup> *ko-wo me-wi-jo-e* 4

Amphiq<sup>h</sup>oitās: thirty-two female slaves, five older girls, fifteen younger girls, four younger boys.

*a-pi-go-i-ta*: only here in this spelling, which can hardly be anything but *Amphiq<sup>h</sup>oitās* = Ἀμφιποιτίας. Elsewhere we find *a-pi-go-ta* (see index of personal names). Furumark understands as adjective ἀμφιπορταί (no meaning given), see p. 162.

21 = Ak624 (F? xlvī)

DA[  
<sup>1</sup> *ri-jo-ni-ja* TA[  
<sup>2</sup> *ne.* | *di.* 3 *ko-wa me-za-e* [nn  
<sup>3</sup> *ko-wo di.* 3 *ko-wo me-za-e* [nn

*Ri-jo-nian* women: *x da*-, *x ta*-. . .; three young women under instruction, *x* older girls. . ., three boys under instruction, *x* older boys. . .

*ri-jo-ni-ja*: feminine ethnic of the place-name *ri-jo-no* (Ap639, etc.).

The annotation *di*.- applied to boys is unusual; in view of the order it may distinguish a class of boys older than those called *me-za-e*.

22 = Ak781 (J liii)

<sup>1</sup> ] WOMEN 17 [   
<sup>2</sup> ] *ko-wa* [   
<sup>3</sup> ] *di-da-ka-re ne.* 1 *ko-wo* [

. . .seventeen women. . .*x* girls. . .one young woman under instruction, *x* boys. . .

*di-da-ka-re*: see commentary, p. 162 above.



## 3. MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN AT KNOSSOS (Ag, Ai)

Some tablets record only small numbers of women (and in one case men); they may be records of families, but the introductory name is ambiguous and may refer to the owner of a group of slaves as elsewhere.

23 = Ag1654 (?)

*qe-ri-jo* MAN<sup>c</sup> I WOMAN I *ko-wa* [

*Qe-ri-jo* (man), one woman (wife?), one girl (daughter?)....

*qe-ri-jo*: probably a personal name. But it may be genitive, i.e. slaves of *Q.*; cf. the next tablet.

24 = Ai63 (O xxiv)

*pe-se-ro-jo e-e-si*

WOMAN I *ko-wa* I *ko-wo* I

(The slaves? family?) of Psellos are: one woman (wife?), one girl (daughter?), one boy (son?).

*pe-se-ro-jo*: *Pselloio*; the name recurs in the nominative or dative on MY 105 = Gc602.

*e-e-si*: *eensi*, 3rd pers. plur. of pres. ind. of *elul* (see p. 89).

*ko-wa*: the numeral is quite clear on the original.

## 4. WOMEN WORKERS AT KNOSSOS

At Knossos women are not so often referred to by trade-names as at Pylos; this sample shows a classification of women containing one of the words found at Pylos.

25 = Ap694 (G xlvi)

<sup>1</sup> ]-ja *ko-u-re-ja* WOMEN [

<sup>2</sup> ] *ka-ra-we* WOMEN [

<sup>3</sup> ] *a-ze-ti-ri-ja* WOMEN [

*ko-u-re-ja*: here apparently a feminine trade-name, also found on textile tablets (Lc581) where it must be connected with the annotation *ko-u-ra* often associated with *pa-we-a* (*pharvea*). Georgiev notes '=κούραια' without comment; presumably as feminine of *κούρεος*; but this root has a spurious diphthong arising from \**κορσ*-. A connexion with *κούρειον* does not seem more satisfactory.

*ka-ra-we*: *grāwes*, 'old women'.

*a-ze-ti-ri-ja*: the same word as *a-ke-ti-ra*<sub>2</sub> PY 2 = Aa815.



## 5. WOMEN WORKERS AT PYLOS

Some similar lists from Pylos record large groups of women classified according to occupation or origin.

26 = An02 [292]

- <sup>1</sup> *si-to-ko-wo*
- <sup>2</sup> *ka-pa-ra<sub>2</sub>-de* WOMEN 24 *ko-wo* 10 [+ ?]
- <sup>3</sup> *ko-ro-ki-ja* WOMEN 8 *ko-wo* [nn]
- <sup>4</sup> *ki-ni-di-[ja* WOMEN] 21 *ko-[wo* nn

Measurers of grain: twenty-four *Ka-pa-ra<sub>2</sub>-de* women, 10 + boys, eight *Ko-ro-ki-ja* women, x boys, twenty-one Cnidian women, x boys.

*si-to-ko-wo*: *sitokhowoi*, presumably women responsible for measuring out the correct amounts of σίτος. Bennett takes this as an abstract of Aa788, Aa02, and 5 = Aa792, and restores the numerals accordingly. In this case *ko-wo* will mean 'children'.

*ka-pa-ra<sub>2</sub>-de*: the reading of the second sign has been corrected by Bennett to *pa*. Probably a feminine ethnic in -άδες. It reappears on Aa788 and the genitive *ka-pa-ra<sub>2</sub>-do* on Ad679.

*ko-ro-ki-ja*: probably another feminine ethnic. Hardly from κρόκος or κρόκη (acc. κρόκα Hesych.). The word reappears on Pylos Aa02, Ab07, its genitive *ko-ro-ki-ja-o* on Ad680.

27 = Ae08 [303]

*i-je-ro-jo* [ku-ru-so-jo *i-je-ro-jo*]

*pu-ro i-je-re-ja do-e-ra e-ne-ka ku-ru-so-jo* WOMEN 14 [+]

At Pylos: 14 + female slaves of the priestess on account of sacred gold.

*i-je-re-ja*: *hieraiās*. We find a woman named *e-ra-ta-ra* described as 'slave of the priestess' on 119 = Eo02.

*e-ne-ka*: *heneka*, despite the presumed \*ἐνφεκα of the etymologists.

*ku-ru-so-jo i-je-ro-jo*: *khrusoio hieroio*. The nature of the transaction is obscure; were the slaves given to the priestess in return for some gold which had been offered? Or are they allocated to look after the gold ritual objects?

28 = An42 [607]

- <sup>1</sup> *me-ta-pa ke-ri-ni-ja do-qe-ja ki-ri-te-wi-ja*
- <sup>2</sup> *do-qe-ja do-e-ro pa-te ma-te-de ku-te-re-u-pi*
- <sup>3</sup> WOMEN 6 *do-qe-ja do-e-ra e-qe-ta-i e-e-to*
- <sup>4</sup> *te-re-te-we* WOMEN [6] '13'
- <sup>5</sup> *do-qe-ja do-e-ro pa-te ma-te-de di-wi-ja do-e-ra*
- <sup>6</sup> WOMEN 3 *do-qe-ja do-e-ra ma-te pa-te-de ka-ke-u*
- <sup>7</sup> WOMAN 1 *do-qe-ja do-e-ra ma-te pa-te-de ka-ke-u*



## 8 WOMEN 3

vacant 2

11

ka

At Metapa: ——— women *barley-reapers*. Six women *reapers*, their father a slave and their mother *among the Kytherans*; thirteen women *reapers*, ———; three women *reapers*, their father a slave and their mother a slave of *Diwia*; one woman *reaper*, her mother a slave and her father a smith; three women *reapers*, their mother a slave and their father a smith.

The arrangement of this tablet is unusual since the phrases regularly run on from one line to the next (2-3, 3-4, 5-6, 6-7, 7-8). It is therefore difficult to know how to punctuate lines 1-2. Possibly *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* is part of the phrase *ma-te-de ku-te-re-u-pi* inserted above for lack of space or as an afterthought.

*Metapa*: a well-known place-name, but hardly that in Acarnania; possibly on the Elean border, see list of place-names (p. 148).

*ke-ri-mi-ja*: the only other instance of this word is on Knossos Lc535, a fragment mentioning also *talasia* 'pensum' and introduced by the totalling formula *to-sa*. Possibly a derivative of χείρ, but the meaning is obscure; cf. also κελυῖς glossed as παῖς ἢ λύκιθον (*sic*) by Hesychius.

*do-ge-ja*: this is clearly a key-word on this tablet, but unfortunately it occurs nowhere else; a man's name *do-ge-u* KN B 804 looks like the corresponding masculine (cf. *i-je-re-u/i-je-re-ja*; see p. 89). In this case, however, it must be a description of the women. Various attempts at interpretation have been made; our original idea was to connect it with δόρπον, but the sense is unsatisfactory. The analogy of other words such as *to-no* = θρόνος leads one to suspect *dorqeia* = \*δρόπεια, cf. masc. μάλω-δρόπης (Sappho). The etymology of δρέπω is not certain; but there is no objection to a labio-velar in the word, the π being generalized as frequently. The word will perhaps mean 'picker', possibly 'reaper' or 'gleaner'.

*ki-ri-te-wi-ja*: elsewhere this word stands alone as a description of women (*ki-ri-te-wi-ja e-ko-si* 131 = Eb21, 135 = Ep704, but is here probably an adjective qualifying *do-ge-ja*, if the order is sound. If this means 'reaper', it may perhaps be connected with κριθαί 'barley'; the form of the adjective is not without parallel, cf. *wa-na-se-wi-ja* 235 = Ta711 from φάνασσα.

*doelos patēr, mātēr de . . .*

*ku-te-re-u-pi*: Georgiev and Andrews suggest *khutreuphi* 'potters'; but the ordinary word for 'potter' is *kerameus* (52 = An26), and its recurrence as first word on Na01 seems to prove that it is a place-name (see p. 297). It is presumably the instrumental plural of an ethnic in *-eus*, used to designate the area. The *-phi* suffix must here have locative functions. It is natural to connect this with *ku-te-ra*, Aa14, Ab22, gen. plur. *ku-te-ra-o* Ad696; some derivative of the island *Kuthēra*? *ku-te-re-u-pi* refers perhaps to a colony of Kytherans settled within the Pylian territory.

*e-ge-ta-i*: *heq'etā'i* = ἐπὶ τῶν. The added *-i* is the mark of the dative plural, whatever



the form intended (see p. 84). Palmer is right in supposing the *heq<sup>a</sup>etās* to be an important person (see on 57 = An43 below), probably a companion of the king.

*e-e-to*: the initial *e-e-* recalls *e-e-si* and suggests that this too is some part of *elui*; possibly the 3rd plural present imperative, to be read *eestō(n)* or *eentō(n)*. But an imperative seems out of place here. Andrews has called attention to the gloss *ἐαντο ἥσαν* (Hesych.), and suggested that this is some sort of 3rd plural imperfect (= \**ēhent*). Perhaps the middle conjugation is not impossible; cf. Hom., Acol. *ἔσσο*, Delph. *ἤται*, Mess. *ἤνται* (dubious Hom. *ἐσσο* *Od.* xx, 106).

*te-re-te-we*: apparently dative singular, or nominative plural or dual of a stem in *-us* or *-eus*. The difficulty is that if from *-eus*, it must be masculine and so cannot apply to the women. The analogy of the other entries leads us to expect that this too has something to do with parentage, but so far it has proved impossible to extract any convincing meaning from it. The figure 6 may have been changed to 13 to include the 7 recorded below.

*di-wi-ja*: possibly nominative feminine singular of an adjective *diuios* = Hom. *δῖος*; perhaps in the meaning 'of Zeus' not found in Homer; cf. the month name *di-wi-jo-jo* KN Fp5 (see p. 305). More likely to be equated with *di-u-ja* (cf. *me-wi-jo/me-u-jo*), both representing a pronunciation *diuja*, which is certainly a divine name in 172 = Kn02; cf. *Διφι[α]* (= Magna Mater according to Meister) in a Pamphylian inscription (Schwyzer, *Dial.* 686, 1). If so, to be read here as genitive, another of the slaves belonging to deities.

## 6. INDIVIDUAL MEN AT KNOSSOS (As)

In some cases persons are recorded singly; in such cases the name is usually given, followed by the trade or duties to which he is assigned. The purpose of these records is probably to keep a note of the numbers for whose feeding or payment the palace is responsible, as in the case of the groups of women.

29 = As821 (K lix)

<sup>1</sup> ]-ra-jo e-ge-ta-e e-ne-ka ti-mi-to MEN 2 ki-ta-ne-to | su-ri-mo e-ne-ka o-pa MAN 1

<sup>2</sup> ]-pe-we e-ja i-je-[re]-u po-me e-ne-ka | o-pa MAN 1 ka-pe-re-u | e-ge-ta e-ki-si-jo  
MAN 1

... two followers on account of tribute; *Ki-ta-ne-to* at *Su-ri-mo*<sup>b</sup> on account of dues; ... priest at *E-ra*, shepherd on account of dues; Kopreus, follower, of *Exos*<sup>b</sup>.

For the readings see *KT II*. The tablet is badly preserved and many signs are doubtful.

*e-ge-ta-e*: a strange form, but in view of the numeral 2 possibly intended as a dual.

Perhaps the termination of the consonant stems extended to the masculine *a*-stems.

*ti-mi-to*: read by Palmer (1954b, p. 49) as *Themi(s)tos* in the Pylos place-name *ti-mi-to a-ke-e*. Here possibly as a common noun = 'dues, tribute', cf. *λιπαρὸς τελέουσι θέμιστος* *Il.* ix, 156 (if rightly so taken).



*ki-ta-ne-to*: a man's name which reappears in connexion with the place *Su-rí-mo* on Dal108.

*o-pa*: a word which recurs several times at Knossos and once at Pylos, usually following a man's name in the genitive. Perhaps *hopā* < \**soq<sup>a</sup>ā*, postulated as the base of *ὀπάων*. But a sense 'retinue, following' seems absurd here, in particular of a shepherd. It may be a feudal term and like *ti-mi-to* mean some form of service or goods due to the lord. This would give a satisfactory semantic development for *ὀπάων*, *ὀπηδός*, but the etymology is obscure.

*ε-ρα i-je-[re]-u*: Bennett read *ta-ra-pu<sub>2</sub>?-je-*[. If correct *ε-ρα* may be either genitive of the goddess Hera, or more likely locative of the place-name. Is the same man both priest and shepherd?

*ko-pe-re-u*: a man's name also found at Pylos; = Κοπρεύς *Il.* xv, 639.

*e-ki-si-jo*: the word has been split to leave room for the ideogram and numeral. Ethnic adjective from the common place-name *e-ko-so*, thus showing that the vowel after *k* is 'dead'; cannot be Ἄξος (= Φάξος).

## 7. INDIVIDUAL MEN AT PYLOS (Ac)

30 = Ac03 [264]

*pi-ra-jo* | *ai-ki-pa-ta su-ra-te du-ni-jo-⟨jo⟩ me-tu-ra su-ra-se* MAN [1]

Philaios the goat-herd (who is acting as?) seizer has seized the cattle of Dunios.

*ai-ki-pa-ta*: *aigipa(s)tās*? The first part of the compound is obvious; Palmer (1954b, p. 24) derives the second from the verbal root \**pat-* 'see', found in Cypr. glosses, and in the reduplicated form *παπτοίνω*.

*su-ra-te*: apparently the agent noun from the verb to which *su-ra-se* belongs. The identification with *συλάω* seems hard to avoid, but the sense is unsatisfactory. Cattle-raiding is not to be excluded, but the use of a formal agent noun added to the trade-name is puzzling. The phrase *du-ni-jo-jo me-tu-ra su-ra-se* recurs on two other tablets of this group (Ac01, Ac02).

*du-ni-jo*: a common name at Knossos as well as Pylos, where he is called 'servant of the god' (143 = Ep705).

*me-tu-ra*: presumably the object of *su-ra-se*; = *μίτυλα* 'hornless cattle'?

*su-ra-se*: aor. *sulāse* or fut. *sulāsei*?

31 = Ac04 [134] (see plate II (b), facing p. 110)

*ke-ro-wo po-me a-si-ja-ti-ja o-pi ta-ra-ma-⟨ta⟩-o qe-to-ro-po-pi o-ro-me-no* MAN 1

*Ke-ro-wo* the shepherd at *A-si-ja-ti-ja*<sup>h</sup> watching over the cattle of Thalamatas.

*ke-ro-wo*: nom. of an *o*-stem, as the gen. *ke-ro-wo-jo* is found 62 = Cn655. Not therefore gen. to *ke-ro-we* Cn09, as proposed by Carratelli (1954, p. 90).

*a-si-ja-ti-ja*: it is impossible to determine the case, but a locative-dative is preferable to genitive on grounds of syntax.



*ta-ra-ma-(ta)-o*: restored from the following tablet.

*qe-to-ro-po-pi*: *q<sup>u</sup>etropo(d)phi* = τετράποσι.

32 = Ae05 [108]

*qo-te-ro ai-ki-pa-ta o-pi ta-ra-ma-ta-o qe-[to-ro-po-pi] o-ro-me-[no MAN I]*  
*Qo-te-ro* the goat-herd watching over the cattle of Thalamatas.

33 = Ae07 [26]

*ko-ru-da-ro-jo do-e-ro o-pi pe-mo MEN 4*

Four (or more) slaves of Korudallos in charge of seed-corn.

*pe-mo*: *spermōi*: a more likely reading than *pe-me*. The numeral must be between 4 and 8 if written normally (cf. Dow, 1954, p. 124).

## 8. WORK GROUPS OF MEN AT KNOSSOS (Am, As, B)

34 = Am601 (? xciv)

*e-te e-so-to a-mo-ra-ma*

*to-so a-mi-ni-si-jo MEN 9*

Total men of Amnisos: nine; the rations are to be from there.

*e-te*: *enthen*?

*e-so-to*: either a full spelling of *estō* 'let there be', or a 3rd plur. future *essontoi*.

*a-mo-ra-ma*: *harmolāma* 'food-levy'? (cf. ἀρμολιά and see Vocabulary, p. 387). The note presumably implies that Amnisos, not Knossos, is responsible for providing their rations.

35 = Am819 (K)

*we-ke-i-ja MEN 18 ko-wo 8*

*pa<sub>2</sub>-ra / si-to MONTH? I BARLEY 9 T 7 4 3*

At Pharaip: wages for eighteen men and eight boys: grain *per month* 1170 l. of barley.

*we-ke-i-ja*: possibly a derivative of ἐργον. Furumark (1954, p. 22) = 'Tagewerk'. Ventris has suggested that the crescent-shaped ideogram \*34 may be the moon, used ideographically for month, as frequently in other languages, though Greek uses different words. The quantity of the rations works out at 45 l. per person if the boys are reckoned on the same scale as the men. This is high in comparison with the issues to women at Pylos (p. 158). But this is an issue of barley, and is perhaps the wages of free men, not a ration for slaves.

36 = B 817 (K lx)

*to-so / ku-su-to-ro-pa<sub>2</sub> MEN<sup>b</sup> [*

So many men in aggregate....

*ku-su-to-ro-pa<sub>2</sub>*; *xunstropha*.

The significance of the alternative forms of the ideogram for man is still unknown.



37 = B 823

MEN<sup>b</sup> 10tu-wi-jo / ta-pa-e-o-te a-pe-o-te MEN<sup>b</sup> 4

...men, ten present, four absent.

ta-pa-e-o-te: plainly the opposite of *apeantes* 'absent'; perhaps *tarpha entes*, with an adverbial formation in -d (cf. θαρά) from ταρφέες.

38 = As1516 (? lxxxvii)

This, the longest Knossos tablet, consists of an enumeration by name of at least sixty-seven men, under headings which suggest, as seen by Furumark (1954, p. 19) administrative areas. There are a number, though not a large proportion, of convincingly Greek names: Philinos, Agoraios, Purwos, [De]xelowos, Khariseus, Opsios, Amphiwastos, Amphilawos. But many others are equally certainly non-Greek: e.g. *pa<sub>2</sub>-me-si-jo*, *mi-ja-ra-ro*, *si-ja-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ro*, *pi-ja-si-ro*, *pi-ja-se-me*.

<sup>1</sup> [illegible introduction in large letters]<sup>2</sup> ko-no-si-ja ra-wa-ke-(si)-ja a-nu-wi-ko MAN I [<sup>3</sup> a-ra-da-jo MAN I pi-ja-si-ro MAN I da-me-[ ] MAN I<sup>4</sup> ]-ro MAN I po-to MAN I si-pu<sub>2</sub>? MAN I pu-te MAN I ja-sa-no  
MAN I<sup>5</sup> pa<sub>2</sub>-me-si-jo MAN I mi-ja-ra-ro MAN I mi-ru-ro MAN I<sup>6</sup> [a]-ki-wa-ta MAN I u-ra-mo-no MAN I pi-ri-no MAN I<sup>7</sup> qi-to-no-ro MAN I pe-te-ki-ja MAN I ko-ni-da-jo MAN I<sup>8</sup> a-ko-ra-jo MAN I wa-du-na-to MAN I qo-te-ro MAN I<sup>9</sup> i-te-u MAN I pu-to-ro MAN I ka-ri-se-u MAN I ai-ko-ta MAN I<sup>10</sup> ka-ke MAN I ru-na MAN I pu-wo MAN I a-ta-ze-u MAN I<sup>11</sup> a-ra-na-ro MAN I si-ja-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ro MAN I to-so × MEN 31<sup>12</sup> [?pa-i]-ti-jo a-nu-to pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja MAN I su-ki-ri-to MAN I,  
etc., etc.<sup>19</sup> pi-ja-se-me MAN I to-so × MEN 23<sup>20</sup> se-to-i-ja / su-ke-re-o pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja MAN I ku-to MAN I, etc.

This tablet divides into three sections, listing men under three place-names, Knossos, Setoia and a third which is lost in a lacuna. The first two sections end with a totalling formula and a check-mark; the end of the last section is lost. The heading is illegible. *ra-wa-ke-(si)-ja*: almost certainly to be corrected as the corresponding term in sections 2 and 3 is *pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja* (*basileiwa*); presumably a feminine or neuter noun has to be understood. The use of these terms suggests that the *basilewes* of subordinate districts were in some sense analogous to the *lāwāgētās* at Knossos.

The first MAN ideogram in each paragraph does not seem to be included in the totals; possibly *a-nu-wi-ko* is an adverbial phrase (see Vocabulary, p. 388).



39 = As1517 (? lxxxviii)

1 ]-no re-qo-me-no  
 2 ? pa<sub>2</sub>]-si-re-u 1 a-di-nwa-ta 1  
 3 .]-sa-ta 1 ti-pa<sub>2</sub>-jo 1  
 4 da-wa-no 1 [ ]-wo 1  
 5 qi-qe-ro 1 wi-du-[ ] 1  
 6 ku-ra-no 1 da-wi-[.] 1  
 7 e-ru-to-ro 1 ku-ta-i-jo 1  
 8 ku-ro-mu-we-to 1 pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-jo 1  
 9 ri-jo 1 pa-na-re-jo 1  
 10 ke-ka-to 1 to-so MEN<sup>b</sup> 17  
       vacat  
 12 o-pi e-sa-re-we to-ro-no-wo-ko  
 13 po-to-ri-jo 1 pe-we-ri-jo 1  
 14 du-ni-jo 1

REVERSE: vacat

za-mi-jo MEN 9

vacat

*lei q'omenoi*: 'being left'?*basileus*: the local chieftain? Or a personal name? He is counted in the total. Note the omission of the MAN ideogram.*to-so*: Bennett's reading *to-sa* seems to be unjustified when compared with the form of *sa* written in line 3. The sign was originally intended for something else, and has been corrected. Furumark (1954, p. 19) also reads *to-so*.*o-pi e-sa-re-we*: *opi* ---ēwei *thronoworgoi*: *Ptoliōn*, *Pe-we-ri-jo*, *Dunios*, *e-sa-re-u* seems to be the title of an official, but the meaning of the whole phrase is obscure. *Thronoworgoi* may be makers of chairs or garlands, but notice that the form of ἑρόνος at Pylos is *to-no*. *Po-to-ri-jo* is more likely a man's name than the genitive of *ptolis*.

## 9. WORK GROUPS OF MEN AT PYLOS (An)

The key to the following tablet lies in the word *ke-ro-si-ja*, which is found again only on An23. It appears to describe both individuals and groups of men, and is most likely *geronsia* (= γερουσία) 'council of elders'. Each entry is introduced by a name in the genitive. Of these four names, *A-pi-qo-ta* and *Ta-we-si-jo* are found as men's names at Knossos. The only one to recur at Pylos is *A-pi-qo-ta* who seems to be called *basileus* at *A-pe-ke-e* on Jn03; the entry is marred by a lacuna. It would therefore seem likely that these four are *basilēwes* or local chieftains, and the list records some of their counsellors. On the reverse the numbers seem to be much larger than the totals of the individual entries.



40 = An22 [261] (joined with 857)

- 1 ]-wə ke-'ke-tu-wo-e'
- 2 o-ta<sub>2</sub>-we-o ke-ro-si-ja ai-nu-me-no MAN [1]
- 3 o-ta<sub>2</sub>-we-o ke-ro-si-ja qo-te-ro MAN [1]
- 4 o-ta<sub>2</sub>-we-o ke-ro-si-ja a<sub>2</sub>-e-ta [MAN 1]
- 5 o-ta<sub>2</sub>-we-o ke-ro-si-ja o-du-pa<sub>3</sub>-ro [MAN 1]
- 6 a-pi-jo-to ke-ro-si-ja ku-[ne?]-u MAN [1]
- 7 a-pi-jo-to ke-ro-si-ja o-wo-to MAN 1
- 8 a-pi-jo-to ke-ro-si-ja a-ra-i-jo MAN 1
- 9 a-pi-jo-[to] ke-ro-si-ja ri-zo MAN 1
- 10 ta-we-[si-jo-jo] ke-ro-si-ja [ ] MAN 1
- 11 ta-we-si-[jo]-jo ke-ro-si-ja [ ] MAN 1
- 12 ta-we-si-[jo]-jo ke-ro-si-ja [ ]-wa-ne-u MAN 1
- 13 a-pi-qo-[ta-o] ke-ro-si-ja qī-so-ni-jo MAN 1
- 14 a-[pi-qo-ta-o] ke-ro-si-ja a-[ ]-te MAN [1]
- 15 [ ] ke-ro-si-ja a-[ ] MAN 1
- 16 [ ] MAN 1
- 17 [ ke-ro]-si-ja o-[ ]-ka-[ ]
- 18 a-[pi-qo-ta-o ke-ro-si]-ja o-ro-[ ]

REVERSE:

- 1 ta-we-si-jo-jo ke-ro-si-ja te-[ ] MAN 1
- 2 [ta-we]-si-jo-jo ke-ro-si-ja tu-ru-we-u MAN 1
- vacat
- 4 [ta]-we-si-jo-jo ke-ro-si (sic) MEN 20
- 5 a-pi-qo-ta-o ke-ro-si-ja MEN 17
- 6 a-pi-o-to ke-ro-si-ja MEN [18]
- 7 o-to-wo-[o ke]-ro-si-ja MEN [14]
- vacat
- 9 ka-ma-e-[we] MEN 10[+?]

It is singularly unfortunate that the first line is fragmentary. *ke-ke-tu-wo-e* is conceivably a perfect participle. At line 5 of the reverse the hand changes.

*o-ta<sub>2</sub>-we-o*: it seems clear that this is the same name as that spelt *o-to-wo-o* in line 8 of the reverse and in An23, despite the phonetic difficulties. It is less certain if it is the same name as *o-tu-wo-we* who is a smith at *E-ni-pa-te-we* (255 = Jn658, Jn725); the dative of which *o-to-wo-we-i* recurs on Vn851.

Lines 5-8 of the reverse are apparently repeated by An23 lines 1-4, thus allowing the restorations shown in the text.

*ka-ma-e-we*: this is the name given to holders of land called *ka-ma* who represent a special feudal class: see p. 261.



## 41 = An14 [35]

<sup>1</sup> *to-ko-do-mo de-me-o-te*<sup>2</sup> *pu-ro MEN 2 me-te-to-de MEN 3*<sup>3</sup> *sa-ma-ra-de MEN 3 re-u-ko-to-ro MEN 4*  
vacat<sup>5</sup> *a-ta-ro tu-ru-pte-ri-ja o-no*<sup>6</sup> WOOL 2 SHE-GOATS 4  3 WINE 10 FIGS 4

Masons who are to build: Pylos two, to *Me-te-to-de*<sup>b</sup> three, to *Sa-ma-ra*<sup>b</sup> three, Leuktron four.

*A-ta-ro* . . . : 6 kg. of wool, four she-goats, three . . . , 360 l. of wine, 480 l. of figs.

*taikhodomoi demeantes*. The classical distinction between τοῖχος and τεῖχος is not necessarily to be read into this compound. It is not impossible that this is an attempt to put the defences in order, though it may relate merely to normal building operations. The distinction between the places which have the suffix of motion *-de* and those which have not may imply that the masons are already at Pylos and Leuktron (to be read as locatives) and are being sent to the other towns.

*a-ta-ro*: the relation of this entry to the preceding is obscure; perhaps we should not look for a connexion between them. The phrase *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja o-no* recurs on Un01, preceded by *ku-pi-ri-jo* which is probably there a man's name, *Kuprios*; hence *a-ta-ro* here may be one too.

*tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*: a connexion with θρύπτω seems obvious, though it is hard to interpret if the meaning is 'crushing'.

*o-no*: Furumark (1954, p. 33) proposes to interpret as ὄνος despite the absence of digamma (< \*φοσνος) 'Einkaufspreis'. Carratelli (1954, p. 94) similarly 'cost of demolition'? Palmer (1954<sup>b</sup>, p. 22) prefers ὄνος in the sense of 'mill-stone'. In the latter case the significance of the commodities enumerated is obscure.

On the ideogram \*146, perhaps some sort of textile, see p. 290.

## 42 = An17 [37]

<sup>1</sup> *o-za-mi-[ ] e-ne-ka*<sup>2</sup> *pa-ra-we-wo [..]-jo*<sup>3</sup> *a-pi-no-[- ] MEN 2*<sup>4</sup> *e-na-[po-ro ] 1*<sup>5</sup> *[ ]*

This tablet is clearly related to 250 = Vn01 (p. 348), which is an account of a distribution of wine. The sense of the heading here is puzzling and no translation seems safe enough to print.

*o-za-mi-[-]*: Ventris connects with ζημιόω 'thus they are penalized'. The occupational name *za-mi-jo* (of uncertain meaning) might be better as this is a list of men; but *o-* at Pylos is normally followed by a verb.



*pa-ra-wo-wo*: cf. 250 = Vn01. Possibly a man's name. The next word is not [*wo-no*]-jo as the parallel might suggest. The list appears to consist of place-names in the locative.

An29 is unique among the Pylos 'man' tablets in that its second paragraph lists not MEN but the symbols 'ZE 1' which normally indicate 'one pair'. Webster has drawn our attention to the close parallel shown by Sn01, in which the entries also count 'one pair'; where the paragraphs are similarly introduced by *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>*; and where the *ktoinans ekhontes* of line 12 can be taken as a direct antithesis to the *aktoinoi* of An29.9 (cf. *talasian ekhontes/alatalasioi* on 253 = Jn01, etc.). The two tablets have here been printed together on the assumption that they belong to a single set; they are similar in size and are in the same hand.

The first paragraph of Sn01 would appear to introduce the set, since its individuals are important enough to be described as *?ba]silawjonte* and classified as *mo-ro-pa<sub>2</sub>* and *ko-re-te* ('mayor of a village'?). This paragraph evidently covers much the same territory as 258 = Kn01, a list of contributions of gold, where the men's names Luros, Poikiloq's, Psolion and the place-names *I-te-re-wa* and *Ti-mi-ti-ja* recur (also *a-to-mo*).

The second paragraph of Sn01 and the two sections of An29 (here lettered as § 3 and § 4, admittedly without any certain justification) then seem to record members of successively lower classes in the hierarchy. § 2 embraces the class of 'ktoina-holders' or *telestai*; § 3 lists a class of men who are evidently particularly involved in the 'military tablets', since the names *Ne-wo-ki-to*, *Ro-u-ko*, *A-e-ri-qo-ta* and *Ai-ko-ta* recur there (59 = An656, 57 = An43, 56 = An657, 56 = An657); and finally § 4 refers to the men 'without a ktoina'. Other names common both to this set and to the 'military tablets' are Klumenos (§ 1 and 58 = An654), *Ke-ki-jo* (§ 4 and 56 = An657) and possibly Eruthras (§ 1 and 58 = An654).

The identity of the object which is counted in pairs is not hinted at, and is hard to guess (horses?). More puzzling still is the ideogram **I**, of which Sn01 shows a subsidiary accounting and which has earned Sn01 its isolated position in Bennett's classification. This is found twice at Knossos, but not in helpful contexts: G 464 records the *o-pe-ro* of two places, which is not less than **I** 4 and 3156 litres of barley in one case, and not less than **I** 4 and 1800 litres of barley in the other. The other Knossos tablet, G 519, is only a fragment, but mentions *kupairos* and *apudosis*. All that can be deduced from the Pylos tablet is that it is counted in multiples of three, and is the object or product of the verb *a-ke-re-se*; it does not occur where this verb is absent or negated, although the item 'one pair' is common to all the entries except two. The enigmatic ideogram will be shown as x in transcription and translation.



## 43 = Sn01 [64]

- <sup>1</sup> [ ±5 ]-šj-re-wi-jo-te  
<sup>2</sup> [ ]-ja mo-ro-pa<sub>2</sub> to-to we-to o-a-ke-re-se ZE 1 X 3  
<sup>3</sup> ka-do-wo mo-ro-pa<sub>2</sub> o-u-ge a-ke-re-se ZE 1  
<sup>4</sup> ru-ro mo-ro-pa<sub>2</sub> o-u-ge a-ke-re-se ZE 1  
<sup>5</sup> ku-ru-me-no mo-ro-pa<sub>2</sub> i-te-re-wa ko-re-te to-to we-to [o]-a-ke-re-se X 6  
<sup>6</sup> pe-ri-mo ti-mi-ti-ja ko-re-te to-to we-to [o]-a-ke-re-se ZE 1 X 3  
<sup>7</sup> pe-ri-me-de-o i-\*65 po-so-ri-jo-no te-ra-ni-ja a-ke-re-se to-to we-to 'o-a-ke-re-se'  
 X 12  
<sup>8</sup> po-ki-ro-qo e-ge-o a-to-mo ZE 1  
 vacant 3  
<sup>12</sup> o-da-a<sub>2</sub> ko-to-na e-ko-te  
<sup>13</sup> e-ta-wo-ne-u to-to-we-to o-a-ke-re-se ZE 1 X 6  
<sup>14</sup> a-qi-zo-we {to-to} to-to-we-to o-a-ke-re-se ZE 1 [X nn]  
<sup>15</sup> ne-ge-u e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo to-to we-to o-a-ke-re-se ZE 1 [X nn]  
<sup>16</sup> me-wi e-ru-ta-ra me-ta-pa ki-e-wo to-to-we-to o-a-ke-re-se ZE 1 [X nn]

§ 1 Those functioning as *basilēwes* [contribute as follows?]:

[So-and-so] the share-holder this year *took* as follows: one pair, three x.

*Ka-do-wo* the share-holder did not *take*: one pair.

*Luros* the share-holder did not *take*: one pair.

*Klumenos* the share-holder, *mayor* of *I-te-re-wa*, this year *took* as follows: six x.

*Perimos* the *mayor* of *Thimistia* this year *took* as follows: one pair, three x.

The *son* of *Perimedes* *took*... of *Psolion*, this year he *took* as follows: twelve x.

*Poikiloq's* the...: one pair.

§ 2 And the holders of land as follows:

*Etaowaneus* this year *took* as follows: one pair, six x.

*A-qi-zo-we* this year *took* as follows: one pair, x x.

*Ne-ge-u* son of *Etewoklewes* this year *took* as follows: one pair, x x.

*Me-wi* *Eruthras* at *Metapa* of *Ki-e-u* this year *took* as follows: one pair, x x.

In line 1, Bennett suggests the restoration [pa<sub>2</sub>]-si-re-wi-jo-te = *basilēwjontes*. It is in any case likely that this fragmentary word is the nom. masc. plur. of a present participle of a verb in -εύω (*Elean* -είω), thereby confirming Brugmann's proposed derivation from \*-ήρjω (Schwyzer, *Gram.* 1, p. 728 n. 1).

mo-ro-pa<sub>2</sub>: mo(i)ro-ppās 'possessor of a share or portion'; evidently a high ranking title. to-to we-to: despite the phonological difficulties this must be *tōto* (= τοῦτο) *wetos*; contrast *hateron wetos* on PY 178 = Ma13.

o-a-ke-re-se: that this contains a separable o- is proved by lines 3, 4 and 7: *hō agrēse*. The sense in which the verb is used cannot be guessed without a knowledge of the meaning of the ideograms. A future *agrēsei* is also possible.



*i-\**65: Ventris suggests a comparison with *lv*15; but it is not yet possible to give a certain value to this sign.

*te-ra-ni-ja*: is this perhaps the word represented by the ideogram *x*? 'Thus he took the *te-ra-ni-ja* of Psolion'? Or a place-name?

*e-qe-o a-to-mo*: cf. *e-qe-a-o a-to-mo* KN V 56. Mühlestein has suggested that *i-zq a-to-mo-i* on 91 = Fn02 is an alternative spelling (though the trades there seem to be much more humble), and reads *eq<sup>a</sup>eaōn/iq<sup>a</sup>jās arthmos*, 'chariot joiner' (cf. *i-qi-ja* on 266 = Sd0401, etc.): this appears extremely doubtful.

*o-da-a<sub>2</sub> ko-to-na e-ko-te*: Andrews understands the word *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* as a verb, Furumark (1954, p. 38) as a substantive 'Anteil'; he translates the heading to § 3 as 'Leute, die schuldig sind, Anteile zu liefern', and to § 4 as 'Folgende landlose Leute. . . Anteile'. But its position as first word in its clause, and the fact that it often parallels a verbal prefix *o-* elsewhere on the same tablet, make it virtually certain that it is an introductory particle, probably an expanded form of *o-*.

*to-to to-to-we-to*: dittography.

*e-ru-ta-ra*: to understand a feminine name here ('*Me-wi* the red'?) conflicts with the exclusively masculine character of the rest of the list. 'Eruthras the younger' (for *me-wi-jo*?).

*ki-e-wo*: gen. of *Ki-e-u* 55 = An724? His position in the syntax is obscure, but perhaps parallel to *Psolionos* in line 7.

44 = An29 [218]

<sup>1</sup> <i>o-da-a<sub>2</sub> a-na-ke-e o-pe-ro-tē</i>	[ ? ]	
<sup>2</sup> <i>ri-so-wa i-je-re-u</i>	[ ]	MAN I
<sup>3</sup> <i>ne-wo-ki-to i-je-[re]-u da-i-ja-ke-re-u</i>		MAN I
<sup>4</sup> <i>[ro]-u-ko ku-sa-me-ni-jo me-ta-pa</i>		MAN I
<sup>5</sup> <i>a-e-ri-qo-ta</i>	[ ]	<i>o-wi-to-no</i> MAN I
<sup>6</sup> <i>ai-ko-ta a-da-ra-[ti-jo?]</i>		MAN I
vacant 2		
<sup>9</sup> <i>o-da-a<sub>2</sub> e-ke-jo-to a-ko-to-na</i>		
<sup>10</sup> <i>pa-ku-ro<sub>2</sub> de-wi-jo</i>		ZE I
<sup>11</sup> <i>[? a]-ka-re-u e-ko-me-na-ta-o ai<sub>2</sub>?-te</i>		ZE I
<sup>12</sup> [ ]	<i>ke-ki-jo</i>	ZE I
<sup>13</sup> <i>[? pi]-me-ta po-ru-da-si-jo</i>		ZE I
<sup>14</sup> [ ]	<i>me-nu-a<sub>2</sub></i>	ZE I
<sup>15</sup> <i>ma-ra-te-u a-pu-ka</i>		ZE I
<sup>16</sup> <i>[.] -qo-te-wo i-*</i> 65		ZE I

REVERSE:

*di-we-si-po-y-ti-mi-to-qo-[ ]*

§ 3 And those who are obliged to bring (men?), as follows:

*Ri-so-wa* the priest. . . : one man.



*Ne-wo-ki-to* the priest, the *divider of lands*: one man.  
*Ro-u-ko* the son of Kusamenos at Metapa: one man.  
*Aeriq<sup>u</sup>hoitas*... at *O-wi-to-no<sup>p</sup>*: one man.  
*Ai-ko-ta* son of *Adrastos*: one man.

§ 4 And those without land *are included* as follows:

*Pa-ku-ro<sub>2</sub>*...: one pair,  
 etc.

*a-na-ke-e*: *anageen* 'bring, contribute'. There does not seem to be room in the damaged portion at the end of the line for an explicit object to the verb, but *ἔγω* demands that it should be a person or an animal. It is not clear whether the MAN ideograms in lines 2-6 refer to *Aeriq<sup>u</sup>hoitas*, etc., or merely to unnamed men that they have supplied. The analogy of the other paragraphs favours the latter.

*a-pe-ro-te*: *ophélontes*.

*da-i-ja-ke-re-u*: this may also be a place-name (like *Me-ta-pa*, etc. in succeeding lines. Cf.

*O-re-mo-a-ke-re-u*, *Pu<sub>2</sub>?-ra<sub>2</sub>-a-ke-re-u*.

*e-ke-jo-to*: possibly the 3rd plural present of *ἐγκέμαι*; see Vocabulary, p. 392.

*ai<sub>2</sub>?-te*: cf. *ai-te-re*, name of an occupation on KN 48 = B 101.

*ma-ra-te-u*: perhaps a title rather than a name; cf. 56 = An657, 195 = Na67.

*a-pu-ka*: cf. *a-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ka* 59 = An656, *a-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ka-ne* 56 = An657. Apparently a place-name.

*i-\**65 with a name in the genitive: cf. 43 = Sn01.7.

The following badly damaged tablet is interesting for its reference to large numbers of men in various occupations, and to areas of land expressed by the abbreviation DA (see p. 242).

45 = An830

3 lines illegible

<sup>4</sup> *mq-ra-ti-sa* [ ]

vacat

<sup>6</sup> *a-te-re-wi-ja e-o ko-re-te-ri-jo ke-ke-me-no* DA 30[

vacat

<sup>8</sup> *e-sa-re-wi-ja pq-ro-ni-ja te-u-po-ro-[?]* [DA nn]

<sup>9</sup> [ ]-no DA 50

<sup>10</sup> [ ] MEN 18

<sup>11</sup> [ ] *qo*-u-ko-ro ra-wa-ra-ti-ja MEN 66

<sup>12</sup> *o-pi-da-mi-ja pi-\**82 *qo*-[u-ko]-ro MEN 60

<sup>13</sup> *a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ja qo*-u-ko-ro MEN 60[

*A-te-re-wi-ja*: a place-name; derivative of *Ἀτρεΐς*?

*e-o*: the masc. or neut. participle *ἐόν* is surprising unless *A-te-re-wi-ja* is a masculine *a*-stem: 'which is common land belonging to the *ko-re-te*'? Bennett reads *e-so*.



DA: in view of 114 = En02 probably a unit of superficial area.

*e-sa-re-wi-ja*: a derivative of the title *e-sa-re-u*, apparently functioning as a place-name: 'the settlement of the *e*.'? Bennett reads *ro-ro-ni-ja* for *pa-ro-ni-ja*.

Lines 11-13 record *g<sup>o</sup>oukoloi* 'cowherds' at three places; those at *Pi*\*82 are described as *opidāmioi* 'local inhabitants'? *a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ja* is not mentioned elsewhere.

## 10. WORK GROUPS OF MEN AT MYCENAE

One of the few tablets found at Mycenae seems to fall into this class of tablets dealing with occupational groups. It is a mere list of names, with the trade-name as a separate entry at the bottom.

46 = Au102 (see frontispiece)

<sup>1</sup> <i>wa-ra-pi-si-ro i-jo-qe</i>	MEN 2
<sup>2</sup> <i>na-su-to</i>	MAN 1
<sup>3</sup> <i>te-ra-wo ka-ri-se-u-qe</i>	MEN 2
<sup>4</sup> <i>e-ke-ne e-u-po-ro-qe</i>	MEN 2
<sup>5</sup> *85- <i>ja-to ko-no-pu<sub>2</sub>?-du-ro-qe</i>	MEN 2
<sup>6</sup> <i>ke-re-no</i>	MEN 2
<sup>7</sup> <i>wa-a<sub>2</sub>-ta de-u-ki-jo-qe</i>	MEN 2
<sup>8</sup> <i>mo-i-da</i>	MAN 1
<sup>9</sup> <i>o-ri-ko</i>	MEN 3
vacant 4	
<sup>14</sup> <i>a-to-po-qo</i>	[      ]

Where there are two names the second is linked with *-qe*. The numerals in lines 6 and 9 are puzzling if these are men's names.

*ke-re-no*: *Gerēnos*? recurs in PY Cn12.

*a-to-po-qo*: *artopoq<sup>oi</sup>* = ἀρτοκόποι: the lacuna may have contained the summation MEN 17. If so seventeen bakers seems a large number to figure in a tablet from a private house.

## 11. LISTS OF MIXED TRADESMEN AT KNOSSOS

These usually record a place-name followed by numbers of men analysed by trades.

47 = Am826 (K lix)

*a-pa-ta-wa-jo / te-re-ta* MEN 45[

*te-ko-to-ne* MEN 5

Men of Aptara: forty-five (or more) fief-holders, five carpenters.



*a-pa-ta-wo-jo*: *Aptarwaioi*, cf. *a-pa-ta-wa Aptarwa* KN 83 = Ch902, = Ἀπτάρω in Western Crete (so also Furumark, 1954, p. 22). The etymology of this name is unknown; the form Ἀπτάρω is clearly due to popular etymology.

*te-re-ta*: *telestai*, officers of the feudal hierarchy: see Palmer, 1955, p. 11.

*te-ko-to-ne*: *tektones*.

48=B 101 (? xxiv)

*ko-wi-ro-wo-ko* MEN<sup>b</sup> [nn] *ai-te-re* MEN<sup>b</sup> 8 [

*ko-wi-ro-wo-ko*: *kowiloworgoi* 'makers of hollow-ware'? Cf. κοίλος ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσός Theopomp. *Hist.* 283a, 'silver and gold plate' (Liddell and Scott<sup>9</sup>).

*ai-te-re*: possibly the agent noun from the verb the participle of which appears as *a-ja-me-na* 'inlaid'. Cf. *ai<sub>2</sub>?-te* PY 44 = An29. Chadwick suggests that the correct reading may be *du-*.

## 12. LISTS OF MIXED TRADESMEN AT PYLOS

These are similar to the parallel group at Knossos though longer and more detailed. The documentation of the workers was obviously more highly organized at Pylos. The full significance of many of the occupational terms cannot now be grasped, even when they are etymologically clear.

49=An07 [427]

<sup>1</sup> *a-pu<sub>2</sub>?-we* *da-ko-ro* MEN 5 *e-ri-no-wo-[te* ]  
<sup>2</sup> *pa-ko* *me-ri-du-ma-te* MEN 5 [a] *a-ke-re-[wa* ]  
<sup>3</sup> *a-to-po-go* MEN 2 *pi-pu-te* *pu-ka-wo* MEN 3 [ ]

At *Aipu* five temple-servants; at *E-ri-no-wo* . . . ; at *Pa-ko* five . . . ; at *A-ke-re-wa* . . . two bakers; at *Pi-pu* three fire-kindlers. . .

*a-pu<sub>2</sub>?-we*: a place-name in the dative; perhaps = Αἰπύ (*Il.* ii, 592)?

*da-ko-ro*: *dakoroi* = δακόροι?

*e-ri-no-wo-[te]*: cf. PY Na51, Cn09, etc.

*me-ri-du-ma-te*: one of the compounds of *du-ma*: see Vocabulary.

*pu-ka-wo*: *purkawoi*, cf. πυρκαεύς, etc.

50=An18 [39]

<sup>1</sup> <i>pu-ka-wo</i> +	MEN 16
<sup>2</sup> <i>me-ri-du-ma-te</i>	MEN 10 +
<sup>3</sup> <i>mi-ka-ta</i> +	MEN 3
<sup>4</sup> <i>o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we</i>	MEN 4 +
<sup>5</sup> <i>e-to-wo-ko</i> +	MEN 5
<sup>6</sup> <i>ka-sa-to</i> +	MAN



<sup>7</sup> <i>pu-ka-wo</i> +	MEN 23
<sup>8</sup> <i>me-ri-da-ma-te</i>	MEN 6
<sup>9</sup> [ <i>o-pi</i> ]- <i>te-u-ke-e-we</i>	MEN 5 +
<sup>10</sup> [ <i>mi-ka</i> ]- <i>ta</i>	MEN 6 +
<sup>11</sup> [ <i>e-to</i> ]- <i>wo-ko</i>	MEN 3 <i>a-to-po-qo</i> MEN 3

## REVERSE:

<sup>1</sup> <i>po-ru-da-ma-te</i>	MEN 4
	vacat
<sup>3</sup> <i>pa<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-te</i>	MAN
<sup>4</sup> <i>pu-ko-ro</i>	MAN
<sup>5</sup> <i>a-ko-so-ta</i>	MAN
<sup>6</sup> <i>pi-ri-ja-me-ja</i>	MAN
<sup>7</sup> <i>e-ni-ja-u-si-jo</i>	MAN
<sup>8</sup> <i>pte-jo-ri</i>	MAN <i>qo-ta-wo</i> [    ]
<sup>9</sup> <i>a-ta</i>	MAN <i>te-o-po</i> -[    ]
	vacant 2

Sixteen fire-kindlers, ten *me-ri-du-ma-te*, three *mi-ka-ta*, four *riggers*, five *armourers*; Xanthos.

Twenty-three fire-kindlers, six *me-ri-da-ma-te*, five *riggers*, six *mi-ka-ta*, three *armourers*, three bakers.

Four *po-ru-da-ma-te*.

For Pallas, Purkolos, Axotas, Priameias, Eniausios, *Pte-jo-ri*, *Qo-ta-wo* (?), Anthas, Theopo(mpos ?).

The obverse falls into two sections (1-6, 7-11) which are in different hands; the second writer also wrote the reverse. Almost all the entries are accompanied by a check-mark (+). The reverse consists, after the first line, of a list of individuals entered by name in the dative case.

*me-ri-du-ma-te*: see Vocabulary s.v. *du-ma*; in line 8 spelt with *-da-* for *-du-*.

*mi-ka-ta*: *miktai* 'mixers'?

*o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we*: *opiteukheēwes*, derivative of *τεῦχος*, but in what sense?

*e-to-wo-ko*: from *ἐντρέα*? Cf. *e-te-do-mo*.

*ka-so-to*: the attempt of Meriggi (1954, p. 33) and Carratelli (1954, p. 92) to read this as a common noun \**xantos* = *ξαντός* is rendered unlikely by the absence of a numeral with the ideogram; cf. the list of names on the reverse. The mixing of names and occupations in a single list can be paralleled, e.g. An15.

*a-ko-so-ta*: *Axotas* or *Arxotas* is an important man at Pylos; cf. 154 = Eq01, 103 = Un08, 249 = Va02.

*qo-ta-wo*: only elsewhere on Na24, where it is probably a place-name; as the ideogram is missing this cannot be excluded here.



## 51 = An20 [18]

- <sup>1</sup> *e-re-u-te-ri* [  
<sup>2</sup> *te-ko-to-na-pe* MAN 1 [  
<sup>3</sup> *i-na-ni-ja* MAN 1 [ ] MAN [ ]  
<sup>4</sup> *re-si-we-i* [MAN] 1 *a-se-e* MAN 1  
 vacat  
<sup>6</sup> *te-re-ne-we to-ko-do-mo-a-pe-o* MAN 1  
<sup>7</sup> *i-na-ne* MAN 1 *te-ko-to-na-pe* 1  
 vacat  
<sup>9</sup> *qo-u-ko-ro / ti-no* MEN 90  
 vacat  
<sup>11</sup> *pa-ki-ja-si to-so te-ko-to-ne / [ti]-no*  
<sup>12</sup> MEN 254[

The heading is again fragmentary and little is clear except that we are told of some missing carpenters and cowherds. The numbers are surprisingly large. Reference to men and women who are 'missing' is also made on 37 = B 823, 55 = An724, Ap633, An33; similar annotation to miscellaneous lists of craftsmen is seen in the Ur tablets (e.g. Legrain, 1947, no. 1486): 'Sculptor, goldsmiths (one missing, two at the smithy), . . . Ibni-Adad the bow-maker, two smiths (one missing): those of the scale-control. Goldsmiths, fullers, hired tailor, caulkers, two rope-makers (one ill): those in the workshop.'

*e-re-u-te-ri* : dat. of *e-re-u-te-re* PY 76 = Cn22? or *eleutheri(as)*?

*te-ko-to-na-pe*: the comparison of *te-ko-to a-pe* PY An24 shows convincingly that this is a rare case of sandhi, the final -n of *tektōn* coalescing with the initial vowel of the following word. This confirms our supposition that the final consonants were not lost in speech. The meaning of the second word is not plain, but in view of *a-pe-o* in line 6 is probably *apēs* imperfect of ἀπειμι 'was absent'.

*i-na-ni-ja*: a place-name, cf. PY Ae01, Ae02; the simpler form *i-na-ne* in line 7.

*te-re-ne-we*: possibly a place-name in the dative; cf. *te-re-ne-wi-ja* An852, a fragment which is clearly similar to this tablet.

*to-ko-do-mo-a-pe-o*: the word-divider is dropped, but there is no sandhi; *toikhodomos apeōn*. *ti-no*: perhaps *thinos* 'of the coast'. Not to be compared with Cret. θίνα (cf. Carratelli, 1954, p. 216) < θήνα. The reading is very uncertain.

*pa-ki-ja-si*: dat. -ansi (cf. *pa-ki-ja-ne* Xc01) of a variant form of the place-name *pa-ki-ja-na*.

## 52 = An26 [207]

about 3 lines missing

- <sup>4</sup> [ ] MEN 10  
<sup>5</sup> [ ] *pi-ri-je-te-re* MEN 2  
<sup>6</sup> [*?re-ka-ta*]-*ne a-de-te-re* MEN 2  
<sup>7</sup> *re-ka-[ta]-ne ke-ra-me-we* MEN 2



8	<i>re-ka-ta-ne da-ko-ro</i>	MEN 12
9	<i>wa-a<sub>2</sub>-te-we po-ku-ta</i>	MEN 10
10	<i>a-nu-wa ku-ru-so-wo-ko</i>	MEN 4
11	[ ] <i>me-ri-da-ma-te</i>	MEN 2
12	[ ]-jo <i>to-ko-so-wo-ko</i>	MEN 5
13	<i>a-pi-no-[e-wi-jo? ]</i>	MEN [nn]
14	<i>so-ro-pe-o ra-pte-re</i>	[MEN nn]
15	<i>ko-ri-si-jo ra-pte-re</i>	[MEN nn]
16	<i>ka-ra-ke-e ra-pte-re</i>	[MEN nn]
17	<i>ra-ni-jo-ne ra-pte-re</i>	MEN [nn]
18	[ ]-ka-si-da <i>ra-pte-re</i>	MEN 20[

A list of tradesmen prefixed by what appear to be ethnic adjectives; very few of these are recorded elsewhere. Some seem to be place-names rather than adjectives. *a-pi-no-e-wi-jo* are mentioned in PY 184 = Nn01, etc.; *ko-ri-si-jo* is probably *Korinsioi* from *ko-ri-to Korinthus*, PY Ad07; *wa-a<sub>2</sub>-te-we* is to be connected with *wa-a<sub>2</sub>-te-pi* PY Na19.

*pi-ri-je-te-re*: the singular *pi-ri-je-te* is found on the Knossos sword tablets, which suggests a connexion with *πριω*: *prietēre* 'cutlers'?

*a-de-te-re*: singular PY Eq887. Perhaps *an-detēre* 'binders'.

*keramēwe*: 'potters'.

*da-ko-ro*: see on 49 = An07.

*po-ku-ta*: *pos-khulai* 'wine-pourers'?

*ku-ru-so-wo-ko*: *khrusoworgoi* 'goldsmiths'.

*to-ko-so-wo-ko*: *toxoworgoi* 'bow-makers'.

*ra-pte-re*: *raptēres* 'tailors'; the word has no digamma, see Vocabulary, p. 407.

### 13. ROWERS AND TROOPS AT PYLOS

The following group of tablets falls into two parts: one naval, one military. The subject-matter of the naval tablets is indicated by the word 'rowers' which appears in the first line of all three. The first is a list of the numbers of rowers to be provided by various towns for an expedition to Pleuron. The second is probably somewhat similar, but the heading is almost all lost, and the numerals are much larger; in all 443 men are recorded, and some numbers are obviously missing in the lacuna at the right-hand edge. These numbers make it certain that we are not here concerned with a peaceful mercantile venture, but a naval operation; and it would be unlikely that the business of trade would be thus organized by a central authority. It is possible that the thirty men specified in 53 = An12 is the complement of a Mycenaean ship; but the evidence of Homer suggests a figure of fifty oarsmen per ship (G. Thomson,



1949, p. 423), so thirty may be only part of the complement or for a smaller ship. The second tablet then appears to allow for at least nine ships. Even so this is a small figure compared with the ninety which Nestor took to Troy. The third tablet is more enigmatic, for despite Bennett's join with a new fragment there are irritating lacunae; the heading speaks clearly of 'rowers who are absent' (without leave?). Until more of the linguistic problems are solved we must be cautious in theorizing about the significance of this document.

The second group of tablets are distinguished by the word *o-ka*. Only one of these (57 = An43) was known from the 1939 finds; even so several people, including Palmer (1955, p. 20) and Mühlestein (1954), had suggested that this was a military document, since it associated large numbers of men with place-names. Mühlestein's suggestion that a variant form of the MAN ideogram on these tablets meant 'armed man' is unfounded; it can be shown to be due merely to a difference of handwriting. Palmer interpreted the tablet as a record of troop movements to guard against a threatened invasion from the north—a threat which the destruction of Pylos shows to have been unsuccessfully countered. Mühlestein goes further in identifying some of the places mentioned with historical place-names scattered over the west, north and centre of the Peloponnese; if right this would imply a vast dominion stretching almost to the gates of Mycenae. But would such a kingdom have been controlled from a remote spot in the far south-west? There is no evidence in tradition for such a large kingdom, and it is at variance with the Catalogue of Ships, not that we can expect a close coincidence. More serious is the objection raised by one of the new tablets (56 = An657), which has a heading preceding the recurrent formula and may therefore have introduced the whole series. This heading informs us that these are dispositions to guard the coastal regions. We must therefore reject any interpretations which involve places far distant from the sea.

Tradition and dialect evidence suggest that the Mycenaean kingdoms fell before invaders coming from the north-west; and there are reasons for thinking that Pylos was especially concerned with the coastal area to the north. The identification of *U-ru-pi-ja-jo* with Ὀλυμπία and of *O-ru-ma-si-jo* with Ἐρύμανθος has independently suggested to several minds that we have a reference to the general area of Elis. The two references to Pleuron are interesting as suggesting, not that Pleuron was in the orbit of Pylos, but that there was an alliance with an Aetolian kingdom; which would be natural enough if the danger came from the north-west. But *O-ka-ra<sub>2</sub>* can hardly be the Aetolian Ὀχολίη; it is very dangerous to press the evidence of place-names (see p. 139). Pylos may have been desperately engaged in an attempt to organize the defence of the whole



west coast—an impossible task without immense resources, and the resultant splitting of forces may have been responsible for her defeat.

A curious fact which Palmer and Mühlestein have both emphasized is the connexion between 57 = An43 and 76 = Cn22. Several of the place-names recur, including the pair *o-ka-ra<sub>3</sub> a<sub>3</sub>-ra-tu-(w)a*, and the phrase *pi-ru-te ku-re-we* (another pair of place-names according to Palmer). 76 = Cn22 is a list of oxen, and will be discussed in the next chapter. Palmer has attempted to bring the two into close connexion by supposing a religious motive for the distribution of cattle—sacrificial animals to ensure divine favour in the threatened sectors. The clue to this puzzle is the heading of the cattle tablet, on which there is unfortunately still no agreement.

The repeating pattern of the military tablets is plain, though the meaning of some of the key words is not. It begins with a man's name in the genitive followed by *o-ka*. This is most satisfactorily explained as *orkhā* = ἀρχή, presumably in the sense of 'command'; cf. ὄρχαμος. P. von der Mühll suggests *orkhā* = ὄρχος 'Reihe, Zug' (Mühlestein, 1955a, Nachtrag). Then we have a list of from three to seven names in the nominative, presumably the subordinate commanders. The pattern continues with varied phrases including two trade-names *ke-ki-de* and *ku-re-we* (some kind of troops?) accompanied by place-names or ethnics, and followed by ΜΕΝ and a numeral. Palmer appositely quotes:

ἔπτ' ἔσαν ἡγεμόνες φυλάκων, ἑκατὸν δὲ ἑκάστῳ  
κοῦροι ἅμα στείχον. . . . (II. ix, 85-6)

The final item is the formula *me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta* followed by a name. The last word was at first thought to be a verb, but it now appears likely that the middle termination is *-toi* not *-tai* (see p. 87); it must therefore be the noun *heq<sup>u</sup>etās* (= ἐπέτης) used as a title. The name is usually accompanied by a patronymic adjective, a rare distinction which Palmer is probably right in supposing to prove the high rank of the *heq<sup>u</sup>etās*.

53 = An12 [1]

<sup>1</sup> <i>e-re-ta</i>	<i>pe-re-u-ro-na-de</i>	<i>i-jo-te</i>
<sup>2</sup> <i>ro-o-wa</i>	MEN	8
<sup>3</sup> <i>ri-jo</i>	MEN	5
<sup>4</sup> <i>po-ra-pi</i>	MEN	4
<sup>5</sup> <i>te-ta-ra-ne</i>	MEN	6
<sup>6</sup> <i>a-po-ne-we</i>	MEN	7
	vacant	2



Rowers to go to Pleuron: eight from *Ro-a-wa*, five from Rhion, four from *Po-ra-*, six from *Te-ta-ra-ne*, seven from *A-po-ne-we*.

*eretai Pleurōnade iontes*: possibly the Homeric Pleuron in Aetolia (*Il.* II, 639+), but there is no evidence to support a positive identification. All the towns from which the rowers come are mentioned elsewhere, but none are satisfactorily interpreted except *Ri-jo* = *Rhion*, a common place-name, which is associated with Asine in Messenia.

*Po-ra-pi*: presumably an instrumental plural serving as locative: *Phorāphi* (Φαρᾶφι)?

Carratelli (1954, p. 226) = Σπορά(δ)φι.

*Te-ta-ra-ne*: hardly Τερπάνη as suggested by Carratelli as it must be dative.

#### 54 = An19 [610]

1	[ ]-ne e-re-ta				
2	[ ]-e ki-ti-ta	MEN 46	[ ]		
3	[ ]-ta	MEN 19	[ ]		
4	[ ]-ki-ti-ta	MEN 36	[ ]		
5	me-ta-ki-ti-ta	MEN 3	[ ]		
6	e-wi-ri-po	MEN 9	po-si-ke-te-re	[ ]	
7	a-ke-re-wa	MEN 25	wo-ge-we	[ ]	
8	ri-jo	MEN 24	wi-nu-ri-jo	[ ]	
9	te-ta-ra-ne	MEN 31	me-ta-[ ]		
10	a-po-ne-we	MEN 37	me-ta-[ ]		
11	ma-ra-ne-nu-we	MEN 40	po-ti-ja-ke-e		MEN 6
12	[za]-ku-si-jo	MEN 8	za-e-to-ro		MEN 3
13	da-mi-ni-jo	MEN 40	e-ke-ra <sub>2</sub> -wo-no		MEN 40
14	we-da-ne-wo	MEN 20	ko-ni-jo 126	me-ta-ki-ti-ta	MEN 26
15	po-ku-ta	MEN 10	we-re-ka-ra-(ta)	te-pa <sub>2</sub> -ta-ge	MEN 20
vacant 5					

*ki-ti-ta*: *ktitai* 'settlers', *metaktitai* 'new residents, metics'? In view of the association with *ktimena* the terms probably have a special feudal meaning.

*E-wi-ri-po*: place-name, *Euripos*; *A-ke-re-wa*, *Ri-jo*, *Te-ta-ra-ne*, *A-po-ne-we*, and *Ma-ra-ne-nu-we* are all also place-names; cf. 53 = An12.

*po-si-ke-te-re*: *pos-ik(e)stres* 'suppliants, refugees'?

*wo-ge-we*: cf. 55 = An724; perhaps a place-name.

*wi-nu-ri-jo*: place-name or ethnic?

*me-ta-[ ]*: *metaktitai* or *Metapa*?

*po-ti-ja-ke-e*: place-name; cf. *Ti-mi-to a-ke-e*.

[*za*]-*ku-si-jo*: cf. *za-ku-si-ja* PY 286 = Sa787 and man's name *za-ku-si-jo* MY Oe122; = *Zakunsiōi* (of *Zakunthos*).

*da-mi-ni-jo*: a place-name, common on the *D* tablets from Knossos, but only found elsewhere at Pylos in the form *da-mi-ni-ja* 14 = Ad697.

*E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo-no*, *We-da-ne-wo*: the entries so far have been either place-names, ethnic



adjectives or descriptive titles; here we pass abruptly to the genitive of men's names. *Ekhelawōn* and *We-da-ne-u* are obviously men of importance if they can produce forty and twenty men respectively; Bennett reads the latter figure too as forty; see further pp. 265 and 279.

*ko-ni-jo*: in view of the absence of the ideogram Ventris proposes *skhoimioi* 'ropes' (see Vocabulary); but the dropping of the ideogram may be due to lack of space.

*we-re-ka-ra-(ta)*: cf. PY An08.

55 = An724 (= An32 joined)

- <sup>1</sup> *ro-o-wa e-re-ta a-pe-o-te*
- <sup>2</sup> *me-nu-wa a-pe-e-ke a-re-sa-ni-e*
- <sup>3</sup> *o-pi-ke-ri-jo-de ki-ti-ta o-pe-ro-ta [e]*
- <sup>4</sup> *e-re-e MAN 1*
- <sup>5</sup> *e-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo-ne a-pe-e-ke a<sub>2</sub>-ri-e [MAN 1]*
- <sup>6</sup> *o-pe-ro-te e-re-e MEN 5*
- <sup>7</sup> *ra-wa-ke-ta a-pe-e-[ke] ]-e MAN [nn]*
- <sup>8</sup> *ta-ti-qo-we-u o-[ ]-qe-[.] MAN 1*
- <sup>9</sup> *a-ke-re-wa ki-e-u o-pe-[ ]-e a-ri-ja-to*
- <sup>10</sup> *ki-ti-ta MAN 1 o-ro-ti-jo di-qo a-[.]*
- <sup>11</sup> *o-pe-ro [.] e-ko-si-qe e-qe-ta ka-ma*
- <sup>12</sup> *e-to-ni-jo e-nuq-ri-jo MAN 1*
- <sup>13</sup> *wo-qe-we [e]-qo-te ru-ki-ja a-ko-wo MAN [nn]*
- <sup>14</sup> *ri-jo o-no e-qo-te MEN 10[*

No translation is attempted in view of the numerous problems. The general sense is plain: there are rowers missing, and certain places and lords are responsible; but it does not seem possible to offer an easy solution to the question why they are missing — absent without leave? — or what is being done about it.

*Ro-o-wa*: obviously an important coastal town; it provides eight of the thirty men for Pleuron (53 = An12); it is the seat of a coastal command (57 = An43). As the Lawagetas and other important people such as Ekhelawon are associated with it here, it may well be the port of Pylos itself.

*Me-nu-wa*: a man's name found in the form *Me-nu-a<sub>2</sub>* 44 = An29; = Μινύας? In view of *E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo-ne* all the three nouns preceding *a-pe-e-ke* are presumably datives. This suggests that *a-pe-e-ke* is an impersonal verb and *a-re-sa-ni-e* and *a<sub>2</sub>-ri-e* are infinitives following it. Satisfactory interpretations are lacking. *a-pe-e-ke* fits well as *apheke* (ἀφίημι), though this is not used impersonally. But there are other possibilities: *ap-ekhe* (ἀπέρχω) or *amphe-ekhe* (= ἀμφι-; cf. *a-pi-e-ke* PY 97 = Un03). The sense of *a-re-sa-ni-e* and *a<sub>2</sub>-ri-e* cannot be deduced from the context; Ventris compares the latter with *a<sub>2</sub>-ri-sa* PY 154 = Eq01.

*o-pi-ke-ri-jo-de*: only found again, without the *-de* suffix, in a very fragmentary context PY An35, which is possibly another list of rowers. The final *-de* might be enclitic 'but' or the suffix of motion towards. If the former, Ventris suggests *opikhérion*



=ὀποχείριον (cf. *Od.* xv, 448); if the latter, Chadwick proposes a place-name *Opiskherion*, cf. ὀπισχερώ, Σχερίη.

*ki-ti-ta*: probably *kititān ophēlonta*.

*e-re-e*: Ventris: *helei* 'he will take' (but the future ἐλῶ is only found at a late date).

Chadwick: *ereen* infinitive of \*ἐρω, root verb later replaced by ἐρέσσω; 'a settler who is under obligation to serve as a rower'. For *ophēlōn*+infin. cf. [o]phēlōn-q<sup>e</sup> *teleiaen* Eb39. In any case this word is probably not the same as *e-re-e* 258 = Kn01, where it appears to be dative of a place-name, probably *Helas*.

*o-pe-ro-te*: presumably plural *ophēlontes* in view of the numeral 5; but this cannot be reconciled with the accusative in line 3.

*ra-wa-ke-ta*: *lāwāgetāi* 'the leader of the army'. The lacuna might contain [*a-re-sa-ni*]-e or [*o-pe-ro-ta e-re*]-e.

*Ta-ti-go-we-u*: a man's name, recurring as one of the commanders on the military tablets (58 = An654); *Stätig<sup>o</sup>oweus*?

*A-ke-re-wa*: a new section must begin here with the change of scene.

*Ki-e-u*: apparently a man's name; cf. 43 = Sn01.

*o-pe*-[ : *ophē*[lōn (or -lanta) *ere*]en?

*a-ri-ja-to*: 3rd sing. middle of *a<sub>2</sub>-ri-e*?

*o-ro-ti-jo di-go*: the latter may be a man's name at Knossos Dl 930.

*e-ko-si-qe*: *ekhonsi-q<sup>e</sup> huq<sup>e</sup>etai khamās ?etonion* . . . 'and the followers have the *freehold* of the *holding*'. The vocabulary here is that found on the land ownership tablets; see pp. 253, 261. The connecting link must be the holding of land in return for feudal service.

*e-nwa-ri-jo*: = *E-nu-wa-ri-jo* = *Emualios*? Bennett reads *e*-[.]*-se-ri-jo*.

*wo-qe-we*: cf. 54 = An19.

*e-go-te*: *huq<sup>e</sup>ontes* with active inflexion = ἐτόμενοι?

*a-ko-wo*: hardly *akortwos* (Homeric ἀκούρος).

*Ri-jo*: another change of scene.

*o-no*: cf. 41 = An14, but this may be a different word. The phrase probably recurs on An35 edge.

## 56 = An657

<sup>1</sup> *o-u-ru-ta o-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra e-pi-ka-wo*

<sup>2</sup> *ma-re-wo o-ka o-wi-to-no*

<sup>3</sup> *a-pe-ri-ta-wo o-re-ta e-te-wa ko-ki-jo*

<sup>4</sup> *su-we-ro-wi-jo o-wi-ti-ni-jo o-ka-ra<sub>3</sub> MEN 50*

vacat

<sup>6</sup> *ne-da-wa-ta-o o-ka e-ke-me-de*

<sup>7</sup> *a-pi-je-ta ma-ra-te-u ta-ni-ko*

<sup>8</sup> *a<sub>2</sub>-ru-wo-te ke-ki-de ku-pa-ri-si-jo MEN 20*

vacat

<sup>10</sup> *ai-ta-re-u-si ku-pa-ri-si-jo ke-ki-de MEN 10*



- <sup>11</sup> *me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta ke-ki-jo*  
<sup>12</sup> *a-e-ri-go-ta e-ra-po ri-me-ne*  
<sup>13</sup> *o-ka-ra o-wi-to-no MEN 30 ke-ki-de-qe a-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ka-ne*  
<sup>14</sup> *MEN 20 me-ta-qe pe-i ai-ko-ta e-qe-ta*

Thus the watchers are guarding the coast.

§ 1 Command of Maleus at *O-wi-to-no*: Ampelitawon, Orestas, Etewas, Kekkion.

Fifty *su-we-ro-wi-jo* men of *O-wi-to-no* at Oikhalia.

§ 2 Command of Nedwatas: Ekhemedes, *Amphi-e-ta* the *ma-ra-te-u*, *Ta-ni-ko*.  
 Twenty Kuparessian *ke-ki-de* men at *A-ru-wo-te*,  
 ten Kuparessian *ke-ki-de* men at *Aithalewes*,  
 (and with them the Follower Kerkios).

Aeriq<sup>u</sup>hoitas, Elaphos, *Ri-me-ne*.

Thirty men from Oikhalia to *O-wi-to-no*,  
 and twenty *ke-ki-de* men from *A-pu-ka*,  
 (and with them the Follower *Ai-ko-ta*).

The section numbers here and in succeeding tablets are inserted merely for ease of reference.

*o-u-ru-to*: the negative *ou* makes no sense here. It is more likely that *u-ru-to* represents a verb beginning *ur-* (so written because there is no sign for *uu*), and *o-* is the usual prefix. Probably therefore an athematic 3rd plur. present indic. *hō uruntoi* (cf. ῥῦνται).

*opi(h)ala*: 'the coastal regions', cf. τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια.

*epikouoi*: cf. the man's name *Pu-ko-wo* = *Purkowos*, Delph. Πυρκόοι. It will mean 'watchers, look-outs'. Not = ἐπίκουροι 'allies'; see Vocabulary, p. 392.

*O-wi-to-no*: clearly a place-name with medial *-t(h)n-*; cf. the adjective *O-wi-ti-ai-jo*.

*su-we-ro-wi-jo*: it is not clear where the list of names ends; this word may be a name or go with what follows.

*O-ka-ra<sub>3</sub>*: cf. *O-ka-ra* in line 13. Possibly *Oikhalia* (so Palmer), on the Messenian-Arcadian frontier, the later Andania or Karnasion; but this seems far removed from the sea. Alternatively the town in Aetolia, though this too is not on the coast.

*ma-ra-te-u*: cf. *ma-ra-te-wo* PY 195 = Na67; apparently a title or occupational name rather than a personal name.

*A<sub>2</sub>-ru-wo-te*: probably a place-name in the dative; not 'Ἀλοῦς in Arcadia?

*ke-ki-de*: possibly a description of some sort of troops.

*Kuparessioi*: from Κυπαρισσία (cf. Κυπαρισσῆς, II: ii, 593).

*Aithaleui*: dative of ethnic used as place-name?

*pe-i*: *spheis* or *sphe'i* = σφῆσι; cf. Arcad. σφῆς (dat. plur.).

*A-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ka-ne*: nom. masc. plur. of ethnic? Cf. *A-pu-ka* 44 = An29.







The connexion of two geographical names from the same area seems to guarantee the interpretation; but even this may be illusory.

*Pi-ru-te ku-re-we*: cf. 76 = Cn22. The latter word seems to denote another kind of troops distinguished from *ke-ki-de*. The view of Palmer (1954*b*, p. 52) that it is a place-name is refuted by the next tablet.

*Ro-u-ko*: cf. 44 = An29.

58 = An654

- <sup>1</sup> *ku-ru-me-no-jo o-ka pe-ri-te-u*
- <sup>2</sup> *wo-ne-wa a-ti-ja-wo e-ru-ta-ra*
- <sup>3</sup> *o-ai<sub>2</sub>?-ta me-ta-pi-jo ke-ki-de*
- <sup>4</sup> MEN 50
- vacat
- <sup>6</sup> *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo ku-re-we MEN 60*
- <sup>7</sup> *me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta*
- <sup>8</sup> *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo e-te-wo-ke-re-we*
- <sup>9</sup> *i-jo*
- vacat
- <sup>11</sup> *ta-ti-qo-we-wo o-ka to-wa*
- <sup>12</sup> *po-ki-ro-qo pe-ri-no de-u-ka-ri-jo*
- <sup>13</sup> *ra-pe-do do-qo-ro pe-ri-ra-wo*
- <sup>14</sup> *e-no-wa-ro to-so-de pe-di-je-we*
- <sup>15</sup> *wa-wo-u-de ke-ki-de MEN 10*
- <sup>16</sup> *u-ru-pi-ja-jo MEN 10 ku-re-we MEN 20*
- <sup>17</sup> *i-wa-so MEN 10*
- <sup>18</sup> *o-ka-ra<sub>3</sub> MEN 10*

§ 5 Command of Klumenos: Perintheus, Woinewas, Antiaon, Eruthras.

Fifty... *ke-ki-de* men of Metapa,  
 sixty *ku-re-we* men of *U-pi-akron*,  
 (and with them the Follower Alektruon son of Etewoklewes).

§ 6 Command of *Statig<sup>u</sup>orweus*: . . . , Poikiloq<sup>u</sup>s, Pelinos, Deukalion, *Ra-pe-do*, *Do-qo-ro*, Perilawos, *E-no-wa-ro*.

The following numbers of *plainsmen*:

Ten *ke-ki-de* men of *Wa-wo-u*,  
 ten men of Olympia,  
 twenty *ku-re-we* men;  
 ten men at Iwasos,  
 ten men at Oikhalia.



*Klumenōio*: a Homeric name; he is described as *mo(i)roppas* on 43 = Sn01.

*o-ai<sub>2</sub>?-ta*: cf. 57 = An43.

*U-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*: presumably an ethnic, cf. *U-pa-ra-ki-ri-ja* PY An08, *U-po-ra-ki-ri-ja* Cn13.

*Alektruōn*: another Homeric name, recurring on PY 167 = Es650. He is presumably the brother of *Ne-ge-u*, another son of Eteocles mentioned on 43 = Sn01.

*To-wa*: a man or a place?

*pediōwes*: = πεδισίς; but 'plainmen' seem odd; not 'foot-soldiers'?

*Wa-wo-u-de*: analogy suggests that this is a place-name or ethnic; cf. *wa-wo-u-* [ PY Xb02.

59 = An656

<sup>1</sup> *wa-pa-ro-ja o-ka ne-wo-ki-to*

<sup>2</sup> [... ] *e-ri-ko-wo a<sub>2</sub>-di-je-u*

<sup>3</sup> *a-ki-wo-ni-jo* [?]

<sup>4</sup> *wa-ka-ti-ja-ta ke-ki-de sa-pi-du*

<sup>5</sup> *me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta*

<sup>6</sup> *pe-re-qo-ni-jo a-re-i-jo*

<sup>7</sup> *ne-wo-ki-to wo-wi-ja ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*

<sup>8</sup> MEN 20 *me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta*

<sup>9</sup> *di-wi-je-u*

vacat

<sup>11</sup> *du-wo-jo-jo o-ka a-ke-re-wa*

<sup>12</sup> *a<sub>2</sub>-ku-ni-jo pe-ri-me-de* [?]

<sup>13</sup> *pu<sub>2</sub>?-ti-ja a-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ka-ne ke-ki-de po-ra-i* MEN 20

<sup>14</sup> *me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta di-ko-na-ro a-da-ra-ti-jo*

<sup>15</sup> *u-wa-si ke-ki-de ne-wo* MEN 10

<sup>16</sup> *me-ta-ge pe-i pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo e-ge-ta*

vacat

<sup>18</sup> *a-ke-re-wa ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* MEN 50

<sup>19</sup> *me-ta-ge pe-i e-ge-ta ka-e-sa-me-no*

<sup>20</sup> *a-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ka*

§ 7 Command of *Wapalos*; *Ne-wo-ki-to*, *Eriko-wos*, *Ardieus*, *A-ki-wo-ni-jo*.

... *ke-ki-de* men of *Wa-ka-ti-ja*;

(and with them the Follower *Presgōnios* son of *Ares*).

*Ne-wo-ki-to* borders:

Twenty men of *Krokula*;

(and with them the Follower *Diwicus*).

§ 8 Command of *Dwoios* at *A-ke-re-wa*: *A-ku-ni-jo*, *Perimedes*, *Puthias*.  
Twenty *ke-ki-de* men of *A-pu-ka* at *Po-rai*;



(and with them the Follower *Di-ko-na-ro* son of *Adrastos*).

Ten young *ke-ki-de* men at *U-wa-si*;

(and with them a follower from *Pleuron*).

Fifty men of *Krokula* at *A-ke-re-wa*;

(and with them the Follower *Ka-e-sa-menos* of *A-pu-ka*).

*Ne-wo-ki-to*: perhaps the same person as the priest of 44 = An29. Palmer (1955, p. 10): *Newokhitōn*.

*Erikowos*: (or *-gowos*, *-kowōn*) a 'slave of the god' in PY Ep02; here more likely the *basileus* of Jn845.

*sa-pi-da*: cf. *sa-pi-de* MY 105 = Ge602, PY Vn05; but the explanation 'boxes' proposed there makes no sense here. *ke-ki-de* is elsewhere followed by MEN and a numeral, sometimes with an ethnic adjective intervening.

*wo-wi-ja*: possibly *worwia* = ὄρια. Elsewhere apparently a second member of a place-name, the first part of which is a man's name in the genitive; cf. *Ko-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja* PY Mn01, *Ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja* Na35.

*Diwiews*: here clearly a man's name; cf. *di-wi-je-we* PY 76 = Cn22, where Palmer takes it as adjective with *ereutēres*, 'of Zeus'.

*Dwoioio*: 'Double'.

*A-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ka-ne*: plural of an ethnic, the singular of which recurs in *A-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ka* line 20.

*Pleurōnios*: ethnic or name? Elsewhere *e-qe-ta* precedes the name (except for 56 = An657.14), so the variation may be significant; cf. the mention of *Pleuron* in PY 53 = An12.

60 = An661

- <sup>1</sup> *e-ki-no-jo o-ka e-o-te-u*
- <sup>2</sup> *a-ti-ro-qe i-da-i-jo e-se-re-a<sub>2</sub>*
- <sup>3</sup> *e-na-po-ro i-wa-so MEN 70*
- <sup>4</sup> *[.]o-ri-[ ] MEN 30*
- <sup>5</sup> *ka-ra-do-ro ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo MEN [nn]*
- <sup>6</sup> *zq-e-to-ro ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo MEN 20*
- <sup>7</sup> *me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jo*  
vacat
- <sup>9</sup> *e-ko-me-na-ta-o o-ka*
- <sup>10</sup> *ti-mi-to q-ke-i ma-re-u ro-qo-ta*
- <sup>11</sup> *q-ke-[.]u a-ke-wa-to*
- <sup>12</sup> *a<sub>2</sub>-ka-a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ri-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo*
- <sup>13</sup> *ne-do-wo-ta-de MEN 30 me-ta-qe pe-i e-qe-ta*

§ 9 Command of Ekhinos: *E-o-te-u* and *A-ti-ro*, *Idaios*, *E-se-re-a*.  
Seventy men from *E-na-po-ro* to *Iwasos*,  
thirty men. . . ,



*x* men of *Krokula* at Kharadros,  
 twenty men of *Krokula* at *Za-e-to-ro*;  
 (and with them the Follower *Wo-ro-tu-mnios*).

§ 10 Command of Erkhomenatas at *Ti-mi-to-a-ke-i*: Maleus, *Re-go-ta*, *A-ke-u*,  
*Arkhevastos*.

Thirty men of A-ka-akron and Olympia to Nedwon;  
 (and with them a follower).

*A-ti-ro-ge*: possibly complete as a name, connective *-ge* being unusual in these lists;  
 but *A-ti-ro* recurs at Knossos.

*E-na-po-ro*: interpreted as a common noun *enarsphoroi* by Debrunner and Von der Mühl  
 (Mühlestein, 1955*a*, Nachtrag); but its identification as a place is guaranteed by its  
 inclusion in the tribute lists of the *Na* group (Na02, 184 = Nn01; cf. Vn04 where it  
 reappears in company with Kharadros); possibly a place named after the hero  
 Enarsphoros.

*ti-mi-to a-ke-i*, the common place-name, more usually spelt with *a-ke-e*. The reading  
 is doubtful; Bennett *pi*-[\*82].

*a<sub>2</sub>-ka-a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ri-jo*: cf. *A<sub>2</sub>-ka-a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ri-ja-jo* PY 76 = Cn22.





















*Nedwonta-de*: accusative of Νέδων river of Eastern Messenia?



## CHAPTER VII

# LIVESTOCK AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

THIS chapter must begin with a discussion of the ideograms for livestock which are set out below:

*23		OX	*22		GOAT
109 <sup>a</sup>		OX/BULL	107 <sup>a</sup>		HE-GOAT
109 <sup>b</sup>		COW	107 <sup>b</sup>		SHE-GOAT
		OX + SI			
*21		SHEEP	*85		PIG
106 <sup>a</sup>		RAM	108 <sup>a</sup>		BOAR
106 <sup>b</sup>		EWE	108 <sup>b</sup>		SOW
		SHEEP + TA			PIG + SI
*75		Kind of sheep?			PIG + KA
104		DEER	105		HORSE
					FOAL

The domestic animals of the tablets are four, if we exclude the deer which appears on only three tablets (PY Cn01, 868, 875). To these may be added the horse, which appears only in connexion with chariots, and is clearly used only for military purposes (see p. 379). The signs for the HORSE and the DEER are self-evident; that for the PIG is almost as clear, and was recognized by Evans (*PM*, iv, p. 722). The identification of the other three signs has been much disputed. Evans, followed by Furumark and others, thought that the OX was a variant of the HORSE. Others, including Palmer (1954*a*, p. 67), have preferred the value OX (cf. Carratelli, 1954, p. 219). It is comparatively scarce; it occurs in pairs on a series of Knossos tablets (e.g. 83 = Ch902) and is qualified by the word *wergatai* (e.g. KN 84 = G 59, cf. βοῦς ἐργάτης Archilochus, 39, etc.). The proof seems to lie in PY 76 = Cn22, where five of these animals are enumerated, the heading containing the word *go-o*; this is almost certainly a part of the word corresponding to βοῦς, the best suggestion



being that of E. Risch (Mühlestein, 1955a, Nachtrag) that it is a *scriptio plena* for *gʷās* (acc. plur.). It is also observable that the ideogram though stylized clearly shows a horn, and the meaning OX may be regarded as certain.

It would seem likely therefore that the remaining two signs should represent sheep and goats, and the problem becomes merely that of deciding which is which. SHEEP are much more numerous than GOATS; and they are repeatedly associated with the sign WOOL, sometimes with nothing intervening (see p. 205). This in turn is associated with textiles (see p. 314), and the animal product most likely to be used in garments is wool. Goats' hair or goatskin is not impossible, but is obviously less likely to be a common commodity. Finally we may point to the apparent use of SHE-GOAT as the female of the AGRIMI (see p. 302). The use of sign \*75 = WE for a kind of sheep suggests an abbreviation of *wetalon* 'yearling'; it may also be used of goats, see p. 208.

### COMPOUND SIGNS

The question of the compound signs is only partially resolved. The signs indicating sex are certainly identified; the rest obscure. Those with two horizontal bars indicate male animals, those with a bifurcated stem females. Evans (*PM*, iv, p. 723) had already conjectured that these signs represented the sex and had correctly interpreted them; his interpretation was, however, attacked by Sundwall (1936, pp. 25-38), who reversed the sexes, taking RAM for instance as 'cow'. The sexes were finally determined by Kober (1949, p. 398) who demonstrated that the word for 'total' now read as *to-so*, *to-sa*, showed grammatical inflexion, and that RAMS were counted with the same form as MEN, and EWES with the same form as WOMEN. The complication of a third gender, indistinguishable in this word from the feminine plural, does not vitiate the conclusion, since the neuter can be ruled out when it is a case of distinguishing between the two sexes. The undifferentiated forms of the livestock signs have been transcribed by the name of the species; but it is possible that these in fact indicate the young animals, and we should call them rather CALF, LAMB, etc. On the different forms of the HORSE sign see p. 210. 109\*, properly BULL, is used also to denote the castrated, working OX.

The other compounds are less common and their meaning is unexplained. The syllabic sign *si* compounded with PIG is specifically coupled with the word *sialos* on PY 75 = Cn02. But this may be fortuitous, since the OX is also compounded with *si*, and these signs may well be taken over from Linear A; BULL for instance figures in the tables of Garratelli (1945, p. 479). The SHEEP sign compounded with *ta* figures only on PY Cn09, Cn10, both of which have the introductory word *ta-to-mo*, perhaps *stathmos*.



## ADJUNCTS

In addition to the compound signs, adjuncts written before the ideogram are frequently used (more often at Knossos than at Pylos). The following table shows which occur:

SHEEP	<i>o</i>								
RAM	<i>o</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ki.ne</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>sa</i>	
EWE	<i>o</i>								<i>se</i>
HE-GOAT									<i>ai</i>
PIG	<i>o</i>								

*o* is certainly here as elsewhere an abbreviation of *o-pe-ro* (or the like) and means 'lacking, deficient'. No entirely satisfactory explanations have yet been proposed for the remaining adjuncts. The analogy of the cuneiform tablets suggests the following distinctions for sheep, in addition to male/female:

wool sheep / hair sheep / eating sheep  
 grain-fed / grass-fed / fattened / milk-fed  
 shorn / unshorn  
 sheep / lamb

It would be an interesting, though perhaps unprofitable, game to look for Greek words which could be abbreviated by the phonetic symbols, and which would correspond to these distinctions. *pe* suggests *pekos* (= πόκος) or *pektos* 'shorn'. *ne* and *pa* might be *neuos* and *palaos* (cf. the adjuncts *ne* and *pa* applied to WOMEN, p. 163). *ki* might be connected with χιλός 'green fodder' (hardly κριός 'ram'), *sa* with σηκός (Dor. σᾱκός) 'fold' or σῆτες (Dor. σᾱτες) 'this year'. But it must be emphasized that such guesses cannot be verified.

## PURPOSE OF THE TABLETS

The livestock tablets from Knossos attracted a good deal of attention previous to the decipherment. Evans (*PM*, iv, p. 723) first called attention to the large numbers of cattle involved; but it was Sundwall (1936) who pointed out the curious fact that on most of the complete tablets the figures add up to 100 or a similar round number, including the deficit noted by *o*. (For examples and a fuller discussion see p. 201.) The numbers at Pylos are not so obviously round figures, but the majority are multiples of ten, and of the remainder a fair number end in five. At Pylos, however, we do not have the check provided by the mathematics of the deficit.

It is on this fact that any theory of the transaction recorded must be based. They cannot be a simple census of flocks of sheep and other cattle, since a natural distribution would not show these round numbers, nor would this



explain the deficits. Real flocks too would hardly show the disproportion of rams to ewes which is evident. It follows then that these are allocations or contributions, and that performance in many cases falls short of the amount due. The high numbers of rams would not occur if these were allocations by the palace; but they would naturally occur if the owners were obliged to supply so many sheep annually. They would of course pick out the least useful members for the regeneration of the flock. We may therefore feel sure that those are right who have seen in these tablets a record of tribute imposed on his subjects by the overlord. Sundwall, regarding the cattle as oxen, suggested that these were 'hecatombs' of sacrificial animals. Although this explanation cannot be ruled out, the numbers seem far too large for this purpose. Several of the Knossos tablets which apparently give totals have figures in excess of 2000; one fragment contains the numeral 19,000. This would have been piety indeed. Even if the figures are regarded as tribute, they are large for an annual contribution. Evans was certainly right in setting down cattle-raising as one of the principal sources of wealth. It might be tempting to regard these sheep not as real animals, but merely as a token of exchange, as oxen are used as a standard of measurement in Homer; but imaginary sheep cannot be divided into rams and ewes, apart from the other subdivisions. Nor is there any evidence in the tablets of anything approaching currency. Every commodity is listed separately, and there is never any sign of equivalence between one unit and another.

The state of the Knossos tablets and the fact that some of them appear to record the totals make it very difficult to arrive at any firm conclusions on the numbers mentioned. There are too a considerable number among the newly published fragments. The much smaller number of tablets involved at Pylos make the census easier. Even so it must be remembered that our collection of tablets is doubtless far from complete, and many tablets have not survived entire. On the other hand some may duplicate entries relating to the same cattle. In any case, as explained above, there is good reason to think that the figures recorded are only a small percentage of the total flocks.

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Unclassified</i>	<i>Total</i>
SHEEP	8217	1554	386	10157
GOATS	1004	771	50	1825
PIGS	57	234	249	540
OXEN	—	—	8	8
STAGS	—	—	16	16

The above table shows the total numbers of each of the principal categories of livestock at Pylos on C- tablets sufficiently preserved. Damaged numerals have



been read as the smallest number which can be restored. The proportions of SHEEP / GOATS / PIGS are probably reasonably accurate, but the relative scarcity of OXEN is surprising.

# 1. FLOCKS OF SHEEP AND GOATS AT PYLOS (Cc, Cn)

The first example illustrates the formula: (place-name) *we-re-ke*. Ventris and others have proposed *wergei* (with a *scriptio plena* to avoid confusion) 'encloses'. But these cannot be the total numbers of cattle kept at these places, and the construction seems a little curious. It is noticeable that *Ro-u-so*, which is later a plural Λουσοί, is equally followed by *we-re-ke*, not \**we-ro-ko-si*. We might expect a formula with prefixed *o-* to introduce the enumeration, cf. 75 = Cn02. It may therefore be wondered whether *we-re-ke* is a plural substantive, which is in some way applicable to both sheep and goats. The place-names occurring in this series are: *Pi-\*82*, *Ro-u-so* (twice) and *A-ke-re-wa*. In the text quoted each entry consists of *pa-ro* followed by a man's name in the dative; the single exception has *Ma-ro-pi* (place-name in locative-instrumental plural?) and apparently the name in the nominative. In the preceding line an erroneous nominative has been changed to the dative.

61 = Cn04 [131]

1 <i>pi-*82 we-re-ke</i>	
2 <i>pa-ro pi-me-ta</i> RAMS 200	<i>pa-ro o-ku-ka</i> RAMS 130×
3 <i>pa-ro ku-pi-ri-jo</i> RAMS 50×	<i>pa-ro a-ka-ma-wo</i> RAMS 120×
4 <i>pa-ro ko-ru-no</i> RAMS 100×	<i>pa-ro ne-ri-to</i> RAMS 30×
5 <i>pa-ro po-ro-u-te-we</i> RAMS 90×	<i>pa-ro o-wo-ko</i> SHE-GOATS 54×
6 <i>ma-ro-pi to-ro-wi</i> RAMS 130×	<i>pa-ro a-no-po</i> RAMS 130×
7 <i>pa-ro ke-ro-wo</i> RAMS 130×	<i>pa-ro ra-pa-sa-ko</i> RAMS 91×
8 <i>pa-ro po-ke-we</i> EWES 27	<i>pa-ro a-ri-wo-ne</i> RAMS 100
9 <i>pa-ro a-we-ke-se-we</i> RAMS 180	<i>pa-ro po-ko-ro</i> RAMS 100×
10 <i>pa-ro e-ti-ra-wo</i> RAMS 100×	<i>pa-ro a-ta-ma-ne-we</i> RAMS 140×
11 <i>pa-ro se-no</i> EWES 44×	<i>pa-ro ko-ro</i> EWES 24×
12 <i>pa-ro do-qo-no</i> RAMS 80×	<i>pa-ro wo-ki-to</i> RAMS 73×
13 <i>pa-ro me-te-we</i> RAMS 163×	<i>pa-ro ke-sa-me-no</i> EWES 40×
14 <i>pa-ro pu-wi-no</i> SHE-GOATS 55	

*Pi-\*82* encloses:

from <i>Pi-me-ta</i>	200 rams
from Ogugas	130 rams
from Kuprios	50 rams
from Alkmawos	120 rams, etc.



*Ke-ro-wo*: if this is the same man as that described as a shepherd at *Asiatia* 31 - Ae04, this is further proof of the identity of the SHEEP ideogram, and suggests that all these men are the herdsmen and not the owners of the flocks.

The next tablet deals with the same area and seven of the personal names are the same. In this case the sheep are not recorded as 'from' a person, but the place-name is followed by either (a) a man's name in the nominative after which there is another name in the genitive and the word *a-ko-ra* (probably = *agorā* in the sense 'collection' or 'flock', see Vocabulary, p. 387), or (b) a man's name in the nominative or genitive followed by *pa-ra-jo*. If this is some part of *πολκίος* it presumably cannot be in agreement with the man's name where this is in the genitive, though a failure of concord cannot be ruled out. In the second tablet quoted here the expression 'x's flock' is substituted by 'x *a-ke-re*', i.e. *agērei*. Hence we may suppose that the men so designated are in some way responsible for 'collecting' the cattle. There are only four of them: *A-pi-me-de*, *A-ke-o*, *A-ko-so-ta* and *We-da-ne-u*. The latter two are mentioned elsewhere in contexts that make it plain they are people of some importance: *We-da-neus* is one of the persons who receive minor contributions on the Poseidon tablets (169 = Es646, 170 = Es649); *A(r)xotas* is issuing spices on 103 = Un08, inspecting land on 131 = Eq01, and he appears on several other tablets. It would seem likely therefore that these four are officials or representatives of the palace.

62 = Cn655

<sup>1</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>qe-re-wa-o</i>	<i>pa-ra-jo</i>	RAMS 136
<sup>2</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>to-ro-wi-ko</i>	<i>pa-ra-jo</i>	RAMS 133
<sup>3</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>ke-ro-wo-jo</i>		RAMS 85
<sup>4</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>ra-pa-sa-ko-jo</i>		RAMS 69
<sup>5</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>pu-wi-no</i>	<i>a-pi-me-de-o</i>	<i>a-ko-ra</i> RAMS 190
<sup>6</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>i-wa-so</i>	<i>we-da-ne-wo</i>	<i>a-ko-ra</i> RAMS 70
<sup>7</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>ti-mq-wo</i>	<i>pa-ra-jo</i>	RAMS 70
<sup>8</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>o-ka-ri-jo</i>	<i>pa-ra-jo</i>	RAMS 95
<sup>9</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>e-ti-ra-wo</i>	<i>pa-ra-jo</i>	RAMS 70
<sup>10</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>a-ta-ma-ne-u</i>	<i>pa-ra-jo</i>	RAMS 60
<sup>11</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>qi-ri-ta-ko</i>	<i>a-ke-o-jo</i>	<i>a-ko-ra</i> RAMS 90
<sup>12</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>a-ri-wo</i>	<i>a-ke-o-jo</i>	<i>a-ko-ra</i> [X nn]
<sup>13</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>i-re-jo</i>	<i>we-da-ne-wo</i>	<i>a-ko-ra</i> [X] 60
<sup>14</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>o-pe-re-ta</i>	<i>we-da-ne-wo</i>	EWES 86
<sup>15</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>po-ro-pa<sub>2</sub>-ta-jo</i>	<i>we-da-ne-wo</i>	EWES 63
<sup>16</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>to-ru-ko-ro</i>	<i>we-da-ne-wo</i>	EWES 88
<sup>17</sup> <i>ma-ro-pi</i>	<i>ma-ma-ro</i>	<i>we-da-ne-wo</i>	RAMS 90



<sup>18</sup> [ma-ro]-pi ma-du-ro we-da-ne-wo RAMS 100

<sup>19</sup> [ma-ro]-pi se-no we-da-[ne]-wo EWES 40

<sup>20</sup> [ma-ro-pi] ta-ta-ke-u [we-da]-ne-wo EWES 30

At Ma-ro-: the... of Q<sup>e</sup>elewas 136 rams.

At Ma-ro-: the... of Trowix: 133 rams,  
etc., etc.

63=Cc660

a-ke-o a-ke-re

me-ta-pa / pa-ro ka-ra-su-no HE-GOATS 30

At Metapa: Alkeos collects thirty he-goats from Ka-ra-su-no.

## 2. FLOCKS OF SHEEP AT KNOSSOS (Da-Dg)

All the tablets of this group are really alike, varying only in the different ways in which the total is built up. They begin with a man's name, presumably that of the shepherd as in the parallel tablets at Pylos, written in tall characters; then the tablet is usually divided by a horizontal line, the top line containing the name of the 'collector' in the nominative or genitive, and the number of rams and/or ewes; the lower line usually gives the place-name and any minor entry, such as the deficit. These positions, however, are not invariable.

106<sup>a</sup> 𐀓 RAM

106<sup>b</sup> 𐀓 EWE

Unlike the Pylos tablets, there is a separate tablet for each entry. The numbers are as a rule round hundreds, or a series of lesser numbers adding up to a round total. In these cases the sum is never shown on the tablet. A few examples will illustrate the principle:

				Total
Da1147	RAMS 100			100
De1148	RAMS 95	pe. RAMS 5		100
Dd1150	RAMS 70	EWES 29	pa. RAMS 1	100
De1151	RAMS 264	EWES 22	o. RAMS 14	300
De1152	RAMS 46	EWES 22	o. RAMS 12	80
De1154	RAMS 91	o. RAMS 9		100

At least thirty places are mentioned on these tablets—the exact figure depends on whether a few which occur only once are correctly identified as names. These places can be safely presumed to be in some sense tributary to Knossos. The only ones which can be located geographically are: Phaistos, Lato, Lyktos, Tylissos, and probably *Se-to-i-ja*=Setaia and *U-ta-no*=Itanos. This distribution covers central and eastern Crete; the only two places known from the tablets in West Crete (Kydonia and Aptara) do not figure in this



series. It would, however, be rash to generalize from what may in any case be an accidental distribution, since we can locate so few of the place-names. The western towns may possibly be excused from sending sheep owing to the lack of suitable cattle roads.

The collectors are a little more numerous than at Pylos, but a large number of tablets do not bear this entry. The two most frequently recurring names are *U-ta-jo* and *We-we-si-jo*, the former in connexion with ten places (*Da-wo*, *Da-\*22-to*, *Do-ti-ja*, *E-ko-so*, *Ku-ta-to*, Phaistos, *Pa<sub>3</sub>-ko-we*, *Ra-su-to*, *Ri-jo-no*, *Tu-ni-ja*), the latter with eight (*Da-ra-ko*, *Da-wo*, *Da-\*22-to*, *Di-ro*, *E-ko-so*, *Ku-ta-to*, Phaistos, *Su-ri-mo*). Since there is considerable overlapping we cannot suppose that the collectors were each responsible for separate areas.

64 = Da1221 (L lxxvii)

*ai-ta-ro-we* | RAMS 200 [  
                                   *pa<sub>3</sub>-ko-we* ]

Aithalowens: 200 rams at *Pa<sub>3</sub>-ko-we*.

*Aithalowens*: = αἰθαλόεις; the name recurs at Pylos.

65 = Db1232 (L lxxviii)

*na-pu-ti-jo* | RAMS 23 EWES 27  
                                   *ti-ri-to* *pe-ri-qa-te-jo*

Naputios: twenty-three rams, twenty-seven ewes at *Ti-ri-to*; (collector) *Peri-qa-te-jo*.

*Nāputios*: = νηπύτιος.

*Ti-ri-to*: recalls Τρίτ(τ)α, the old name of Knossos according to Hesych.

*Pe-ri-qa-te-jo*: the name of the 'collector' or official responsible. Note the unusual arrangement. The numbers add up to fifty.

66 = Dcl129 (L lxxviii, numbered 1161)

*po-ro-u-te-u* | *u-ta-jo* RAMS 37  
                                   *da-\*22-to* o. RAMS 63

Plouteus: at *Da-\*22-to*, thirty-seven rams, deficit sixty-three rams; (collector) *U-ta-jo*.

67 = Dd1171 (L xci)

*po-ro* | RAMS 20 EWES 72  
                                   *pa-i-to* *pa.* RAMS 8

*Peros*: at Phaistos, twenty rams, seventy-two ewes; eight *pa-* rams.

*pa.*: stands here in the same position and relation to the other numerals as *o*. The total is 100.



68 = Del648 (L?)

*a-te-mo* | *we-we-si-jo-jo* RAMS 58 EWES 2  
               | *ku-ta-to* o. RAMS 50

*Anthemos*: at *Ku-ta-to*, fifty-eight rams, two ewes; deficit *fifty* rams; (collection) of Werwesios.

Here the name of the 'collector' stands in the genitive. The total, if the numerals are correctly read, is 110.

69 = Df1119 (L xci)

*de-ke-se-u* | *da-mi-ni-jo* RAMS 56 EWES 16  
               | *ku-ta-to* *pe.* RAMS 28

*Dexeus*: at *Damnio-in Ku-ta-to*, fifty-six rams, sixteen ewes, twenty-eight *pe.* rams.

*Da-mi-ni-jo*; from its usage alone this seems to be another place-name; when associated with another name this is always *Ku-ta-to*, so it may be a local district of this place.

70 = Dg1158 (L lxxviii)

*a-ni-ja-to* | *we-we-si-jo* RAMS 63 EWES 25  
               | *pa-i-to* *pa.* RAMS 2 o. RAMS 12

*Aniastos*: at *Phaistos*, sixty-three rams, twenty-five ewes, two *pa.* rams; deficit twelve rams; (collector) Werwesios.

The total including the *pa.* rams is 102; they can hardly be excluded from the calculation in view of cases like 67 = Dal171 where they are needed to make the 100, but the reading of the last figure is uncertain, and the 'two' may have been erased.

### 3. FLOCKS OF SHEEP AND CONSIGNMENTS OF WOOL AT KNOSSOS (Dk, Dl)

These tablets are similar in general form to the preceding series, but differ in having an entry with the ideogram WOOL. The identity of this sign is still not fully confirmed, and some are inclined to regard it as a mere unit of measurement or value. It is, however, principally used in connexion with SHEEP, as here, or with textiles (CLOTHS, *pa-we-a*). It is normally counted, but is subdivided by  $\frac{1}{2}$  into thirds, written  $\frac{1}{2}$  1 and  $\frac{1}{2}$  2. Further subdivision by weight occurs in the *Od* tablets. Since  $\frac{1}{2}$  1 = approx. 1 kg., the WOOL unit must be equivalent to about 3 kg.

The amount of WOOL is proportionate to the number of SHEEP, the deficits being noted in the usual way. The proportion is shown between the total

106 <sup>a</sup>		RAM
106 <sup>b</sup>		WE
145		WOOL



number of sheep and the total amount of wool, and the deficit of wool is not proportionate to the deficit of sheep. In one set of tablets the proportion is four sheep: one unit of wool.

	SHEEP	WOOL
Dk1070	100	7 + 18 = 25
Dk1071	50	6 + 6½ = 12½
Dk1072	100	13½ + 11½ = 25
Dk1073	50	6½ + 5½ = 12½
Dk1074	100	19 + 6 = 25

It was at first thought that in some cases the proportion was incorrectly calculated; but checking of the original tablets shows that these cases are due to misreading of the numerals, which are often damaged (1070 and 1073 are here corrected). The approximation of 12½ to the correct 12⅓ seems to indicate that division was not customary except into thirds.

In the second set the proportion is ten sheep: one unit of wool, a difference which suggests that these are arbitrary figures, rather than the yield of two different kinds of sheep.

	SHEEP	WOOL
D1933	40 + 20 + 60 = 120	3 + 9 = 12
D1938	50 + 40 + 10 = 100	7 + 3 = 10
D1943	90 + 90 = 180	11 + 7 = 18
D1946	70 + 70 = 140	7 + 7 = 14
D1947	80 + 10 + 70 = 160	11 + 5 = 16

71 = Dk1072 (L lxxiv)

*ka-te-u* / × RAMS 100 WOOL 13 ½  
*ku-ta-to* o. WOOL 11 ½

*Ka-te-u*: at *Ku-ta-to*, 100 rams; 40 kg. of wool; deficit 35 kg. of wool.

× is a 'check mark' here as on 61 = Cn04.

72 = Dk1074 (L lxxiv)

*e-ru-to-ro* / × RAMS 100 WOOL 19  
*ku-ta-to* o. WOOL 6

Eruthros: at *Ku-ta-to*, 100 rams, 57 kg. of wool; deficit 18 kg. of wool.

73 = D1943 (K lviii)

*a-ko-i-da* / *po-ti-ni-ja-we-(jo)* EWES 90 WOOL 11  
*pa₂-nwa-so* o.ki. RAMS 90 o. WOOL [8] '7'



*A-ko-i-da*: at *Pa-nwa-so*, ninety ewes, 33 kg. of wool; deficit ninety *ki*-rams and 21 kg. of wool; *belonging to the Mistress*.

*Po-ti-ni-ja-we*:- shown by other similar tablets (Dl 930, Dl 933, Dl 946) to have lost its final *-jo*. The meaning is difficult; it is clearly a derivative of *po-ti-ni-ja* *Potnia*, though the Mistress is not necessarily divine in this context. On the other hand this place on the tablet is normally occupied by a man's name, and it is just possible that *Potniaweios* is a man at Knossos, though the word is certainly adjectival at Pylos. The last numeral has been corrected by the erasure of the last stroke.

74 = Dl 1061 (K xciii)


[*to*]-*sa* / *pa-i-ti-ja* SHEEP WOOL 456

So much sheep's wool from Phaistos: 1368 kg.


The sign preceding *WOOL* is badly damaged by a crack; but apparently nothing intervenes between the two ideograms. This collocation can now also be found on D1M4, 7135, 7280, 7300.


#### 4. MISCELLANEOUS LIVESTOCK AT PYLOS (Cn)

\*23  OX

 OX + SI

 PIG + SI

106\*  RAM

\*75  Kind of sheep?

107\*  HE-GOAT

107<sup>b</sup>  SHE-GOAT

As shown above, pigs and cattle are not often recorded at Pylos. Perhaps Pylos was not so rich in livestock generally as Knossos. A particularly interesting record of pigs gives us one of the examples of the nine towns which seem to be the chief tributaries (see p. 142).

75 = Cn02 [608]

<sup>1</sup> *jo-a-se-so-si* *si-a<sub>2</sub>-ro*

<sup>2</sup> *o-pi-da-mi-jo*

<sup>3</sup> *pi*-\*82 PIGS + SI 3

<sup>4</sup> *me-ta-pa* PIGS + SI 3

<sup>5</sup> *pe-to-no* PIGS + SI 6

<sup>6</sup> *pa-ki-ja-si* PIGS + SI 2

<sup>7</sup> *a-pu<sub>2</sub>-we* PIGS + SI 2

<sup>8</sup> *a-ke-re-wa* PIGS + SI 2

How the local inhabitants  
will *fatten* fat hogs:

at *Pi*-\*82 three hogs

at *Metapa* three hogs

at *Pe-to-no* six hogs

at *Pa-ki-ja*- two hogs

at *Aipu* two hogs

at *A-ke-re-wa* two hogs



<sup>9</sup> <i>e-ra-le-i</i>	PIGS+SI 3	at <i>E-ra-tos</i> three hogs
<sup>10</sup> <i>ka-ra-do-ro</i>	PIGS+SI 2	at Kharadros two hogs
<sup>11</sup> <i>ri-jo</i>	PIGS+SI 2	at Rhion two hogs

*jo-a-se-so-si*: an example of *jo* = *a*-, *hō*; cf. *jo-do-so-si* PY 257 = Jn09. This spelling is hardly to be regarded as due to preservation of the initial *j*- of Indo-European; it alternates with simple *a*-. The verb is difficult. Palmer (1954*b*, pp. 19-22) takes it as *asēsonsi*, future of *ἄω* (ἄσαι); the ordinary future is *ἄσω* so a special formation must be supposed. But the analogy of the other lists of tribute suggests that a verb of giving, sending or providing would be more appropriate, though there does not seem to be any suitable verb in Greek; the future of *ἔημι* *hēsonsi* leaves the first syllable unexplained.

*opidāmioi*: according to the sense of the verb this can be either nominative plural 'local inhabitants' or accusative plural agreeing with *sialens*. Since the list details a number of localities, the former is slightly more likely. The other alternative suggested by Palmer (*loc. cit.*) 'how the fat hogs in the demes are to batten' seems to take no account of the subsequent list.

The two tablets quoted dealing with oxen both raise special problems. The first is connected by its place-names with the military dispositions of 57 = An43 (see p. 185). Palmer (1954*b*, pp. 20, 53) has explained this tablet as a list of oxen which are being assigned to the sectors indicated, as sacrificial victims to ensure divine favour in the event of a battle. That there is some connexion cannot be denied; but less picturesque explanations, such as food-supply, can be imagined. The correctness of Palmer's view depends to some extent on his ingenious interpretation of *i-je-si* as from not *ἔημι* but another homonymous verb connected with *ἱερός* and meaning 'to dedicate or sacrifice'. Some support for this comes from the apparent use of the verb in 172 = Kn02, where the context is certainly religious. However, some reasons for doubting the explanation here are advanced in the notes; but the difficulties are far from solved, and any translation must be regarded as very tentative.

The second tablet refers to livestock of other kinds, and apparently records the colour of some oxen. This, combined with the small numbers involved, may suggest sacrificial victims; but the text is too damaged for any firm conclusions.

76 = Cn22 [3]

<sup>1</sup> <i>ja-i-je-si</i>	<i>me-za-na</i>	
<sup>2</sup> <i>e-re-u-te-re</i>	<i>di-wi-je-we</i>	<i>qo-o</i>
<sup>3</sup> <i>a<sub>2</sub>-ra-tu-a</i>	<i>o-ka-ra<sub>3</sub></i>	OX 1
<sup>4</sup> <i>pi-ru-te</i>	<i>ku-re-we</i>	OX 1
<sup>5</sup> <i>e-na-po-ro</i>	<i>i-wa-si-jo-ta</i>	OX 1



<sup>6</sup> *o-ru-ma-to u-ru-pi-ja-jo* OX 1

<sup>7</sup> *a<sub>2</sub>-ka-a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ri-ja-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo* OX 1

vacant 2

How...are sending oxen to the inspector Diwicus:

*A-ra-tu-a* and *Oikhalia*: one ox.

The *ku-re-we* men at *Pi-ru*: one ox.

The men of *Iwasos* at *E-na-po-ro*: one ox.

The men of *Olympia* at *Erumanthos*: one ox.

The...of the *Olympian*: one ox.

*jo-i-je-si*: *hō hien-si*: 'send' or 'sacrifice'?

*me-za-na*: Palmer and Georgiev both believe this to be a spelling, variously explained, for *melanas* 'black'; but if it agrees with *go-o*, the word-order is extremely strange. Andrews and Mühlestein interpret as *Messānān* 'to Messene', which is perhaps possible, although -σσ- arising from dental + j is ordinarily written *s* (e.g. *to-so*); but the name in view of its termination may be pre-Greek. The other examples of this word (296 = Sh736, *me-za-ne* 91 = Fn02) throw very little light on the meaning.

*e-re-u-te-re*: Palmer's *ereutēr* (= ἐρευητής) 'searcher, inspector' is preferable to the attempts of Furumark (1954, p. 26) and Mühlestein (1954, p. 11) to make the word a personal name *Eleuthēr*. What is not clear is whether it is dative singular or nominative plural. Palmer prefers the latter, making *di-wi-je-we* an adjective ('of Zeus') in agreement. Meriggi (1954, p. 28) takes *di-wi-je-we* as the nom. plur. subject. But it is highly probable that *ku-re-we* is nominative plur. as it is the title of a class of armed men in the military tablets (see p. 191); and *i-wa-si-jo-ta* must be an ethnic *Iwasiōtai*. If then the individual entries each contain a subject (the groups of men) and an object (the oxen), it is hard to see how *ereutēres* can be equated with them. On the other hand a *hegetās* named Diwicus is mentioned in 59 = An656, and the words *e-ge-ta e-re-u-te-re* appear together on a fragmentary sealing Wa917. It therefore seems easier to take these words as dative singular, and this in turn implies a meaning 'send' for the verb.

*go-o*: the suggestion of E. Risch (Mühlestein, 1955a, Nachtrag), that this is a *scriptio plena* for *gō(n)s* acc. plur. = βοῦς, cf. Skt. *gāh* (hardly singular *gōn*), offers the easiest solution to the difficulty caused by the apparent lack of the digamma. The scribes seem to have tried to avoid any monosyllabic word.

*A<sub>2</sub>-ka-a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ri-ja-jo*: this would appear to be not a place-name but an ethnic, and the genitive singular *U-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo* is surprising if not an error; cf. *a<sub>2</sub>-ka-a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ri-jo u-ru-pi-ja-jo* 60 = An661.

77 = Cn23 [418]

<sup>1</sup> *pa-ro we-u-da-ne-we*

<sup>2</sup> *re-y-ko a-ko-ro-we-e* OXEN + SI 2

<sup>3</sup> *re-[u]-kō ma-ra-kū pe-ko a-ko-ro-we* OX + SI 1



<sup>4</sup> [            ] 3 HE-GOATS 3 WE 3 SHE-GOATS 3  
<sup>5</sup> [            ] 2 [            ] 2  
<sup>6</sup> [            ]  
<sup>7</sup> *re-u-ko* [...] *pe-ko* *a-ko-ro-we* [    ]  
<sup>8</sup> RAM 1 HE-GOAT 1 WE [            ]

From *We-u-da-ne-u*:

Two oxen *uniformly* white,  
 one ox *uniformly* white. . . ,  
 three. . . , three he-goats, three *yearlings*, three she-goats, etc.

*We-u-da-ne-we*: probably an alternative spelling of *We-da-ne-we*, but it may be a different person.

*a-ko-ro-we-e*: dual *akhrōwee* 'pale' or more likely *hakhōwee* 'uniformly coloured'.












*ma-ra-ku pe-ko*: a comparison of line 2 suggests that these two words should be taken together as some qualification of 'uniformly white'. They are in fact written in characters of the same size, while the preceding and following words are respectively slightly larger and smaller. *ma-ra-ku* might be for βραχὺς, if this is from \**mr-*, cf. Avest. *mərəzu-*; but the Aeolic form is βρόχυσ. *pe-ko* is perhaps to be connected with πέσκος (neut.) 'hide', an accusative of respect?

The ideographic use of \*75 (= *we*) here in connexion with goats as well as sheep suggests that it may mean not a kind of sheep, but merely a young animal; it is attractive to identify it with *wetalon* 'yearling'. Note that the last ideogram in line 4 is probably female, not male as shown in 'The Pylos Tablets'.

Line 6 probably contained a fresh heading: *pa-ro* followed by another name.

## 5. MISCELLANEOUS LIVESTOCK AT KNOSSOS

(C, Ca, Ch, Co, Dm, Dn)

106 <sup>a</sup>		RAM	109 <sup>a</sup>		OX / BULL
106 <sup>b</sup>		EWE	109 <sup>b</sup>		COW
107 <sup>a</sup>		HE-GOAT	170		Calf?
107 <sup>b</sup>		SHE-GOAT	108 <sup>a</sup>		BOAR
105		HORSE	108 <sup>b</sup>		SOW
*23		OX			

Some of the tablets dealing with livestock at Knossos seem to be not lists of tribute, as in the case of the sheep, but gifts or allocations which are being



sent out by the Palace. Others are possibly totals, but their relation to the other records is still obscure.

78 = C 914 (K lxvii)

*a-ka-wi-ja-de* / *pa-ra-ti-jo* RAMS 50  
                           *pa-ro* HE-GOATS 50

To Achaea: from Pallantios, fifty rams, fifty he-goats.

*Akhaiwijān-de*: the *-de* suffix marks this out as a place-name, and the spelling exactly fits the form Ἀχαιῖα postulated as the Greek original of the Hittite *Ahhijawā*. There is, however, no clue to its location. It is by no means impossible that it is merely a place in Crete, though nowhere else mentioned on the tablets. Most of the proposed locations of the Hittite name (Rhodes, Cyprus, or even the Greek mainland) would be possible, for there is no reason why sheep and goats should not be carried by sea. The status of Pallantios is obscure; spelt *Pa<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-ti-jo* the name recurs on Dg1235, where he is presumably a shepherd.

One series of tablets (*Dn*) appears to give totals of rams for each of the places mentioned. The entries complete enough to transcribe are listed below:

<i>Ai<sub>2</sub>?-so</i>	50
<i>Da-wo</i>	2440
<i>Da-*22-to</i>	1370
<i>E-ko-so</i>	2262
<i>E-ra</i>	134
Luktos	200[
Phaistos	1509
<i>Pa<sub>2</sub>-ko-we</i>	2003
<i>Pu-na-so</i>	330
<i>Ra-ja</i>	904
<i>Su-ki-ri-ta</i>	517
[ <i>Su</i> ]- <i>ri-mo</i>	2390
<i>Ti-ri-to</i>	50
Unknown	10,892
Total	25,051

There is also a fragment with the numeral 19,000 [+?], which should perhaps be added in. What these figures represent is hard to say; they do not appear to bear any relation to the total numbers of sheep represented on the other tablets. The figure for *E-ra* (134) can hardly be related either to the total number of sheep recorded on surviving (published) tablets (809) or to the deficit (215) or to their sum (1024).



79=Dn1094 (joined with 1311 L lxxii, lxxxv)

*pa-i-to* RAMS 1509 [40]

*da-wo* RAMS 2440

80=C 913 (K lxxi)

*pa-ro e-te-wa-no ai.* HE-GOAT 1 [

*pa-ro ko-ma-we-te* HE-GOAT 1 *pa-[ro?*

From *Elzwinos* one *ai-* he-goat; . . . ; from *Komawens* one he-goat; from . . .

81=Dm1180 (joined with 5048 L)

*pa-i-to ai-mi-re-we* RAMS 4




*e-ka-ra-e-we* RAMS 20

At Phaistos: four . . . rams, twenty . . . rams.

*ai-mi-re-we*, *e-ka-ra-e-we*: these two words characterize a small group of tablets, all of much the same form, except that *ai-mi-re-we* is sometimes omitted, and in one case (Dm1184) we have the entry ]-*we-to o-pa*. This latter word may be a term describing some sort of tribute (see p. 169). As pointed out by Carratelli (1954, pp. 220-1), the numbers of *e-ka-ra-e-we* are greatly in excess of those of the other category. The natural interpretation is to regard these two words as masculine nominative plurals describing the rams; Carratelli, however, takes them as dative singular (*-ēwei*), denoting the person to whom the animals are sent, and connects them with ἑσχαρά (= a sacrificer on a fire altar) and ἀμρα (= a sacrificer of ἀμρα ἑσρά). The formation of the second name is obscure, the meaning of both doubtful. No wholly satisfactory solution has yet been proposed; see the Vocabulary for further suggestions.

82=Ca895 (K lxvi; see plate II (a), facing p. 110)

*i-go*  5  4 *po-ro*  [

*o-no*  3 *po-ro*  2  4 [

Horses: five *mares*, four (full-grown) horses, x foals.

Asses: three she-asses, two foals, four he-asses.

The beginning of this tablet, containing the initial two words and half the horse's head on the second line, was found by Chadwick among some unpublished fragments in Iraklion Museum in April 1955. It had already attracted much attention, and Evans (*PM*, iv, p. 799) first pointed out that the foals are distinguished from the horses by being shown without manes. This distinction certainly holds for the last two entries of line 1; the left side of the first ideogram in the line is broken, but may have had a mane. This is the ordinary form on the chariot tablets (*Sc*), the mane usually being tied up into three 'top-knots'. On the other hand the second line is more difficult, since it is now clear that none of the animals have manes, the first and third showing



instead the usual marks of sex. Whether any distinction is intended between the ideograms of lines 1 and 2 is hard to say; no immediate differences are apparent, and if the latter are really intended for asses the characteristic long ears do not seem to be adequately represented. It is possible that the ideogram (as we may suspect in other cases too) is merely a conventional form used alike for horse and ass, the distinction here being adequately indicated by the initial words.

In each case three sorts of animal are listed separately, though in a different order.

In the second line the distinction is clearly between female, male and foals, and this is therefore likely to apply to the first line as well, though the first two ideograms seem to lack distinguishing features; if the first were complete the difference might be seen, as suggested in the drawings here.

*hiqqoi*: a welcome confirmation of our interpretation of this word, which some have been inclined to doubt.

*pōlō*: dual in line 2. Evans had suggested this reading on the basis of the Cypriot syllabary, but he was so convinced that the language was not Greek that he rejected it as illusory.

*onoi*: without prejudice to the other places where *o-no* is found (never in contexts suggesting an animal; see Vocabulary), the interpretation here seems incontestable; *i-ga* and *o-no* are clearly parallel words describing animals of equine type.

83 = Ch902 (K lxiii)

[Probably about twelve lines of this very thick tablet lost.]

<sup>1</sup> <i>mi-ru-ro si-pe-we</i>	OX ne. ♂ 12
<sup>2</sup> <i>o-du-ru-wi-jo ko-re-te</i>	OX ne. ♂ 12
<sup>3</sup> <i>wa-to / ko-re-te</i> OX ne. ♂ 12 <i>wa-to / da-nu-wo</i> OX ♂ 12	
<sup>4</sup> <i>si-ra-ro ko-re-te</i>	OX 1 ne. ♂ 12
<sup>5</sup> <i>pa<sub>3</sub>-ko-we e-ra-ne</i>	OX 1 ne. ♂ 12
<sup>6</sup> <i>o-du-ru-we u-wo-qe-we</i>	OX 1 ne. ♂ 12
<sup>7</sup> <i>ri-jo-no ko-re-te</i>	OX 1 ne. ♂ 12
<sup>8</sup> <i>ru-ki-ti-jo</i>	OX 1 ne. ♂ 12
<sup>9</sup> <i>a-pa-ta-wa ko-re-te</i>	OX 1 ne. ♂ 12
<sup>10</sup> <i>ku-ta-i-to ko-re-te</i>	OX 1 ne. ♂ 12
<sup>11</sup> <i>re-na-jo e-re-ta</i>	OX 1 ne. ♂ 12
<sup>12</sup> <i>[...]-wa-to we-re-we</i>	OX 1 ne. ♂ 12

[One or more lines lost.]

*Mi-ru-ro* at *Si-pe-we* (?): one ox, twelve young calves.

The mayor of *Odrus*: one ox, twelve young calves.

The mayor of *Wa-to*: one ox, twelve young calves. *Da-nu-wo* of *Wa-to*: one ox, twelve calves.

The mayor of *Si-ra-ro*: one ox, twelve young calves.

The *E-ra-ne* at *Pa-ko-we*: one ox, twelve young calves.







*wergatai*: 'workers', a word used especially of oxen; so also Carratelli (1954, p. 219). Furumark's  $\text{f}\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$  (=  $\text{é}\kappa\acute{o}\nu\tau\alpha$ ) translated 'gezähmte' cannot be justified either on grounds of form (Cret.  $\text{f}\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\theta\theta\alpha$  is not the earliest form and in any case is feminine; Bechtel, *Griech. Dial.* II, p. 694) or of meaning. The use of the male form of the ox ideogram (except in one case, probably an oversight) does not of course imply that the beasts were not castrated. The mention of Kudonia is interesting as it appears to show that western Crete too was under the control of Knossos; the references to it on the chariot tablets are ambiguous.

An interesting series of tablets (some of those with the *Ch* prefix) give us an intimate glimpse of rustic life. They record yokes of oxen, which are given names; these were identified by Furumark (1954, pp. 28-9). A full list of these names will be found at the end of the Index of Personal Names (p. 427).

85 = Ch896 (K lxvii)

*ta-za-ro* / *ai-wo-ro* *ke-ra-no-ge* *ne.we.* OXEN ZE I

*Ta-za-ro*: one yoke of young working oxen, Aiwoles and Kelainos.

*Ta-za-ro*: the name of the ox-driver?

*ne.we.*: abbreviations of *newos* 'young' and *we-ka-ta* = *wergatās* 'working'? Cf. the preceding tablet.

Mixed livestock are occasionally recorded under the heading of a place-name and the word *a-ko-ra-ja* or *a-ko-ra-jo*, probably *agoraios*. This may mean 'belonging to the *agora* or collection' in the sense explained above; see p. 200. It might, however, merely denote 'belonging to the herd', and it is remarkable that in opposition to the tribute lists of cattle, the males are in a much sounder proportion to the females, though still sometimes excessive for breeding purposes. The places named on the surviving tablets are: *Wa-to*, Kudonia, *Ka-ta-ra-i*, *Si-ra-ro*, Aptara and Odrus.

86 = Co907 (K lxviii)

<sup>1</sup> *si-ra-ro* / *a-ko-ra-jo* RAMS 202 EWES 750

<sup>2</sup> HE-GOATS 125 SHE-GOATS 240 BOARS 21 SOWS 60 BULLS 2 COWS 10

## 6. GRAIN CONSIGNMENTS AND RATIONS AT KNOSSOS (E, F)

Although there is no indication whether these tablets record payments or receipts, the former seems more likely on general grounds, as the people concerned are often ethnic groups. We are not told their numbers, so there is no possibility of calculating a ration. In most cases the commodity is the staple

120  $\uparrow$  WHEAT

\*34  $\subset$  Month?



grain WHEAT, but occasionally other commodities are added such as OLIVES; cf. the rations of wheat and figs at Pylos (p. 157). The crescent-shaped ideogram is discussed in the notes on KN 35=Am819.

87=E 668 (F? xlviii)

<sup>1</sup> *ru-ki-ti-jo* WHEAT 246 T 7

<sup>2</sup> *tu-ri-si-jo* WHEAT 261 *ra-ti-jo* WHEAT 30 T 5

Men of Luktos: 29,604 l. of wheat.

Men of Tulissos: 31,320 l. of wheat.

Men of Lato: 3660 l. of wheat.

88=E 749 (I lii)

<sup>1</sup> *pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-jo* WHEAT 25

<sup>2</sup> *ru-ki-ti-jo* WHEAT 21[+]

<sup>3</sup> *ti-ri-ti-jo* WHEAT [ ]

<sup>4</sup> [*su*]-*ri-mi-jo* WHEAT [ ] T 2 4 3

<sup>5</sup> *pa<sub>2</sub>-mi-jo* WHEAT 12 T 5

<sup>6</sup> *u-ta-ni-jo* WHEAT [ ]

<sup>7</sup> *pu-si-jo* WHEAT [ ]

vacant 3

Men of Pharai: 3000 l. of wheat.

Men of Luktos: 2520 l. of wheat.

Men of *Ti-ri-to*: x l. of wheat.

Men of *Su-ri-mo*: (30+) l. of wheat.

Men of *Pa-mo*: 1500 l. of wheat.

Men of *Itanos*: x l. of wheat.

Men of *Pu-so*: x l. of wheat.

The figures in lines 4 and 5 are added from a new fragment joined by Bennett.

89=E 777 (J liii)

<sup>1</sup> *ko-no-si-ja ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i* month 1 WHEAT 100

<sup>2</sup> *a-mi-ni-si-ja* month 1 WHEAT 100

<sup>3</sup> *pa-i-ti-ja* month 1 WHEAT 100

REVERSE:

*a-ze-ti-ri-ja* WHEAT [ ]

Women of Knossos (for the *ki-ri-te-wi-ja* women): *ration* for one month 12,000 l. of wheat.

Women of Amnisos: *ration* for one month 12,000 l. of wheat.



Women of Phaistos: *ration* for one month 12,000 l. of wheat.

Nurses: x l. of wheat.

If the crescent-shaped sign is rightly interpreted as 'month' here we have fairly clearly a distribution of rations, in this case to women, as is shown by the feminine endings and the two female occupational names. Either the rations are very generous or large numbers of women are concerned; 500 at each place on the Pylos ration scale (see p. 157).

*ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i*: possibly a religious office, see Vocabulary; the form is dative plural.

*a-ze-ti-ri-ja*: one of the cases of substitution of *z* for *k*; = *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* (see on PY 2 = Aa815).

The form here could be dative singular or nominative plural.

90 = G 820 (K lviii)

<sup>1</sup> ]-dī e-ko-si a-pī ku-do-ni-ja pa-sa ki-ri-ta month 1

<sup>2</sup> ]-ja-qe pa<sub>3</sub>-ko-we-i-ja-qe months 4

<sup>3</sup> ]-ti-ja ku-ta-ti-ja-qe po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja a-pu ke-u-po-de-ja months 4

... have in the region of Kudonia all the barley: one month's *rations*.

Women of... and *Pa-ko-we*: four months' *rations*.

Women of... and *Ku-ta-to*, belonging to the Mistress, from...: four months' *rations*.

*ekhonsi amphī Kudōniāi pansan krithan* (or *pansans krithans*): similarly read by Furumark (1954, p. 30) and Carratelli (1954, p. 89). Ventris reads *a-pī* for Bennett's *a-pu*, either of which makes sense.

*po-ti-ni-ja-we-ja*: the feminine of the adjective derived from Πότνια; it is not clear here whether it agrees with the women from the places mentioned or is to be taken with *ke-u-po-de-ja*. This is a feminine to *ke-u-po-da* (KN X 442, X 1044; PY 190 = Na55, etc., see p. 299), but its meaning is unknown; Furumark 'aus dem Magazin (??) der Potnia'.

## 7. GRAIN RATIONS AT PYLOS (Fn)

The group of tablets classified as *Fn* is marked by the grain ideogram which is provisionally identified as BARLEY. The entries consist largely of occupational names in the dative, and would therefore appear to be a distribution of pay or rations; the size of the groups is not specified when the entry is plural. The amounts range from two to 121 7 BARLEY a maximum of 80 litres. In some cases other commodities are also included in the ration; figs in Fn01, olives in Fn05, Fn06 and Fn918. Apparently included in some lists are offerings to shrines: Fn01 has entries *Posidaōnde* and *Pa-ki-ja-na-de* and even *U-po-jo Potniāi* (cf. Furumark, 1954, p. 35).



## 91 = Fn02 [50]

<sup>1</sup> <i>a-ki-to-jo pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja</i>	BARLEY [
<sup>2</sup> <i>ke-ko-jo pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja</i>	BARLEY [
<sup>3</sup> <i>a-ta-no-ro pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja</i>	BARLEY † [
<sup>4</sup> <i>me-za-ne</i> BARLEY 4 2	<i>ai-ki-a<sub>2</sub>-ri-jo</i> <BARLEY> 4 1 [
<sup>5</sup> <i>me-ri-du-(ma)-te</i> BARLEY 4 3	<i>mi-ka-ta</i> BARLEY 4 3
<sup>6</sup> <i>di-pte-ra-po-ro</i> BARLEY 4 2	<i>e-to-wo-ko</i> <BARLEY> 4 2
<sup>7</sup> <i>a-to-po-qo</i> BARLEY 4 2	<i>po-ro-du-ma-te</i> BARLEY 4 3
<sup>8</sup> <i>o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we</i> BARLEY 4 2	<i>i-za-a-to-mo-i</i> BARLEY 4 3
<sup>9</sup> <i>ze-u-ke-u-si</i> BARLEY 4 4	
vacat	
<sup>11</sup> *85-[.] <i>-ja-te-wo do-e-ro-i</i>	BARLEY † 1
<sup>12</sup> <i>mi-jo-[pa<sub>2</sub>] do-e-ro-i</i>	BARLEY 4 3
<sup>13</sup> <i>a-pi-[...] do-e-ro-i</i>	BARLEY 4 3
<sup>14</sup> [.] <i>-wo-[...]do-e-ro]-i</i>	BARLEY † 3
vacant 5	

(Distribution of) barley:

- for the retinue of *Alkithos*: x l.
- for the retinue of *Kerkos*: x l.
- for the retinue of *Antanor*: x l.
- for the *me-za-ne*: 4 l.
- for the *shore-man*: 2 l.
- for the *me-ri-du-ma*: 6 l.
- for the *mi-ka-ta*: 6 l.
- for the *leather-bearer*: 4 l.
- for the *armourer*: 4 l.
- for the baker: 4 l.
- for the *po-ro-du-ma*: 6 l.
- for the *rigger*: 4 l.
- for the *i-za-a cutters*: 6 l.
- for the yokers: 8 l.

- for the slaves of . . . : 12 l.
- for the slaves of *Mi-jo-pa*: 6 l.
- for the slaves of *Amphi* . . . : 6 l.
- for the slaves of . . . : 36 l.

*pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja*: *basilewiai*. This implies that the men named in the genitive are βασιλεις; unfortunately only one is named outside the *Fn* group, *Antanor*, who is associated with the place *Pa-ki-ja* in *Vn04*.



*me-za-ne*: of the remaining entries two are certainly dative plural, as is *do-e-ro-i* in the second paragraph; if therefore the rest are dative, they must be singular.


*di-pte-ra-po-ro*: *diphtheraphorōi* 'wearer of a leather garment', perhaps a title of a trade or post? Or *-pōlōi* 'leather-seller'; or even a metathesis for *diphtheraloiphōi* 'school-master'? See Vocabulary, p. 390.

*i-za-a-to-mo*: possibly containing the word *a-to-mo* = *arthmos*, cf. *e-qe-(a)-o a-to-mo*

43 = Sn01. Or *-tomos* 'cutter' as in *du-ru-to-mo*?

*mi-jo-[pa<sub>2</sub>]*: can be supplied from Fn867, and if genitive must be feminine.

## 8. OIL CONSIGNMENTS OR RATIONS AT KNOSSOS AND MYCENAE (Fh, Fo)

It seems clear from the archaeological evidence that olive-oil was in extensive use in Mycenaean Greece. It is thus surprising to find that records dealing with it are not very common; some at least of those at Knossos are religious offerings. There is, however, a group of small tablets which appear not to be religious, but allocations of oil. 130  OLIVE-OIL. The introductory word, which may be a dative, is often a personal name, but occupational terms also appear; and sometimes a place-name is added. There are also a number of other terms occasionally found, such as *apudosis* 'payment' and *zo-a* which seems to be ζῶν, some sort of decoction of oil.

92 = Fh349 (C xxxii)

*ru-ki-to / a-pu-do-si* OIL 53 [

Luktos: payment 1908 l. of oil.

Mention of oil at Pylos is even rarer; it may have not yet been produced in Messenia and be therefore a luxury article, an impression also obtained from the references to it in Homer. One of the new tablets from Blegen's excavations of 1954 (Gn1184), however, plainly records a transaction in oil between two men who are elsewhere named as 'unguent-boilers'; and the identity of the ideogram is happily confirmed by the spelling *e-ra<sub>3</sub>-wo* = *elaiwon*. Its text runs: *ko-ka-ro a-pe-do-ke e-ra<sub>3</sub>-wo to-so e-u-me-de-i* OIL 18; *pa-ro i-pe-se-wa ka-ra-re-we* 38. 'Kokalos repaid the following quantity of olive-oil to Eumedes: 648 l.; from Ipsewas thirty-eight stirrup-jars.' The association of *e-ra<sub>3</sub>-wo* with OIL is confirmed by four or five new tablets found in 1955 in the pithos magazine behind the Megaron. At Mycenae Wace in 1952 named the building which he had discovered two years earlier 'the House of the Oil-merchant' because the basement yielded thirty large stirrup-jars which 'had originally contained oil, for their clay is heavily impregnated with oil' (Wace,



1953*b*, p. 423). This name is not entirely substantiated by the tablets found in this house, since most of them refer to wool. But one tablet, which is quoted here, bears testimony to dealings in oil, apparently a distribution to various persons and groups. Dealings in wool would of course hardly leave an archaeological trace, and if the owner of the house was really a merchant he may have dealt in at least two commodities.

93 = Fo101

<sup>1</sup> *a-ne-a<sub>2</sub>* 4 3 *pa-na-ki* 4 1  
<sup>2</sup> *ma-no* 4 1 *a-na-\*88* 4 1  
<sup>3</sup> *to-ti-ja* 4 1 *we-i-we-sa* 4 1  
<sup>4</sup> *ke-ra-so* 4 1  
<sup>5</sup> *pi-we-ri-si* 9 1 *tu-mi-[ ]* 4 1  
<sup>6</sup> *ko-ma-ta* 4 1 *na-ta-ra-ma* 4 [1]  
<sup>7</sup> *pe-ta-[.]* 4 1 *pu-ka-ro* [4 1]  
<sup>8</sup> *o-ta-ki* 4 1  
<sup>9</sup> *e-ro-pa-ke-ta* OIL 1  
<sup>10</sup> *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* 4 4  
                                 vacant 4  
<sup>15</sup> *to-so* OIL 2 9 1 4 1

For *Aineas*: 6 l. of oil.

for *Phainax*: 2 l. of oil, etc.

Total: 86 l. of oil.

*a-na-\*88*: the last sign is unlike any recorded elsewhere, but may be a variant of \*33 = *ra<sub>2</sub>*; cf. the man's name *a-na-ro* KN D1928.

*pi-we-ri-si*: dative plural of Πιερίδες; cf. *pi-we-ri-di* Oc103; man's name *Pi-we-ri-ja-ta* PY 254 = Jn04. Does this imply not a sale but an offering?

*a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i*: dative plural; see Vocabulary, p. 387.

## 9. MIXED RATIONS AND CONSIGNMENTS AT KNOSSOS (F)

120	⌒	WHEAT	122	⌒	OLIVES
*30	⌒	FIGS	⌒	OLIVES + A	
			⌒	OLIVES + TI	

This small class of tablets from Knossos shows a mixture of various agricultural products. Some tablets seem to belong to the lists of offerings (e.g. F 953), but others are more likely secular. The commodities are chiefly wheat and



barley, but the tablets quoted are of interest as adding figs and olives. The identity of the sign 122 OLIVES seems to be confirmed by the reading, but no explanation has yet been offered of the ligatured versions of it.

94 = F 841 (joined with 867 K lxii, lxiii)

- <sup>1</sup> ]-ti-ja sa-pi-ti-[ne]-we-jo [
  - <sup>2</sup> a-di-\*22-sa WHEAT 16 FIGS 8 [
  - <sup>3</sup> ]-no-di-mi-za-jo [?] WHEAT 2 FIGS 34 [
  - <sup>4</sup> pa-i-to mi-sa-ra-jo sa-pi-ti-ne-we-jo [
  - <sup>5</sup> su-za FIGS 75 ka-po e-[ra-wa?
  - <sup>6</sup> e-ra]-wa OLIVES 46 e-ra-wa [
- vacant 2

Too fragmentary for translation; the quantities in lines 5 and 6 are considerable: 9000 l. of figs and 5520 l. of olives.

sa-pi-ti-ne-we-jo: cf. the man's name sa-pi-ti-nu-wo 38 = As1516. Possibly a patronymic, in which case mi-sa-ra-jo will be a man's name.

su-za: cf. 166 = Gv864. Apparently for suka 'figs', with z for k as in other words.

ka-po e-[ra-wa: karpoi elaiwās 'fruits of the olive'? In the next line e-ra-wa is presumably plural 'olives'.

95 = F 852 (K liv)

- <sup>1</sup> da-wo | a-ma e-pi-ke-re WHEAT 10,000[
- <sup>2</sup> OLIVES + A 70 OLIVES + TI 20 OIL[

At Da-wo: harvest, . . . : 1,200,000 (+) l. of wheat.

a- olives 8400 l., ti- olives 2400 l., x l. of oil.











a-ma: occurs five times at Knossos in connexion with WHEAT. The formula a-ma e-pi-ke-re is repeated once (F 851); elsewhere a-ma is preceded by broken words which may be names, and once appears on a fragment with da-ma, but not on the same line. It seems likely that it has something to do with ἀμᾶ 'reap'; possibly a noun = 'harvest', though a third singular of the verb cannot be excluded (for the form cf. te-re-ja). ἀμῆ in later Greek means 'shovel' or 'bucket' and Ventris has proposed amā epikhēlēs 'bucket full to the brim', but the relevance of this to the context is uncertain. The latter word could also be a hypothetical episkherēs (cf. ἐπισχερῶ).

# 10. MIXED RATIONS AND CONSIGNMENTS AT PYLOS (Un)

A small group of tablets record a large variety of agricultural produce and livestock, in considerable amounts. Unfortunately in no case is the heading really intelligible; some appear to be a requisition, and in one place a deficit is recorded. But the reason for this impost is not clear. Most of the ideograms



are now identified. No. 125 has been provisionally named cyperus; what appears to be the same sign is at Knossos also found in a form (no. 124) which contains the CONDIMENT sign (no. 123), and this is glossed *ku-pa-ro* on 102 = Ga517. The same sign is also found with superimposed *ku* (no. 126). The value of no. \*65 FLOUR is given by 171 = Un718, where the sign in

121		BARLEY	*65		FLOUR
122		OLIVES	132		?
131		WINE	ME		Honey?
106a		RAM, and other livestock ideograms	*30		FIGS
125		Cyperus?	146		A textile?

a simplified form is glossed by *me-re-u-ro* = *meleuron* = ἄλευρον (see Vocabulary, p. 399). No. 132 is a liquid, but its nature is entirely unknown. The abbreviation ME, being a liquid, is probably *meli* 'honey'; there is nothing to show that it has the same meaning when it appears as an entry on the *Ma* tablets (see p. 290), where the quantities are very large if we transcribe the figures as liquid units (36 l.). The meaning of no. 146 is discussed on p. 290, and the suggestion is made that it is some kind of textile.

#### 96 = Un02 [138]

<sup>1</sup> *pu-ro* *qe-te-a<sub>2</sub>* *pa-ro* *du-ni-jo*

<sup>2</sup> BARLEY 18 T 5 *po-pa<sub>2</sub>* OLIVES 4 T 3 4 5

<sup>3</sup> WINE 13 RAMS 15 WE 8 EWE 1 HE-GOATS 13 PIGS 12

<sup>4</sup> PIG + SI 1 COW 1 BULLS 2

<sup>5</sup> *me-za-wo-ni* BARLEY 4 T 8 4 1 *ka-pa* OLIVES 7

At Pylos: *due* from *Dunios*: 2220 l. of barley, 526 l. of *eating* olives, 468 l. of wine, fifteen rams, eight *yearlings*, one ewe, thirteen he-goats, twelve pigs, one *fat* hog, one cow, two bulls.

From *Mezawon*: 578 l. of barley, 840 l. of . . olives.

*qe-te-a<sub>2</sub>*: a word which recurs at Knossos in the forms *qe-te-a* and *qe-te-o* (see Vocabulary, p. 406). It must record the nature of the transaction and Furumark (1954, p. 42) is probably right in regarding it as meaning 'to be supplied, due'. It is more difficult to find a satisfactory etymology. A connexion with θέσσαισθαι 'pray for', Hom. ἀπόθεστος, is possible, but the meaning presents obstacles, and Furumark's *q<sup>h</sup>hestea* cannot be explained by the suffix -τέος, which is generally agreed to be from \*-τέφος.



Possibly to be identified with τέλθος 'payment due'; in this case the form *qe-te-o* must be genitive.

*po-pa<sub>4</sub>*: also applied to OLIVES at Knossos 164 = Gv863. Probably denotes some kind of olive as distinguished from *ka-pa*. The spelling would fit φορβή, φορβάς, possibly meaning 'for eating'.

*ka-pa*: the name of a different kind of olive; connected with σκάφη 'trough', i.e. for pressing?

## 97 = Un03 [2]

<sup>1</sup> *pa-ki-ja-si mu?-jo-me-no e-pi wa-na-ka-te*

<sup>2</sup> *q-pi-e-ke o-pi-te-(u)-ke-e-u*

<sup>3</sup> BARLEY 16 T 4 \*125 T 1 4 3 o. 4 5

<sup>4</sup> FLOUR 1 T 2 OLIVES 3 T 2 \*132 ♀ 2 ME ♀ 1

<sup>5</sup> FIGS 1 OX 1 RAMS 26 EWES 6 HE-GOATS 2 SHE-GOATS 2

<sup>6</sup> PIG+SI 1 SOWS 6 WINE 20 ♀ 1 \*146 2

At *Pa-ki-ja-si*: ...for the king, the *rigger keeps*: 1968 l. of barley, 18 l. of *cyperus* (deficit 10 l.), 144 l. of flour, 384 l. of olives, 24 l. of. . ., 12 l. of honey, 120 l. of figs, one ox, twenty-six rams, six ewes, two he-goats, two she-goats, one *fat hog*, six sows, 732 l. of wine, two *cloths*.

*mu?-jo-me-no*: to judge by the form this might be a middle or passive participle, but hardly μούμενος unless = μούμενος. It is possible that it is dative: 'on the occasion of the initiation of the king'. ἐπι + dat. = 'in the time of' is found in Arcadian.


*wa-na-ka-te*: *wanaktei*, with the same use of *a* as a dead vowel (after the nominative *wa-na-ka*) as in *wa-na-ka-te-ro*.


*q-pi-e-ke*: *amphi-ekhei* = ἀμπύχει? or *aph-izke* = ἀφένκε? Carratelli (19544, pp. 101-2) translates 'collects'.

*opiteukheus*: the restoration is almost certain in view of the other examples of this word (see Vocabulary, p. 402), but the meaning of the τεύχεα is not yet discovered.

## 11. SPICES AT KNOSSOS (Ga, Og)

All three sites have produced written evidence of the use of spices or condiments, though in this case the richest find comes from Mycenae. The use of spices such as coriander and aniseed is attested archaeologically for the Bronze Age, and it is reasonable to suppose that many of the condiments used in classical times for culinary or medicinal purposes had been known much earlier. Few have names with Indo-European cognates, and most were probably in use in the Aegean area before the arrival of the Greeks, or were introduced by trade during the Mycenaean age. Coriander and *cyperus* are both described at Knossos as 'Cyprian', which

123  CONDIMENT

124  *Cyperus*?



probably refers to their provenance; and there is an unidentified spice called *Phoinikio*—which clearly betrays its origin. The ideogram no. 123 was taken by Evans to represent a building without eaves ('granary' sign—*PM*, iv, p. 622), despite the presence in some forms of what is obviously a handle. For Myres (*SM II*, p. 33) it was 'obviously a rick or granary', and in the form no. 124 'the cylindrical wicker-structure with lifting handle, still in use among the Southern Slavs'. It resembles more closely a large pepper-pot, and its true significance emerged from the identification of coriander and cyperus as a result of the decipherment (*Evidence*, p. 92). From its use with the fractional signs for dry measure (e.g. Ga415) it follows that it denotes the unit of spice (approx. 120 l.). The variant no. 124 appears to contain the 'cyperus' ideogram no. 125.

98 = Ga415 (E xxxiv)

ru-ki-ti-jo / ko-ri-ja-do-no CONDIMENT 2 T 6

Men of Luktos: 312 l. of coriander seed.

*ko-ri-ja-do-no*: this word is found also at Pylos and Mycenae, where its plural is also spelt *ko-ri-a<sub>2</sub>-da-na*. It is an ancestral form of *κορίαννον*, *κορίανθρον*, which may be derived from *keria(n)don* by assimilation and popular etymology. The fruits of the coriander, *Coriandrum sativum*, are widely used as a condiment. The ancients seem to have obtained it from Egypt, though it was originally imported into Egypt from India.

99 = Ga418 (E xxxiii)

su-ri-mi-jo / po-ni-ki-jo £ 3  
ko-ri-ja-do-no T 5 [2]

Men of *Su-ri-mo*: 3 kg. of *Phoenician spice*, 60 l. of coriander seed.

100 = Og424 (E xxxiv)

pa<sub>2</sub>-ko-we-i-jo / pa-[ni]-ki-jo £ 5  
a-pu-da-si

Men of *Pa-ko-we*: payment 5 kg. of *Phoenician spice*.

101 = Ga675 (F lx, xlix)

wa-na-ka-te / pe-ma CONDIMENT 10

For the king: 1200 l. of seed for condiment.

The absence of a word or sign indicating the nature of the condiment is unusual, but cf. Ga416. These tablets may have formed part of a series which made it unnecessary to repeat the name of the commodity on each.



102 = Ga517 (F xl)

*tu-wi-no* / *ku-pi-ri-jo* \*124 1  
                   *ku-pa-ro*








*Twinon*: 120 l. of cyperus seed from Cyprus.

*Twinōn*: cf. *tu-wi-no-no* Ga676, which may be genitive. Probably a man's name, perhaps = Σίμων.

*ku-pi-ri-jo*: not, like *po-ni-ki-jo*, the name of a separate commodity, so presumably adjectival; it might mean only 'of the Cyprian variety'. At Pylos it is a man's name, but this is unlikely here.

## 12. SPICES AT PYLOS (Un)

The two chief spices at Knossos, cyperus and coriander, reappear at Pylos, together with other enigmatic ideograms. No. 157 is so far unidentified; it appears to be counted, or if in standard units is not yet found with any fractions. It is also found on An23 reverse, which seems to have no connexion with the obverse and ranks for classification with the two Un tablets quoted here. No. 127 (also found on An23 rev.) is a monogram of KA + PO, though it is impossible to be sure of the order in which these signs are to read; cf. the monogram A + RE + PA in descending order in Un06, in ascending order in 171 = Un718. It seems likely that this should be connected with *ka-po* in KN94 = F 841 = *karpos* 'fruit'. No. 131b appears to be merely half of no. 131 WINE, but cannot be identical with it since it appears in the same list; possibly a special kind of wine (e.g. must). The presence of no. 145 WOOL among a list of commodities such as spices, fruit and wine is also puzzling, in particular in the second of these tablets, where it has the annotation *wi-ri-za*. This cannot be unconnected, since it recurs at Knossos. It is possible that there is some confusion here between the WOOL ideogram and the syllabic sign MA used at Mycenae as an abbreviation for 'fennel' (see p. 227); there seems to be similar confusion on KN 203 = F 953.

123		CONDIMENT
157		?
127		Fruit?
131		WINE
131b		?
ME		Honey?
145		WOOL

103 = Un08 [267]

<sup>1</sup> *o-do-ke a-ko-so-ta*<sup>2</sup> *tu-we-ta a-re-pa-zo-o*



- <sup>3</sup> *tu-we-a a-re-pa-te* [ze-so-me]  
<sup>4</sup> *ze-so-me-no* [ko]  
<sup>5</sup> *ko-ri-a<sub>2</sub>-da-na* CONDIMENT 6  
<sup>6</sup> *ku-pa-ro<sub>2</sub>* CONDIMENT 6 \*157 16  
<sup>7</sup> KA+PO 2 I 5 WINE 20 ME 2  
<sup>8</sup> WOOL 2 \*131 b 2  
 three lines erased

Thus *A(r)xotas* gave spices to *Thuestas* the unguent-boiler, for unguent which is to be boiled:

coriander seed 720 l.  
 cyperus seed 720 l.  
 ... 16 units.  
 fruits 300 l.  
 wine 720 l.  
 honey 72 l.  
 wool 6 kg.  
 must 72 l.

*hō dōke*: cf. *a-pu-do-ke*.

*tu-we-ta*: taken by Furumark (1954, p. 41) as *thuestās*, correctly seen by Palmer (1954 b, p. 21) to be a man's name. Evidently names not infrequently fitted professions; cf. *ka-ke-u* the name of a χαλκεύς Jn750.

*aleiphazoōi*: the identification of this trade-name gains further confirmation from Pylos Gn1184, where two men who are elsewhere given this title are engaged in a transaction concerning olive-oil (see p. 217).

*thuea*: aromatic substances used in the making of perfumes; the sense of 'burnt offering' for θύος is not necessarily the earliest; cf. (ἐλαίου) τεθυωμένον 'perfumed' (Il. xiv, 172).

*aleiphatei zesomenōi*: the words of which *aleipha-zoos* is compounded. Palmer translates: 'How *A*. gave to *T.*, the unguent-boiler, the θύεα for boiling in (or with) the unguent.' But this would require *ze-so-me-na*. The translation proposed involves a rare use of the dative to denote purpose: cf. Ἡρακλείοις γοναῖς, Pind. *Isth.* vii, 7, 'for the begetting of Herakles'. In either case the future middle participle must be taken in passive sense. It would also be just possible to take it as a true middle with *Thuestāi*: 'Thus *A*. gave to *T.*, who is to boil spices in unguent'; the object of *dōke* would then be *koria(n)da*, etc. But the order is against this.

104 = Un09 [249]

- po-ti-[ni]-ja-we-jo*  
<sup>1</sup> *pi-ra-jo* / *a-re-pa-zo-[o]* *ku-pa-ro<sub>2</sub>* CONDIMENT 2 I 5  
<sup>2</sup> *wi-ri-za* WOOL 2 [ ] \*157 10



3 [ ] T 6  
vacant 2

Philaios the unguent-boiler of the Mistress: 300 l. of cyperus seed; *root* (?)  
6 kg. of wool; 10 units of. . . ; 72 l. of. . .

*a-re-pa-zo*-[o: Chadwick disagrees with Bennett's reading of the last preserved sign as *we*; it could be *zo*, thus allowing an obvious restoration.

*wi-ri-za*: found again with WOOL on a Knossos fragment OdM26. It would seem to be the equivalent of  $\rho\lambda\alpha$  (Lesb.  $\beta\rho\lambda\sigma\delta\alpha$ ), but its meaning is obscure.

### 13. SPICES AT MYCENAE (Ge)

The three texts quoted here are representative of a group of seven similar tablets found by Wace in the House of the Sphinxes in 1954. These together with the other Mycenae tablets are being published by Bennett (*MT II*) with a commentary by Chadwick.

The tablets numbered Ge602-608 form part of a consistent series dealing with a range of commodities, most of which can be confidently identified with herbs and spices. Some tablets have an introductory phrase, but apart from this the text consists entirely of a list of personal names, each followed by specified quantities of the various commodities. Ge606 and Ge607 are slightly different in form, but deal with the same commodities. The names in the lists vary between nominative and dative, even on the same tablet: *Pe-ke-u* 105 = Ge602 (nom.), but *Ka-e-se-we* (dat.) two lines further on; cf. *Ka-e-se-u* Ge605. Possibly the dative implies that the transaction was indirect, i.e. 'on behalf of'.










The purpose of the records is to some extent conjectural; but if the House of the Sphinxes is in fact a private house and not an appendage of the palace, they may be a merchant's records of his business dealings. Since the amounts associated with each name are comparatively small and are not totalled, they may represent sales of these commodities; and in some cases the wording suggests that they are amounts outstanding against future payment. In the absence of any form of currency the debt can only be recorded in terms of the actual commodities sold.

Lists of spices in a rather different context, referring to the produce of certain places, are quoted by Lacheman (1939, p. 535) from the Nuzi tablets. Among the spices mentioned both there and at Mycenae are coriander, fennel and *kamīnu*, which Lacheman following Bezold translates as 'caraway'.

A new ideogram which makes its appearance on these tablets is no. 155, which looks like some sort of dish or basket. It may perhaps be a container in which the spices were kept. There is also a form without handles, which is



virtually indistinguishable from the metric sign  $\cup$  (=approx. 0.5 l.), but seems here to be a container; it is transcribed as CUP. The metric sign itself has a handle on a new Pylos tablet (Un185). Since the principal commodities recur frequently it will be convenient to discuss them before commenting on the texts.

123		CONDIMENT	KU		Cumin
PE		Bunch?	MA		Fennel
155		BASKET	MI		Mint?
		CUP	SA		Sesame
KO		Coriander			

*ka-da-mi-ja*: apparently *kardamia*, a feminine or neuter plural form for *κάρδαμον* 'garden-cress, *Lepidium sativum*', the pungent seed of which was much used as a condiment especially in Persia (Xen. Cyr. 1, 2, 8, Aelian Var. hist. iii, 39). The alternative reading *ka-da-mi-ta* suggests *καλάμινθα*, a kind of mint, if we accept the representation of λ by d in pre-Greek words; cf. *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo* = λαβυρίνθοιο in KN 205 = Gg702.

*ka-na-ko*: this occurs by itself or in the ligature KA+NA+KO. More often, however, it is qualified by an adjective: *e-ru-ta-ra* = *eruthrā* 'red', or *re-u-ka* = *leukā* 'white'; *e-ru-ta-ra* may even stand by itself. *ka-na-ko re-u-ka* is always measured; *e-ru-ta-ra* is always weighed (weights from 1 to 3 kg.). This is clearly the plant known as *κνήκος* (original long  $\bar{\alpha}$  is attested by the Doric adjective *κνακός*), the gender of which varies between masculine and feminine. The identification of the plant has been contested, but is generally supposed to be safflower, *Carthamus tinctorius*, the florets of which are used to make a red dye. The oil is also used medicinally and for culinary purposes. Dioscorides (iv, 88) says that the flower of *κνήκος* is used as a relish (*ἐς τὰ προσοψήματα*). The distinction of 'red' and 'white' seems to be confirmed by the varying senses of the adjective recorded by Hesychius: *κνηκόν*: τὸ κροκίζον χρώμα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθους· ὅτε δὲ ἀπὸ καρποῦ, τὸ λευκόν. It serves here to distinguish the red florets from the pale seeds. It should be observed that *κνήκος* has an I.-E. etymology and is originally an adjective of colour 'tawny'.

*ka-ra-ko*: probably the Boeotian γλάχων (or γλαχώ) = Attic βλήχων, Ion. γλήχων, 'pennyroyal, *Mentha pulegium*'. It was used as a condiment in cooking; cf. *κυκεών βληχωνίος*, Ar. Pax, 712.

*ko-no* or once *ko-i-no*: this is counted (numbers from 2 to 12) and is qualified by *a-po- $\mu$ -i*], *e- $\mu$ -me-na* (abbreviated to  $\mu$ ) and  $\nu\epsilon$ . The variations of spelling can be paralleled in other words (e.g. *ko-to-na* at Pylos = *ko-to-i-na* at Knossos). At Knossos *ko-no* is found on one tablet 203 = F 953 + 955, where it prefaces the abbreviation MA.



It is probably to be equated with the Greek *σχοῖνος* (which is sometimes feminine); but with precisely which of the plants so designated is not clear. Possibly 'ginger-grass, *Cymbopogon schoenanthus*', a fragrant plant used in the manufacture of perfumes and later imported into Greece from Syria for this purpose. See especially Theophrastus, *H.P.* ix, 7, 3, where it is said not to grow in Europe.

*ko-ri-ja-da-na*, *ko-ri-a<sub>2</sub>-da-na*: abbreviated *κo*, sometimes inserted in the CONDIMENT ideogram. It is measured (amounts from 12 to 24 l.). 'Coriander'; see on 98 = Ga415.

*ku-mi-no*, *ku-mi-na*: abbreviated *κu*; it is measured (amounts from 1½ to 4 l.). *κῦμινον* 'cumin, *Cuminum cyminum*'. The word is Semitic, though Akkad. *kamūnu* is alleged to mean 'caraway'. According to Dioscorides (iii, 59) it was imported from Egypt and Ethiopia, but also grown in Galatia and Cilicia. An oriental provenance is at least likely. It is widely used in cooking.

*ma-ra-tu-wo*: abbreviated *MA*; it is measured (amounts from ½ to 2 l.). *marathwon*, to be equated with the classical forms *μάραθρον* or *μάραθρον*. The former is usually explained as derived by dissimilation from the latter; we may, however, suspect in the latter the influence of the suffix *-θρον*. The measured quantities clearly refer to the seed, which is used in cooking. The plant is widespread in distribution, so that this is more likely a local product than an import.

*mi-ta*: abbreviated *MI* (?); counted with *PE* (numbers 1, 2 and perhaps 20). It is possible that *PE* represents some sort of measure; perhaps 'bunch'. The use of *pe* in Cypriot as an abbreviation of the coin *πῆλεος* can hardly be relevant. The plant is obviously *μίνθα*, *μίνθη*, some kind of mint, a common and widely distributed plant.

*sa-pi-de*: counted (numbers 6 and 12). The identification is uncertain, and may be a container rather than a spice. The word recurs at Pylos (Vn05, to which a new fragment found in 1954 has been joined), where numbers of these are mentioned in connexion with the nine towns; the numbers are damaged, those readable being 200, 80, 60 and 40. Possibly *sarpides* 'boxes'; cf. *σαρπίς* = *σαρπός*, *An. Ox.* ii, 466, and *σάρπους* *κιβωτούς*, Hesych. A connexion with *σάλπη* 'saupé fish' or *σηπίς* 'cuttle-fish' seems much less likely.

*sa-sa-ma*: abbreviated *SA*; measured (amounts 1 to 5 l.). Equivalent to *σησάμη* or *σήσαμα*. The word is Semitic, the Ugaritic form (*ššmn*) being nearest to the Greek. The oil resembles olive-oil, but the small quantities of seeds can hardly have been intended for pressing. The seeds are themselves eaten, and a sweetmeat called *halvâ* is still made from them in Greece today. It was grown in antiquity in Mesopotamia, but is said not to have been introduced into Egypt before the first millennium B.C.

*se-ri-no*: measured (amounts from ½ to 5 l.). *σέλινον* 'celery, *Apium graveolens*'. The seed is clearly intended.

105 = Ge602

<sup>1</sup> *jo-o-po-ro a-ro-[2-3]-mi-jo / pe-se-ro*

<sup>2</sup> *pu<sub>2</sub>?-ke ma-ra-tu-wo* ☐ 1 [







adjective is at least as early as Aeschylus. The syntax is obscure, and he may be not the merchant himself, but his clerk.

*a-po-tē-jī*: The reading is uncertain and the apparent absence of a numeral is surprising.

*ne*: possibly = *desmā* 'bundle'.

## 106 = Ge603

- <sup>1</sup> *ke-po ko* CONDIMENT T 2  
*ka-na-ko re-u-ka* 4 1  
*dq-ra-[.]-ta-qe* 20  
*[ka]-na-ko e-ru-ta-ra* 1 1  
*[?]ka-ra-to* CUP 1
- <sup>2</sup> *pu-ke-o ko* T 2  
*ku* 4 2  
*ma* 2 2  
*sa* 2 2  
*ka-na-ko* 1 1 CUP 1  
*ko-no* 10 *e-ne-me-na* 1
- <sup>3</sup> *i-na-o ko* T 2  
*ku* 4 1  
*[ni 20]*  
*ko-no* 10 E 1  
*ka-na-ko e-ru-(ta-ra)* 1 1
- <sup>4</sup> *ra-ke-dq-no ko* T 2  
*ku* 4 2  
*[erased?]*  
*ko-no* 12 E [1]  
CUP 1  
*a-ke-re-ivi-jo ko* T 2  
*ku* 4 1  
*ma* 4 1  
*no-ko* (sic) 10 DE [1]  
CUP 1
- <sup>6</sup> *pe-ke-u ko* T 2  
*ku* 4 1 2 2  
*ma* 4 1  
*ko-no* 10 E 1  
*ka-na-ko* 1 2  
CUP 1



7 *pu-wo* *ko* T 2  
*ku* 4 2  
*ma* 4 [ ]  
*ko-no* DE 1  
 CUP 1

REVERSE: *me*-[ ] 2

*Ke-pa*: coriander seed 24 l.  
 white safflower 2 l.  
 . . . 20  
 red safflower 1 kg.  
*basket* 1

*Pu-ke-o*: coriander seed 24 l.  
 cumin 4 l.  
 fennel seed 1 l.  
 sesame 1 l.  
 safflower 1 kg., cup 1.  
*rushes* 10 *e-ne-me-na* 1

*Inaon*: coriander seed 24 l.  
 cumin 2 l.  
*mint* 20  
*rushes* 10 *e-* 1  
 red safflower 1 kg.  
 etc.

There is no introductory phrase, and the personal names are all in the nominative.

It is perhaps one of a set, of which the preceding tablet forms the first.

*ka-ra-to*: if the word is complete as it stands this might be *kalathos*, i.e. a description of the CUP ideogram which follows, which may be no more than a handleless variant of the BASKET.

*ra-ke-da-no*: nominative to *ra-ke-da-no-re* 107 = Ge604. This is evidently one of the class of names in *-ānōr*, but the first part of the compound is obscure.

*a-ke-re-wi-jo*: this recalls the Pylos place-name *A-ke-re-wa*; the use of ethnic adjectives as personal names is found elsewhere on the tablets (see p. 98).

*pu-wo*: *Purwos* = Πύρρος; also found at Knossos.

107 = Ge604

1 *ke-e-pe* *o-pe-ro* *ka-na-ko* *e-ru-ta-ra* [ ]  
 [ ]  
 [ ] DE 1  
*ku* 4 1




- <sup>2</sup> *i-na-o-te o-pe-ro ku 4 1*  
                                   *sa 4 1*  
                                   *ko-no 2*  
                                   *se-ri-no 2 2 CUP 1*  
<sup>3</sup> *ra-ke-da-no-re o-pe-ro e-ru-ta-ra 2 1*  
                                   *ma 4 1*  
                                   *sa 4 1*  
<sup>4</sup> *a-ke-re-wi-jo o-pe-ro e-ru-ta-ra 2 3*  
<sup>5</sup> *pu-ke-(o o)-pe-ro(ro) ka-na-ko 2 1*  
                                   *ma 2 2*  
                                   *sa 2 2*  
                                   *ka-da-mi-ja [ ]*

In this tablet all the names are in the dative, followed in each case by the word *o-pe-ro* 'deficit'. In line 5 the scribe has written *pe-ro-ro*, which is plainly an error, and the name is probably *pu-ke-o* as in 106 = Ge603.2 rather than variant form of *pu<sub>2</sub>?-ke* 105 = Ge602.2.



## CHAPTER VIII

# LAND OWNERSHIP AND LAND USE

THE *E*-series of tablets, one of the most extensive at Pylos but regrettably poorly represented at Knossos, is distinguished by the ideogram no. 120, which is measured in amounts varying from 137 units (? 16,440 litres) down to 41 (2 litres). This commodity is one of the staple cereal grains, and has here been translated as 'wheat'; Furumark 120  WHEAT and Carratelli read 'barley'.

Even before decipherment it was possible to guess, from the complex arrangement of the Pylos *E*-tablets, that they record hierarchies of different classes of persons on an apparently territorial basis. This was confirmed by phonetic transcription: the word *ko-to-na* (Knossos *ko-to-i-na*), whose detailed listing constitutes the primary purpose of the series, is evidently the classical κτοίνα. This term was used on Rhodes of a territorial unit equivalent to the Attic *deme*, and is glossed by Hesychius in the plural as δῆμος μεμερισμένος 'subdivided *deme*'; it is derived from the stem \**kti-* 'settle, with buildings and/or cultivation' (cf. Skt. *ksītlh* 'settlement', Arm. *ṣēn* 'settled; village'). At Pylos it apparently refers to the small-scale unit of cultivation, a 'field' or 'plot'.

Since our first reference to the *E*-tablets as records of land-tenure (*Evidence*, pp. 98-9) they have been discussed in greater detail by Furumark (1954, pp. 36-7), Webster (1954, pp. 13-14), Carratelli (1954*a*, pp. 102-12, 1954*b*, pp. 221-2), and Palmer (1955, pp. 6-18). Our commentary on this series, of which a large and representative selection is printed below, owes much to their analysis.

The *ktoinai* are generally described as being either *ki-ti-me-na* or *ke-ke-me-na*: the exact significance of this distinction is disputed. The first term, which is confined to the 'first set' of tablets (114=En02 et seq.) apparently recording actual ownership, is clearly *ktimenai*, from the same stem \**kti-* 'settle' and formally identical with the participle seen in:

*Od.* xxiv, 226: τὸν δ' οἶον πατέρ' εὗρεν ἐϋ-κτιμένην ἐν ἀλωῇ.

*Od.* ix, 130: οἱ κέ σφιν καὶ νῆσον ἐϋ-κτιμένην ἐκάμοντο, etc.

Carratelli supports the suggestion that *ktimenai*/?*kekeimenai* distinguish 'cultivated' land from 'fallow' or 'uncultivated'; there is a parallel in the distinction at Ugarit between *ṣd ubdy* 'uncultivated or fallow fields' from those



that are *n'my* 'blooming' (Virolleaud, 1951, p. 32). But it can hardly be a coincidence that *?kekeimenai* is almost invariably confined to fields administered by the *dāmos* or 'village' (a term which might refer either to its people or to its land). The only exceptions are Ea10, Ea11, where *?kekeimenai ktoinai* are attributed to the 'swine-herds' and 'cowherds'; 146 = Eb34 (cf. Ep03.14) and 140 = Eb35, where they are recorded as subject to the obscure condition *e-to-ni-jo*; and Ea809.

Our translations will provisionally follow Furumark in translating the participles as 'private' and 'communal' respectively, even though these may be their effective rather than their etymological meanings. *Ktimenai* may once have meant 'land outside the *ager publicus* reclaimed by private initiative'. Webster compares *Od.* xxiv, 205-7 (and Nilsson's commentary, 1933, p. 242):

οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ πόλιος κατέβαν, τάχα δ' ἀγρὸν ἴκοντο  
καλὸν Λαέρταο τετυγμένον, ὃν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὸς  
Λαέρτης κτεάτισσεν, ἐπεὶ μάλα πόλλ' ἐμόγησεν.

On this view, the *ktoinai ktimenai* correspond approximately to the category of γῆ ἰδιόκτητος in the Egyptian system of land tenure recorded at Tebtunis (Rostovtzeff, 1941, pp. 274-92). Less probable alternatives are 'land actually occupied by its owners' or 'land with a separate dwelling on it', which the usual translation of Hom. ἐὺ-κτίμενος by 'good to live in' might suggest.

The second term *ke-ke-me-na* may perhaps be formally connected with κείμαι, κείμενος, whose stem shows reduplication in Skt. *ṛigye*; there are, however, other possible derivations (e.g. from the stem of Homeric γέντο 'seized'). Palmer (1955, p. 7) connects *?kekeimenai* with κοινός 'common' and with Germanic *haim-* 'nucleated village settlement': the sense 'communal' would be confirmed by the phrase *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-na* (Ep02.3), if the spelling in fact represents *?kekeimenās ktoinās koinās* and not an erroneous repetition of syllables by the scribe.

Palmer (1955, p. 11) appositely compares the stipulations of the Hittite Code (§§ 39-40, trans. Goetze, in Pritchard, 1950):

If the inhabitant of a town has possession of another inhabitant's fields, he shall also perform the respective feudal service to the liege lord; if he allows the fields to lie idle, another man may take the fields, but he must not sell them.

If a 'craftsman' disappears and a socman is assigned in his stead, if the socman says 'this is my craftsman's fee but this other one is my socage', he shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the fields; then he has legal possession of the craftsman's fee and shall also perform the socage. If he refuses the craftsman's service, *they will declare the fields of the craftsman vacant, and the people of the town shall work them.*



From these and other somewhat obscure clauses on the same subject it appears that Hittite land was in principle divided into two classes (see Gurney, 1952, pp. 102-3). The inalienable land of the socman ('liege-man' or 'fief-holder') is held under specific terms of service (*sahhan*), and on his death the fief returns to the palace; the holding of the craftsman (lit. 'man of the tool'), or member of the artisan class, derives its title from the local authority, can be bought and sold, but reverts to the 'men of the village' when the title lapses.

The owners of *ktoinai ktimenai* at Pylos, among whom no women appear, are classified as *te-re-ta* (114 = En02.2, cf. 152 = Er01.6), probably *telestai*; cf. Elean αἵτε φέτος αἵτε τελεστά 'whether he be private citizen or magistrate'. In view of initial *t-*, not *q-*, the Mycenaean term is probably from τέλη 'services due' rather than from τέλος 'fulfilment', and it may imply original feudal obligations on the part of holders of such land. Palmer (1955, p. 13) suggests a direct comparison between these obligations and the *sahhan* of the Hittite land-owning class. He translates *telestai* as 'barons', arguing that this term, perhaps derived from a Germanic *bara* related to φόρος 'tribute', may reflect a parallel feudal organization.

Palmer similarly equates the lands administered by the Pylos *dāmos* with the Hittite 'village land'; and suggests that the Homeric name δημοεργός, applied to craftsmen, minstrels and physicians, in fact originally meant 'those who work village land', i.e. a parallel class to the Hittite 'men of the tool'.

To make deductions about the precise conditions of Mycenaean land tenure from the apparent etymology of the terms used is of course rather precarious, in view of the historical adaptations which the system and its terminology may have undergone since the Greeks' original settlement in the country. Palmer's attempt to use them for a reconstruction of the 'Indo-European' institutions which they may have brought into the country with them encounters the same difficulties (as well as neglecting the possible influence of 'Minoan' institutions); but it represents the courageous first step in a necessary line of enquiry.

The evidence of the tablets does not allow us to assume with certainty that the land administered by the *dāmos* is in fact an *ager publicus*, in the sense of being owned on a collective basis and subject to periodical redistribution. It is conceivable that the *?kekeimenai ktoinai* merely represent the residue of such a system; perhaps 'land lying uncared-for', whose ownership has lapsed due to death or punishment, and which only then reverts to the village for administration—as seems to be the case with the 'vacant' craftsman's land in the Hittite clauses. Compare also Gardiner's remarks on the category of *khato* land in the Wilbour Papyrus (1948, II, p. 210).

For a theoretical discussion of primitive land tenure, see Thomson, 1949,



pp. 297-331. He makes it clear that the δῆμοι represent the units of clan settlement, initially founded on a collective administration of the land. The agglomeration of these original villages into centralized towns was evidently not far advanced in Mycenaean times: Thucydides (1, 5 and 10) preserves a memory of 'unfortified πόλεις whose people lived in scattered villages'. Most of the references to the *dāmos* on the Pylos tablets probably apply, not to the centre 'Pylos' itself (only the palace and the seat of administration?), but to the satellite village of *Pa-ki-ja-*, one of the nine which are frequently listed together in a fixed order. Most of the spellings of this name appear to imply a nominative plural in *-ānes*, which looks more like a clan or tribal name than primarily a place-name (cf. Ἑλλᾶνες, Ἀκαρνᾶνες). Is the *theos* who figures so largely in the records of this village (cf. 172 = Kn02 rev.) a tutelary divinity of the clan? Thomson (1949, pp. 361-2) concludes from *Od.* iii, 7 that Pylos consisted of nine δῆμοι; the possible connexion with the nine villages of the tablets has long been noted by Blegen and Bennett.

Though the 'first set' of Pylos tablets contains records for *ktoinai ktimenai* as such, there are no tablets listing the land of the *damos* except in the form of *o-na-ta* (singular *o-na-to*, evidently neuter). These apparently constitute some kind of subordinate title to the use of particular fields, and we have translated them as 'leases'. Those who have 'leases' of *ktoinai ktimenai* in the 'first set' are called *o-na-te-re* (nom. plur.), something like 'tenants'. Whether the *onata paro dāmōi* represent the only way in which the 'communal' land was farmed is not clear, since the surviving records may well be confined to certain restricted categories of tenure, in which the palace authorities were particularly interested.

One might have considered translating *o-na-to* as ὠνητόν (Dor. ὠνατόν) 'bought, buyable', whatever this precisely means in a primitive economy; but the Skt. *vasnām* suggests that ὠνή (Lesb. ὠννα) should have initial \**u-*, and a derivation of the Mycenaean term from ὀνίνημι 'bestow a benefit' is more probable. Such an *onāton* may originally have meant a plot of land given to a retainer as a reward, cf. *Od.* xiv, 62-7:

... ὅς κεν ἔμ' ἐνδυκέως ἐφίλει καὶ κτῆσιν ὀπάσσειν,  
οἶκόν τε κληρόν τε πολυμνήστην τε γυναῖκα,  
οἶά τε ᾧ οἰκῆϊ ἀναξ εὐθυμος ἔδωκεν,  
ὅς οἱ πολλὰ κάμησι, θεὸς δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἀέξει,  
ὥς καὶ ἐμοὶ τόδε ἔργον ἀέξεται, ᾧ ἐπιμύνω.  
τῷ κέ με πόλλ' ὠνήσεν ἀναξ, εἰ αὐτόθ' ἐγήρα.

Is the expression *ke-ra o-na-to* on 137 = Eb30 (cf. 135 = Ep704.2) conceivably the complete form of the expression, i.e. γέρας ὠνητόν 'a pension which brings (repeated) profit'? Cf. also *Od.* xxiii, 24: σὲ δὲ τοῦτό γε γῆρας



ὀνήσει. But the fact that the owners of the larger *ktoinai* can themselves be *onātēres* of another man's land makes it unlikely that all the 'tenants' at Pylos have actually received their holdings as rewards for services rendered. The form *onāter* (cf. classical ὀνήτωρ) suggests by its form 'one who bestows a benefit' rather than the expected 'beneficiary', but it may be denominal from *onāton*; cf. ὀπισστήρ (Hom. ὀπισστής), etc.

The class of *onātēres* includes fullers, potters and other trades, as well as one or two priests or priestesses; the great majority, however, are described simply as 'servants of the god', including both men (*theoio doelos*) and women (*t. doelā*). This is probably a formal title, and does not rank them in the servile class of the *doeloi* and *doelai* of the other tablets, on which these are counted but not referred to by individual names. It is tempting to compare the name ἱερόδουλοι given to the farmers of temple lands in Egypt (Rostovtzeff, *ibid.*). Their precise status here is obscure. Does the large number of these 'theodules' (and of religious functionaries in the 'third set', pp. 252-8) imply that the land tenure recorded on these tablets is primarily connected with the organization of religious institutions at Pylos? Or is it due to the fact that certain favoured craftsmen and temple acolytes were the only persons, below *telestas* level, who were allowed to hold leases of land? Or are the *theoio doeloi* just farmers, whose liability to pay temple dues is thereby recorded?

Two other kinds of land-holding, the *kama* and the *temenos*, will be discussed later in this chapter (pp. 261, 266).

The relation between the schedule of land holdings and their corresponding amounts of WHEAT is expressed by the phrase *to-so-(de) pe-mo* or *pe-ma* (only on 152 = Er01, 153 = Er02). Since *pe-ma* is applied to coriander-seed on KN Ga674, it is natural to read it as σπέρμα 'seed' (or 'sowing', class. generally σπορά or σπόρος). *Pe-mo* apparently has the same meaning, either as a spelling variant (*-mo* from *\*-mḥ*?) or as a doublet in *-mos*, cf. ὄδυρμός/ὄδυρμα, καθαρμός/κάθαρμα in Aeschylus.

It is not clear whether the amounts of seed grain are a record of an actual transaction (an issue from the royal granaries?), or merely a theoretical way of expressing the acreages of the land (being recorded for purposes of taxation?). In either case there is evidently an accepted density of sowing which makes it unnecessary to record the acreages in other measures of area (except once on 114 = En02.1). The Nuzi texts use the Babylonian *imēru* 'donkey-load' to measure both amounts of grain and the acreages of fields; Lewy (1949) argues that the Sumerian system of land measure is similarly derived from the corresponding unit volumes of seed, and quotes the Arab lexicographers as defining units of surface area by the volumes of grain needed to sow them.



The densities of sowing quoted for ancient times by Neo-Babylonian texts, by Cicero and Columella, and by the Talmud are in agreement with those in use today, and vary generally between 150 and 200 litres to the hectare ( $1\frac{2}{3}$ – $2\frac{1}{4}$  bushels to the acre). Webster (1954, p. 13) has pointed out the absurdly low acreages which result for the Pylos lands if we use this rate of seeding, and the litre equivalents of the wheat measures suggested in ch. II, as our conversion factors. The situation is somewhat improved if we assume that the amounts of wheat are those actually issued for a season's sowing, not theoretical acreage equivalents, and that half the land is at one time left fallow: in that case we may double the area of the king's *temenos*, and of the *ktoinai ktimenai*, which we have calculated from the *sperma* figures. The alternative by which *pe-mo* is regarded, not as wheat sown, but as some kind of tax levied on the crops of the *ktoinai* (Carratelli, 1954a, pp. 102, 110) does not produce any improvement in the figures, since a reasonable levy on a crop of grain might well be larger than the amount of seed required to produce that crop; but it cannot be excluded merely on this account.

Lewy (1944) has shown, however, that the rate of seeding assumed in Mesopotamian records earlier than c. 1000 B.C. was very considerably less than the modern figure. She quotes 50 litres per hectare for the Neo-Sumerian and Kassite periods, 60 litres for the Nuzi texts; and adduces evidence from the Mishnâ for an earlier system of cereal culture in which 'instead of leaving an entire field fallow for one season, the farmers of the ancient Near East prevented the exhaustion of their soil by dividing their fields into one-furrow beds which were alternately tilled and left fallow'. The spacing of these sown furrows would be three times wider or more than that usual under the later system. Whether or not this explanation will hold good for Mycenaean Greece, it may be of interest to see what acreages result for the Pylos lands if we take a sowing of 50 litres per acre, and the value of the wheat unit measure as 120 litres (i.e. a factor of 2.4 hectares per unit measure).

	<i>Sowing of wheat</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Population supported</i>
King's <i>temenos</i>	50 units (6000 l.)	120 ha = 297 acres	83 men for a year
Total for 'first set'	40 units	96 ha = 237 acres	67 men for a year
Medium-sized <i>ktoina ktimena</i>	2 T 3	5.4 ha = 13.3 acres	4 men for a year
Medium-sized <i>onaton</i>	T 1	0.24 ha = $\frac{6}{25}$ acre	$\frac{1}{4}$ man for a year
Smallest <i>onaton</i> (once only)	4 1	0.04 ha = $\frac{1}{25}$ acre	$\frac{1}{24}$ man for a year

The small size of some of the fields is not surprising for Greek terrain, and is paralleled on the Alalakh tablets (Wiseman, 1953) and the *Wilbour Papyrus*



(see below). The figures for 'population supported' are estimated on a 5-fold consumable yield (which is the upper limit quoted for wheat on the Nuzi tablets, Lacheman, 1939), and on a monthly ration of  $T\ 2\frac{1}{2}=30$  litres: this result is not, of course, affected by variations in the rate of seeding which we assume. The surviving tablets evidently record only a very small fraction of the total acreage required to feed the population of Pylos and its outlying settlements. Either the smaller tenants had more land to support their families than the diminutive *onata* recorded on the surviving tablets; or else these are no more than allotments with which they supplemented an income derived from other work, as is evident in the case of the potters and fullers. For comparison, in Anglo-Saxon times the normal holding for a peasant household owning two plough-oxen was a quarter-hide (30 acres), though 'cottars' might support themselves on as little as 5 acres.

One might still speculate (with Webster, 1954, p. 13) whether the *pe-mo* figures, while indeed referring to seed-corn, may in fact 'only represent some known fraction of the total sowing'; one might imagine, for example, that the palace granaries provided half or a quarter of the seed required, possibly in a situation of emergency; or that the palace granaries received *from* the farmers a tax equal to half or a quarter of their sowing (and hence the different formula applying to the *temenos* of the king, 152 = Er01?). There is no explicit evidence with which to attempt a final answer to this difficult problem.

Two examples of cuneiform tablets of somewhat similar context may be compared.

1. Sumerian, from Lagaš (Genouillac, 1909, *TSA*, xxxviii):  
2580 litres of emmer-wheat (first time), 600 litres of emmer-wheat (second time) and 1260 litres of barley have been drawn for the field Datiramma: the steward Eniggal delivered them from the Ekiqala building to the farm superintendent Ur-Enki (sixth year).
2. Nuzi (AASOR 16, 1935-6, no. 87):  
500 litres of barley, given to Kipali for sowing on five *imēru* of land belonging to Uzna; the lands of Uzna are for 'partnership' (cf. *o-na-to*??) and Kipali shall not dispose of them.

Note that Babylonian issues of seed grain sometimes include an extra above that calculated for the acreage, to allow fodder for the plough animals (see also p. 260).

The closest parallel to the arrangement of the Pylos *E*-tablets is, however, provided by the paragraphs of the long *Wilbour Papyrus* (Gardiner, 1948). It contains a cadastral survey, made in about 1150 B.C., of a large number of fields along the left bank of the Nile, together with their assessment for taxes



of emmer-wheat. In spite of the elaborate phraseology and calculation of each paragraph, Gardiner admits that much of the real meaning and purpose of the series remains obscure, as it must with our Pylos tablets.

The different terms which differentiate the fields show distinctions (1) of ownership, whether by individuals, temples, Crown, etc.; (2) of condition—'newly opened up', '(normal) arable', 'tired', 'uncultivated', etc.; (3) of location with regard to the rise and fall of the Nile flood. The entries of small-holders which constitute many of the paragraphs resemble those at Pylos in their listing of personal names and occupations, and in the fact that many women appear. E.g.:

§ 84. The landing-place of Pharaoh in Hardai. Measurement made to the south of P-ma:

The lady Hathōr, together with her brethren: 3 arouras =  $\frac{1}{2}$  at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  measures of corn.  
Apportioned for Suchus of P-ma, cultivated by the hand of Hōri: 10 arouras  
=  $2\frac{1}{2}$  at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  measures.

The charioteer Pra'(h)wenmaf, cultivated by the hand of the cultivator Amene-mopē: (20) 5 arouras =  $\frac{1}{2}$  at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  measures.

The lady Tkamen: 5 arouras =  $\frac{1}{2}$  at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  measures.

The herdsman Set(em)hab: 5 arouras =  $\frac{1}{2}$  at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  measures.

The bee-keeper Pkhōre: 5 arouras =  $\frac{1}{2}$  at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  measures.

The retainer Nakhthikhopshef: 5 arouras =  $\frac{1}{2}$  at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  measures.

The stable-master Kēnhikhopshef: 5 arouras =  $\frac{1}{2}$  at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  measures.

The slave Shedemdēi: 3 arouras =  $\frac{1}{2}$  at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  measures,  
etc.

The size of such small-holdings varies from as little as 0.0164 ha ( $\frac{1}{25}$  acre) up to 11 ha (27 acres), while the fields of *khato* land belonging to the Crown have limits of 0.55–93 ha ( $1\frac{1}{2}$ –230 acres): Gardiner (II, p. 98) quotes Lozach-Hug for the statement that in recent times about 40 per cent of holdings in Egypt were of  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre or less.

# 1. TYPICAL FORMULAE ON SHORT PYLOS TABLETS

Before examining the large and complex tablets which make up the three most important 'sets', let us look at the typical land-tenure formulae in isolation, as they occur on some smaller tablets. The first three examples all refer to the shepherd *Mo-ro-go-ro*. On the first his name appears in the genitive as the actual 'owner' of a *ktoinā ktimenā*; on the second a tenant is recorded as having a lease 'from *Mo-ro-go-ro*'s plot'; the third (the most usual wording of the same formula) describes a lease 'from *Mo-ro-go-ro* himself', where his name goes into the dative case. Note the grammatical agreement shown by the descrip-



tion *poimenos* (gen.), *poimeni* (dat.); but on the first tablet (as on 111 = Ea23) *poimēn* appears added in small letters above the line, as if in parenthesis, where we should logically expect the genitive case.

108 = Ea817

*mo-ro-qo-ro-jo* | *ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na 'po-me'* WHEAT 3 T 1 4 1

The *private* plot of Molog<sup>u</sup>ros (shepherd): 374 l. wheat.

109 = Ea782

*ru-ko-ro e-ke o-na-to 'ra-wa-ke-si-jo'* *pa-ro mo-ro-qo-ro-jo ko-to-na po-me-no*  
WHEAT T 1

Lugros, servant of the commander (similarly on Ea09, Ea823, Ea882), holds a *lease* from the plot of Molog<sup>u</sup>ros the shepherd: 12 l. wheat.

110 = Ea800

*ke-re-te-u e-ke o-na-to pa-ro mo-ro-qo-ro po-me-ne* WHEAT 2

Kretheus holds a *lease* from Molog<sup>u</sup>ros the shepherd: 240 l. wheat.

The same variation in formulae is shown by the tablets referring to another shepherd:

111 = Ea23 [71]

*ko-do-jo* | *'po-me'* *ko-to-na-ki-ti-me-na* WHEAT 1 T 4 4 3

The *private* plot of ?Koldos (shepherd): 174 l. wheat.

112 = Ea825

*ta-ra-ma-ta* | *e-ke o-na-to pa-ro ko-do 'po-me-ne'* WHEAT T 1

Thalamatas holds a *lease* from ?Koldos the shepherd: 12 l. wheat.

*Ko-do*'s third tablet exemplifies the second kind of 'lease' recorded on the *E*-tablets, that held not from an individual but from the *dāmos* (see the 'fourth set', pp. 258-64).

113 = Ea824

*ko-do e-ke o-na-to pa-ro da-mo 'po-me'* WHEAT T 4

?Koldos the shepherd holds a *lease* from the village: 48 l. wheat.

## 2. THE FIRST PYLOS SET

The thirteen paragraphs making up this series have been preserved in two separate recensions, of which the larger tablets ('Version A') introduced by 114 = En02 have here been printed first and may represent the later and more polished documentation. The reason for the two versions, whose items show



identical quantities and order but some variations in spelling and phraseology, is not altogether clear; but a large proportion of the remaining *E*-tablets show a similar bureaucratic duplication, as will be seen from the other sets printed below.

The 'first set' gives the complete breakdown for an area of *ktimena* ('private'?) land which, though not large (approx. 96 ha, or 240 acres?), shows a complex pattern of land tenure. The introductory adjective *Pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* is evidently derived from *Pa-ki-ja*, the name of one of the nine 'satellite towns', and shows the location of the land. Why do no other place-names appear on the Pylos *E*-tablets? Do the other records of land, in the absence of a specific title, also refer to *Pa-ki-ja*, or to the territory of 'Pylos' itself? The existence of a series for *Pa-ki-ja*, but for none of the other nine, may be due to the accidents of survival; but it might also indicate that *Pa-ki-ja* represents the largest fertile area close to 'Pylos'; which may be the name (transferred from another site by a migrating dynasty?) only of the palace complex itself.

## VERSION A

114 = En02 [609]

- 1 *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja to-sa da-ma-te DA 40*
- 2 *to-so-de te-re-ta e-ne-e-si MEN 14*
- 3 *wa-na-ta-jo-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de-pe-mo WHEAT 2 4 1*
- 4 *o-da-a<sub>2</sub> o-na-te-[re] e-ko-si wa-na-ta-jo-jo ko-to-na*
- 5 *a-tu-ko e-te-do-mo wa-na-ka-te-ro o-na-to e-ke (to-so)-de pe-mo WHEAT 4 1*
- 6 *i-ni-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 2 4 4*
- 7 *e-\*65-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 2*
- 8 *si-ma te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 1*  
vacat
- 10 *a-ma-ru-ta-o ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 2 T 3*
- 11 *[o-da-a<sub>2</sub> e-ko-si a]-ma-ru-ta-o ko-to-na o-na-te-re*
- 12 *[so-u-ro te-o-jo do]-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 4 3*
- 13 *[e-do-mo-ne-u te-o]-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T [1]*
- 14 *[e-sa-ro te-o-jo do]-e-ro [o-na-to] e-ke [to-so-de] pe-mo WHEAT 4 3*
- 15 *[wa-na-ta-jo te-re-ta... o]-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 1*
- 16 *[e-ra-ta-ra i-je-re-ja do-e-ra] pa-ki-ja-na o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 1*
- 17 *[pa-so-re-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o]-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 1 4 3*
- 18 *[i-je-re-ja pa-ki-ja-na o-na]-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 3*



(There are) so many *acreages* belonging to *Pa-ki-ja<sup>b</sup>*: 40,  
And there are so many *fief-holders* upon them: fourteen men.

§ 1 The *private* plot of ?Warnataios, so much seed: 242 l. wheat.

Now this is how the *tenants* hold plots belonging to ? Warnataios:

? Atukhos the king's *artificer* holds a *lease*, so much seed: 2 l. wheat,  
I., servant (f.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 32 l. wheat,  
E., servant (m.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 24 l. wheat,  
S., servant (f.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 12 l. wheat.

§ 2 The *private* plot of Amaruntas, so much seed: 276 l. wheat.

Now this is how the *tenants* hold plots belonging to Amaruntas:

S., servant (m.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 6 l. wheat,  
E., servant (m.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 12 l. wheat,  
E., servant (m.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 6 l. wheat,  
? Warnataios the *fief-holder* holds a *lease*, so much seed: 12 l. wheat,  
E., the servant (f.) of the priestess of *Pa-ki-ja<sup>b</sup>*, holds a *lease*, so much seed:  
12 l. wheat,  
P., servant (f.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 18 l. wheat,  
The priestess of *Pa-ki-ja<sup>b</sup>* holds a *lease*, so much seed: 36 l. wheat.

*da-ma-te*: since it cannot be neuter plural, this noun must be either feminine singular or plural; the name of a class of persons (cf. *du-ma-te* 257 = Jn09 *damartes*?) is excluded by the lack of a MAN or WOMAN ideogram. The ethnic adjective P., and *en-censi* in line 2, suggest a topographical term whose initial is repeated in the ideogram DA (also found on Knossos tablets of similar context, e.g. 157 = Uf835). If it is a measure of area, it is significant that the total amount of WHEAT recorded on this set of tablets appears to add up to approximately 40 measures (c. 4800 litres). Webster (1954) and Furumark (1954) accept *Dāmātēr* = 'corn-land'; this is doubted by Carratelli (1954, p. 225) who suggests a derivative of \**dam-/dom-*, perhaps 'family units' (originally the area of land regarded as sufficient for one household, like the Old English 'hide'?).

*to-so-de* (line 2): enclitic *-de* 'and'? These fourteen *telestai* are evidently the individuals whose *ktoinai* introduce each of the separate paragraphs of the set. The same persons are also described as *ktoinoekhoi* on 131 = Ep01; and ?Warnataios, subject of the first paragraph, is described as a *telestas* when he himself appears as a 'tenant' in the second. There is an evident discrepancy in the fact that the set appears to consist of only *thirteen* paragraphs, and it is possible that the *ktoinai* of § 6 in fact have two *telestai* (a different explanation by Bennett, see p. 261).

*ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na* (line 3): it is not clear from the spelling, or vital to the meaning, whether this is to be taken as singular or plural.

*o-na-te-re e-ko-si* (lines 4 and 11): note the free variation in word-order (not extended to the introductory *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>*) shown by the successive recurrences of this phrase;



*e-ke-si* on 115 = En03.21 is clearly a scribal lapse, and not to be equated with the 'spears' of 257 = Jn09.3. As usual on these tablets, *ekhei/ekhonsi* implies 'tenancy', not ownership (recorded by the genitive, as in lines 3 and 10). An alternative construction could be: 'how they occupy ?Warnataios' *ktaina* (singular)'; but the usual opposition *onaton ktainās/onata ktainān* suggests that the *ktaina* is the unit of individual working, not the unit of overall ownership.

## 115 = En03 [74]

- <sup>1</sup> *ru-\**83-o *ko-to-na-ki-ti-me-(na)* *to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 1 T [5]  
<sup>2</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* *o-na-te-re* *ru-\**83-o *ko-to-na e-ko-si*  
<sup>3</sup> *pe-ki-ta ka-na-pe-u wa-na-ka-te-ro* [o]-*na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT T 1  
<sup>4</sup> *mi-ra te-o-jo do-e-ra* {*o-na-to*} *e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT T 1  
<sup>5</sup> *te-se-u te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT T 4  
<sup>6</sup> *ma-re-ku-na te-o-jo do-e-ro (!)* o-[*na-to e-ke to-so-de pe*]-*mo* WHEAT T 1  
<sup>7</sup> *e-ko-to te-[o]-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 4 3  
<sup>8</sup> *ma-zu?* *te-[o-jo do-e]-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 4 [3]  
<sup>9</sup> *e-\**65-to *te-o-jo do-e-[ro] o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 4 1  
 vacat  
<sup>11</sup> *ai-ti-jo-go ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 1 T 5 4 4  
<sup>12</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* *o-na-te-re e-ko-si ai-ti-jo-go ko-to-na*  
<sup>13</sup> *e-pa-sa-na-ti te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT T 2  
<sup>14</sup> *ku-\**63-so [*te*]-*o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT T 1  
<sup>15</sup> *ta-ra<sub>2</sub>-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT T 1  
<sup>16</sup> *we-te-re-u i-e-re-u o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT T 5  
<sup>17</sup> *e-ko-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT T 1  
<sup>18</sup> *ko-ri-si-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT T 5  
 vacat  
<sup>20</sup> *pi-ke-re-wo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 2 T 6  
<sup>21</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* *o-na-te-re e-ke-si* (sic) *pi-ke-re-wo ko-to-na*  
<sup>22</sup> *ai-wa-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT T 1  
<sup>23</sup> *pe-ki-ta ka-na-pe-u wa-na-ka-te-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo*  
 WHEAT T 2  
<sup>24</sup> *ko-ri-si-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT T 5

§ 3 The private plot of R., so much seed: 180 l. wheat.

Now this is how the *tenants* hold plots belonging to R.:

P., the king's fuller, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 12 l. wheat,

? Smila, servant (f.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 12 l. wheat,

Theseus, servant (m.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 48 l. wheat,  
 etc.



§ 4 The *private* plot of Aithioq<sup>us</sup>, so much seed: 188 l. wheat.

Now this is how the *tenants* hold plots belonging to Aithioq<sup>us</sup>:

E., servant (f.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 24 l. wheat,  
etc.

§ 5 The *private* plot of Pikreus, so much seed: 312 l. wheat.

Now this is how the *tenants* hold plots belonging to Pikreus:

Aiwaia, servant (f.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 12 l. wheat,

P., the king's fuller, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 24 l. wheat,

Korinsia, servant (f.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 60 l. wheat.

ru-\*83-o (gen.), ru-\*83-e (dat.), evidently shows a consonant declension parallel to a-ta-no-ro/a-ta-no-re, etc.; but the ending of the dative prevents a comparison with names in -ēs on the model of -me-de-o/-me-de-i. If the rare sign \*83 conceals the alternative spelling of some such name as ru-kew-o/ru-kew-e, then the implied syllable-division is quite unprecedented.

ta-ra<sub>2</sub>-to (line 15) appears in 'Version B' as ta-ra-to on 121 = Eo04, where in addition e-pa-sa-na-ti<sup>†</sup> is deliberately spelt i-pa-sa-na-ti, and i-e-re-u reappears as i-je-re-u. Such variations might perhaps suggest oral dictation rather than visual copying: in either case the scribe has allowed himself some freedom in modifying the precise wording of the repetitive formulae. Like Hektor, Korinsia, Pe-ki-ta and We-te-re-u, the man Ta-ra<sub>2</sub>-to is recorded as holding leases of kteinai belonging to more than one *telestas*.

# 116 = En659

<sup>1</sup> qe-re-qo-tu-o ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 2 T 3

<sup>2</sup> o-da-a<sub>2</sub> o-na-te-re e-ko-si qe-re-qo-ta-o ko-to-na

<sup>3</sup> ra-su-ro te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 1

<sup>4</sup> we-te-re-u i-e-re-u o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 1

<sup>5</sup> tu-ri-ja-ti te-o-jo do-e-ra p̄q-r̄q pe-re-qo-ta (sic) pe-qo-ta to-so pe-mo  
WHEAT T 9

<sup>6</sup> ta-ra<sub>2</sub>-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-[na]-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 4 3  
vacat

<sup>8</sup> a-da-ma-o-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-[na] to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 1 T 8

<sup>9</sup> o-da-a<sub>2</sub> o-na-te-re e-ko-si a-da-ma-o-jo ko-to-na

<sup>10</sup> ta-ra<sub>2</sub>-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de [pe-mo] WHEAT T 2 4 4  
vacat

<sup>12</sup> q-i-qe-wo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT [1] T 2

<sup>13</sup> o-da-a<sub>2</sub> ta-ra<sub>2</sub>-[to te]-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 1 4 3  
vacat

<sup>15</sup> ra-ku-ro-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-[me-na to]-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 1 T 1 4 3

<sup>16</sup> o-da-a<sub>2</sub> i-ra-ta te-o-jo do-e-[ro? o]-na-to e-ke to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 4 3  
vacat



- <sup>18</sup> *a-ka-ta-[jō]-jō ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 3 T 2*  
<sup>19</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub> ka-ra-[pa<sub>2</sub>?-so te]-o-jō [do-e]-ro o-na-to e-ke WHEAT T 2*

§ 6 The *private* (plot) of ?Q<sup>n</sup>ēleg<sup>n</sup>hontās, so much seed: 276 l. wheat.

Now this is how the *tenants* hold plots belonging to Q.:

R., servant (m.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 12 l. wheat,

W. the priest holds a *lease*, so much seed: 12 l. wheat,

Thuriatis, servant (f.) of the god, from P. (!) the *old man*, so much seed:  
108 l. wheat,

T., servant (m.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 6 l. wheat.

§ 7 The *private* plot of Admaos, so much seed: 216 l. wheat.

Now this is how the *tenants* hold plots belonging to Admaos:

T., servant (m.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 32 l. wheat.

§ 8 The *private* plot of A~cus, so much seed: 144 l. wheat.

Now this is how T., servant (m.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed:  
18 l. wheat.

§ 9 The *private* plot of R., so much seed: 138 l. wheat.

Now this is how I., servant of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed: 6 l. wheat.

§ 10 The *private* plot of Aktaios, so much seed: 384 l. wheat.

Now this is how K., servant (m.) of the god, holds a *lease*, so much seed:  
24 l. wheat.

*qe-re-qo-ta-o*: perhaps the equivalent of a classical \*Τηλε-φόντης, cf. Τήλεφος. It is remarkable that the other occurrences of this individual's name, including that on line 5 of the same tablet, are spelt with initial *pe*-. Bennett regards this as betraying a less archaic pronunciation of the labio-velar; if so, it shows, surprisingly, the Aeolic development rather than the Arcadian. On Eb22 and on 148 = Ep04.10 *pe-re-qo-ta* is qualified as *pa-da-je-u*/*pa-de-we-u* (an ethnic?), and in 'Version B' (123 = Eo06) the dative *pa-da-je-we* replaces his name entirely. The possibility cannot be excluded that the additional word *pe-qo-ta* (connected with πρεσβύτης?) of 116 = En659.5 and of 123 = Eo06.4, 6 serves to distinguish one Telephontes from another, thus explaining the absence of a fourteenth paragraph. But though *qe-re-qo-ta-o* in line 1 might conceivably be genitive *plural*, it could hardly be dual. A further difficulty is presented by the fact that 'Version B' of § 6 shows an extra 'tenant' in line 6.

Line 10: *o-na-te-re* is used in the plural even though only one entry follows. This anomaly is corrected in the remaining three paragraphs by a telescoped version of the formula, of which only *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* (*hōda ar* 'thus in turn?') remains.

117 = En01 [467]

<sup>1</sup> *ti-pa<sub>2</sub>-jō-jō ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 8 T 3*  
vacat



<sup>3</sup> *po-te-wo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-(na) to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 2 T 4  
vacat

<sup>2</sup> *pi-ri-ta-wo-no ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na ke-ra-me-wo to-so-de pe-mo* WHEAT 1 T 1

§ 11 The *private* plot of Thisbaïos (the shepherd): 996 l. wheat,

§ 12 the *private* plot of Ponteus: 288 l. wheat,

§ 13 the *private* plot of Brithawon the (royal) potter, so much seed: 132 l. wheat.

Although these last three entries show *ktoinai* no smaller than the rest, they are distinguished by having no subsidiary 'tenants', and also by considerable variations of wording in 'Version B'.

### VERSION B

Its main differences from 'Version A' are the omission of the *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* formula introducing the 'tenants'; its replacement by the phrase '*pa-ro* X (dat.)' in each entry; the elimination of *to-so-de pe-mo*; and the expansion on *e-ke* to *e-ke-qe*. This last peculiarity, which apparently adds nothing to the meaning, has been discussed by Carratelli (1954*a*, pp. 223-4), who suggests that it is a 'fossilized' first half of an original 'both...and' formula with two verbs: note, however, that *e-ke-qe e-u-ke-to-qe* on 140 = Eb35 is probably not an example of 'both...and', since its 'Version A' on 135 = Ep704.5 agrees with the other entries in reverting to *e-ke e-u-ke-to-qe*. This *-qe* used by the scribe of 'Version B' should probably be explained either as another example of the puzzling early use of *te* to mean something other than strictly 'and' (Schwyzer, *Gram.* II, pp. 574-6), or as an indication that he regarded the naming of the 'tenant' as a separate proposition, i.e. '(Here is) X., and he holds a lease', or the like.

118 = Eo01 [211]

<sup>1</sup> *wa-na-ta-jo-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na* WHEAT 2 [4 1]

<sup>2</sup> *a-tu-ko e-te-do-mo e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro wa-na-ta-[jo]* WHEAT 4 1

<sup>3</sup> *i-ni-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro wa-na-ta-[jo]* WHEAT  
[T 2 4 4]

<sup>4</sup> *e-\*65-to te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro wa-(na)-ta-[jo]*  
WHEAT [T 2]

<sup>5</sup> *si-ma te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro wa-na-ta-jo* WHEAT T 1

§ 1 The *private* plot of ?Warnataios: 242 l. wheat.

?Atukhos the *artificer*, and he holds a lease from W.: 2 l. wheat,  
etc.



119 = Eo02 [224]

<sup>1</sup> a-ma-ru-ta-o ko-to-na-ki-ti-me-na WHEAT 2 T [3]<sup>2</sup> so-u-ro te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-[na]-lō-pa-rō [a-ma-ru-ta] 'pa-ra-ko'  
WHEAT 4 3<sup>3</sup> e-do-mo-ne-u te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-[na-to] pa-ro [a-ma-ru-ta] 'pa-ra-ko'  
WHEAT T 1<sup>4</sup> e-sa-ro te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-[na-to] pa-ro a-ma-ru-ta WHEAT 4 3<sup>5</sup> wa-na-ta-jo te-re-ta e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro a-ma-ru-ta WHEAT T 1<sup>6</sup> e-ra-ta-ra i-je-re-ja do-e-ra pa-ki-ja-na e-ke-qe pa-ro a-ma-ru-ta WHEAT T 1<sup>7</sup> po-so-re-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro [a-ma-ru-ta] 'ta-ta-ro'  
WHEAT T 1 4 3<sup>8</sup> i-je-re-ja pa-ki-ja-na e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro a-ma-ru-ta WHEAT T 3

§ 2 The private plot of Amaruntas: 276 l. wheat.

S., servant of the god, and he holds a lease from Phalaikos (*Amaruntas erased*):

6 l. wheat,

etc.

Lines 2, 3 and 7: the action of the scribe in erasing 'Amaruntas' and recording that the 'leases' are in fact held from Phalaikos and Tantalos is not taken into account in 'Version A'. Are these two men, who appear separately on 131 = Ep01 as *ktoinookhai*, relatives of Amaruntas? Or are they holders of some kind of intermediate lease, *So-u-ro* and the others being sub-tenants?

120 = Eo03 [276]

<sup>1</sup> [ru-\*83-o] te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro ki-ti-me-[na ko]-to-na WHEAT 1 T 5<sup>2</sup> [pe]-ki-ta ka-na-pe-u wa-na-ka-te-ro e-ke-qe [o]-na-to <pa-ro> ru-\*83-e  
WHEAT T 1<sup>3</sup> mi-ra te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ru-\*83-e WHEAT T 1<sup>4</sup> te-se-u te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ru-\*83-e WHEAT T 4<sup>5</sup> na-re-ku-na te-o-jo do-e-ra (!) e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ru-\*83-e WHEAT T 1<sup>6</sup> e-ko-to te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ru-\*83-e WHEAT 4 3<sup>7</sup> ma-zu? te-o-<jo> do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ru-\*83-e WHEAT 4 3<sup>8</sup> e-\*65-to te-o-jo do-e-ro-e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ru-\*83-e WHEAT 4 1

§ 3 The private plot of R. the beetroot-gatherer: 180 l. wheat.

P., the king's fuller, and he holds a lease (from) R.: 12 l. wheat,

etc.

Line 1. The occupation *te-u-ta-ra-ko-ro* (*teut-agoros*?) recurs on PY An09. If it agrees with R. here, we must assume that the genitival <-jo> has been omitted in error. Or should we read 'the private plot of the beetroot-gatherers (vested in) R.'?



## 121 = Eo04 [247]

<sup>1</sup> *ai-ti-jo-qo ki-ti-me-na ko-to-na | to-so-de-pe-mo* WHEAT [1 T 5 4 4]

<sup>2</sup> *e-ko-to te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ai-ti-jo-qe ka-to-no-o-ko*  
WHEAT T [1]

<sup>3</sup> *ko-ri-si-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to ki-ti-me-na ko-to-na*  
[*ai-ti-jo-qo*] '*ai-ti-jo-qe*' WHEAT T 5

<sup>4</sup> [*e-pa-sa-na-ti*] '*i-pa-sa-na-ti*' *te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro*  
*ai-ti-jo-qe* WHEAT T 2

<sup>5</sup> *ku-\*63-so te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ai-ti-jo-qe* WHEAT T 1

<sup>6</sup> *ta-ra-to te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ai-ti-jo-qe* WHEAT T 1

<sup>7</sup> *we-te-re-u i-je-re-u e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ai-ti-jo-qe* WHEAT T 5

§ 4 The *private* plot of Aithioq<sup>us</sup>, so much seed: 188 l. wheat.

Hektor, servant (m.) of the god, *and* he holds a *lease* from Aithioq<sup>us</sup> the plot-owner: 12 l. wheat,

Korinsia, servant (f.) of the god, *and* she holds a *lease* of a *private* plot belonging to Aithioq<sup>us</sup>: 60 l. wheat,

I., servant (f.) of the god, *and* she holds a *lease* from Aithioq<sup>us</sup>: 24 l. wheat, etc.

*Line 2*: note the addition of *ktoinookhōi* to describe the actual owner of the plot.

*Line 3*: the variant formula introduced here by the scribe does not seem to indicate any distinction in sense; and it does not appear in 'Version A' (115 = En03.18); but note that the list of 'tenants' there begins with *E-pa-sa-na-ti*, which in 'Version B' is the first entry to have the completely normal formula. The scribe's original *Ai-ti-jo-qe* (gen.) in line 3 is of course correct; it appears to have been altered to *-qe* under the influence of the *Ai-ti-jo-qe* which occurs (correctly) in all the other entries.

## 122 = Eo05 [160]

<sup>1</sup> *pi-ke-re-wo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na | to-so-de pe-mo* [WHEAT] 2 T 6

<sup>2</sup> *ai-wa-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro pi-ke-re-we* WHEAT T 1

<sup>3</sup> *pe-ki-ta ka-na-pe-u wa-na-ka-te-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro 'pi-ke-re-we'*  
WHEAT T 2

<sup>4</sup> [*ko-ri-si*]-*ja te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro pi-ke-re-we* WHEAT T 5

§ 5 The *private* plot of Pikreus, so much seed: 312 l. wheat.

Aiwaia, servant (f.) of the god, *and* she holds a *lease* from Pikreus: 12 l. wheat, etc.

## 123 = Eo06 [444]

<sup>1</sup> [*? qe-re-go-ta-o ko*]-*to-na ki-ti-me-na* WHEAT 4

<sup>2</sup> [*ra-su-ro te-o-jo do-e*]-*ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro pa-da-je-we* [WHEAT T 1]



- <sup>3</sup> [we-te-re-u i-je]-re-u e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro pa-da-je-we WHEAT [T 1]  
<sup>4</sup> [tu-ri-ja-ti te-o-jo do-e-ra] e-ke-qe pa-ro pa-da-je-we pe-qo-ta WHEAT [nn]  
<sup>5</sup> [ta-ra<sub>2</sub>-to te-o-jo do-e]-ro e-ke-qe pa-ro pa-da-je-we WHEAT [4 3]  
<sup>6</sup> [ ? ] e-ke-qe pa-[ro pa]-da-je-we pe-qo-ta WHEAT T [nn]

§ 6 The private plot of Q.: 480 l. wheat,  
 etc.

124 = Eo351 (formerly Ec02)

- <sup>1</sup> a-da-ma-(o)-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-[me-na WHEAT 1 T 8]  
<sup>2</sup> ta-ra<sub>2</sub>-to te-o-jo do-e-[ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro a-da-ma-o WHEAT T 2 4 4]

§ 7 The private plot of Admaos: 216 l. wheat.

T., servant (m.) of the god, and he holds a lease from Admaos: 32 l. wheat.

125 = Eo471 (including former Ec03)

- <sup>1</sup> a-i-qe-wo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na WHEAT 1 T 2  
<sup>2</sup> ta-ra<sub>2</sub>-to te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro a-i-qe-we WHEAT T 1 4 3

§ 8 The private plot of A.: 144 l. wheat.

T., servant (m.) of the god, and he holds a lease from A.: 18 l. wheat.

126 = Eo281 (formerly Ec04)

- <sup>1</sup> [ra-ku-ro-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na] WHEAT 1 T 1 4 3  
<sup>2</sup> [i-ra-ta te-o-jo do-e-ro? e]-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro ra-ku-ro WHEAT 4 3

§ 9 The private plot of R.: 138 l. wheat,

I., the servant of the god, and he (?) holds a lease from R.: 6 l. wheat.

127 = Eo269 (formerly Eb26)

- a-ka-ta-jo-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na WHEAT 3 T 2  
 ka-na-pe-wo | to-so-de pe-mo

EDGE: ka-ra-pa<sub>3</sub>-so te-o-jo do-e-ro e-ke-qe o-na-to pa-ro a-ka-ta-jo  
 to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 2

§ 10 The private plot of Aktaios the fuller, so much seed: 384 l. wheat.

K., servant (m.) of the god, and he holds a lease from Aktaios, so much seed:  
 24 l. wheat.

128 = Eo278 (formerly Eb01)

- ti-pa<sub>2</sub>-jo po-me e-ke-qe wo-wo ko-to-no WHEAT [8 T 3 ?]

§ 11 Thisbaios the shepherd, and he holds the confines of two (?) plots: 996? l. wheat.

ko-to-no (scarcely χθονός) can apparently only be explained as a dual (ktoinoi?), in the declension of which Mycenaean feminines do not show -a- (p. 84). The phrase



recurs on 141 = Eb20 as *ke-ke-me-no ko-to-[no?] wo-wo*, which is replaced on 135 = Ep704 simply by *ke-ke-me-no*. *Wo-wo* seems to represent *wortwon(s)*, either the Homeric οὔρον 'land-measure' or ὄρος 'boundary, boundary-stone'.

129 = Eo268 (formerly Ea20)

*po-te-wo / ko-to-na* WHEAT 2 T 4

§ 12 The plot of Ponteus: 288 l. wheat.

130 = Eo371 (formerly Ea24)

[*pi-ri*]-*ta-wo-(no)* *ke-ra-me-wo wa-na-ka-te-ro-(jo)* WHEAT [1 T 1]  
*ko-to-na-ki-ti-me-na*

§ 13 The *private* plot of Brithawon the king's potter: 132 l. wheat.

The lack of concordance in the description of the potter seems to be due to a confusion between the two varieties of this formula, either *Brithāwōn ekhei...* or *Brithāwonos ktoina...*

### 3. THE SECOND PYLOS SET

'Version A' of this set is contained on a single tablet, 131 = Ep01. This is apparently a résumé of the 'communal plots' which are rented (presumably at *Pa-ki-ja-*, too) by the same important class of men who are recorded as owning 'private plots' of their own in the 'first set' of tablets. Six of the *telestai* of that set reappear in this list, together with the two names *Phalaikos* and *Tantalos* which are added over erasure on 119 = Eo02. Also listed are *A-tu-ko e-te-do-mo*, only a 'tenant' in the 'first set', and two men *Ku-so* and *Ke-ra-u-jo* whom we do not meet again.

The different wording which distinguishes the first and second sections of 131 = Ep01 reappears in the individual tablets of 'Version B' (except that *e-ke-qe* there extends throughout), but it is difficult to say whether a definite distinction of meaning is implied. 'Version B' shows that *ktoinookhos* (written in smaller letters over Ep01.2) should be inserted at the end of each entry in the first section. As in lines 8-14, it should evidently be taken to mean 'Aithioq<sup>ns</sup> holds a lease from the *dāmos*, being himself a plot-owner'; compare 148 = Ep04.11, where the present participle of the verb 'to be' is in fact added: [*Phalai*]kos..., *ktoinookhos eōn*. Carratelli rightly criticizes Furumark's analysis *ktoinookhos-paro-dāmōi*, 'one who holds his plot from the *dāmos*'.

The leases of 'communal plots' by men and women who are *not* themselves *ktoinookhoi* are catalogued on the large *Ep*-tablets in the 'fourth set' (below, p. 258).



## VERSION A

131=Ep01 [301]

- <sup>1</sup> *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na a-no-no / to-so-de pe-mo* [WHEAT 1 T 1 ?]  
<sup>2</sup> *ai-ti-jo-qo o-na-to e-ke pa-ro da-mo ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na 'ko-to-no o-ko'*  
*to-so [pe-mo] WHEAT 1 T 4 4 3*  
<sup>3</sup> *wa-na-ta-jo o-na-to e-ke pa-ro da-mo ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na to-so-de-pe-mo*  
*WHEAT T 5*  
<sup>4</sup> *a-da-ma-o o-na-to e-ke pa-ro da-mo ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na to-so-[de pe]-mo*  
*WHEAT T 4*  
<sup>5</sup> *a-tu-ko e-te-do-mo o-na-to e-ke pa-ro da-mo ke-ke-me-na ko-[to-na to-so*  
*pe-mo WHEAT nn]*  
<sup>6</sup> *ta-ta-ro o-na-to e-ke pa-ro da-mo ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na to-so-pe-mo*  
*[WHEAT T 5 ?]*

vacat

- <sup>8</sup> *pi-ke-re-u e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo* [WHEAT nn]  
<sup>9</sup> *ra-ku-ro e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo* WHEAT [nn]  
<sup>10</sup> *ku-so e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 4 [nn]  
<sup>11</sup> *ke-ra-u-jo e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-(so)-pe-mo*  
*WHEAT T 4*  
<sup>12</sup> *pa-ra-ko e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so-pe-mo* WHEAT T 7  
<sup>13</sup> *ko-tu-[ro<sub>2</sub>] e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo*  
*WHEAT T 1*

- <sup>14</sup> *a-i-qe-u e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na ko-to-no-o-ko to-so pe-mo* WHEAT T 6

§ 1 *Communal plots not leased, so much seed: 132? l. wheat.*

§ 2 *Aithioq<sup>us</sup> holds the lease of a communal plot from the village (being himself) a plot-owner: so much seed: 174 l. wheat,*

§ 3 *W. holds the lease of a communal plot from the village (being himself a plot-owner): so much seed: 60 l. wheat,*

etc.

§ 13 *A-i-qe-u, and he holds a communal plot (being himself) a plot-owner: so much seed: 72 l. wheat.*

*a-no-no*: Webster (1954, p. 13) and Carratelli independently agree with us in suggesting a compound adjective *an-onoi* 'not subject to *o-na-to*', which would explain the absence of a personal name in the first position. But who actually farms this land? Ea22 contains the puzzling annotation *ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na-(a)-no-no: Amphialos ekhei*. The new tablet Ea801 reads *Klu(me)noio melitēwas ktōina a-na-na ke-ke-me-[na?]*.



## VERSION B

As Bennett has pointed out to us, the entries of 131 = Ep01 are duplicated by the separate tablets Eb818 (§ 1), Eb08 (§ 2), Eb09 (§3), Eb747 (§ 4), Eb05 (§ 7), Eb02 (§ 8), Eb893 (§ 9), Eb04 (§ 10), Eb03 (§ 11), Eb23+892 (§ 12) and Eb895 (§ 13).

132 = Eb818 (including former Ea21)

*ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na a-no-no to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 1 T [8] '1'*

§ 1 Communal plots not leased, so much seed: 132 l. wheat.

133 = Eb08 (+846)

<sup>1</sup> *ai-ti-jo-go e-ke-qe o-na-to ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na*

<sup>2</sup> *pa-ro da-mo ko-to-no-o-ko / to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 1 T 4 4 3*

§ 2 Aithioq<sup>us</sup>, and he holds the lease of a communal plot from the village (being himself) a plot-owner: so much seed: 174 l. wheat.

134 = Eb895 + 906

<sup>1</sup> *a-i-qe-u e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na*

<sup>2</sup> *ko-to-no-o-ko to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 6*

§ 13 A., and he holds a communal plot (being himself) a plot-owner: so much seed: ? 72 l. wheat.

## 4. THE THIRD PYLOS SET

The subjects of this list, which contains several formulae unique in complexity, seem to share a religious function. Only two of the entries refer specifically to *onāta paro dāmōi*; some at least of the remainder evidently describe other, more obscure, kinds of holding.

## VERSION A

135 = Ep704

<sup>1</sup> *o-pe-to-re-u qe-ja-me-no e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na to-so pe-mo [WHEAT] 2 T 5*

<sup>2</sup> *u-wa-mi-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke-qe i-je-re-ja ke-ra to-so pe-mo*  
WHEAT T 1 4 3

<sup>3</sup> *e-ri-ta i-je-re-ja o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo*  
WHEAT T 4

<sup>4</sup> *ki-ri-te-wi-ja o-na-to e-ko-si ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo*  
WHEAT 1 T 9

<sup>5</sup> *e-ri-ta i-je-re-ja e-ke e-u-ke-to-qe e-to-mi-jo e-ke-e te-o / da-mo-de-mi pa-si*  
ko-to-na-o



<sup>6</sup> *ke-ke-me-na-o o-na-to e-ke-e to-so pe-mo WHEAT 3 T 9*

<sup>7</sup> *ka-pa-ti-ja ka-ra-wi-po-ro e-ke ke-ke-me-no o-pe-ro-sa du-wo-u-pi wo-ze-e  
o-u-wo-ze [to]*

<sup>8</sup> *to-[so pe-mo WHEAT nn]*

§ 1 *O.Q.* holds a *communal* plot, so much seed: 300 l. wheat,

§ 2 Huamia, servant (f.) of the god, and she holds as a *lease* a *geras* of the priestess; so much seed: 18 l. wheat,

§ 3 Eritha the priestess holds the *lease* of a *communal* plot from the village; so much seed: 48 l. wheat,

§ 4 The *k.*-women hold the *lease* of a *communal* plot from the village, so much seed: 228 l. wheat,

§ 5 Eritha the priestess holds (this), and she claims that (her) god holds the *freehold*; but the village says that he/she (merely?) holds the *lease* of *communal* plots: so much seed: 468 l. wheat,

§ 6 Karpathia the key-bearer (f.) holds two (?) *communal* (plots); although under an obligation to *perform* with the two, she does not *perform*: so much seed: x l. wheat.

*o-pe-to-re-u qe-ja-me-no*: the vocalization of these words is uncertain. Are they both proper names, or is one a title? In 'Version B' the first is spelt *o-pe-te-re-u* (cf. ὀφελτρεῦω 'sweep?'); similarly on Ea805: *o-pe-te-re-u e-ne-ka a-na-pa-si-ja*. The last word, which apparently describes the cause or justification of his holding, seems to be a noun parallel to classical compounds with -βασις.

Line 2: the position of *onāton* before *ekhei q'e* seems ungrammatical and does not correspond with 'Version B': it is perhaps due to confusion by the copyist with the wording *onāton ekhei* seen in the next line. If *o-na-to ke-ra* really means *onāton geras* 'a beneficial pension', one might have expected *paro hierēiāi*, 'from the priestess'.

*ki-ri-te-wi-ja*: the function of these women is uncertain (see 28 = An42, p. 167).

Lines 5-6: the 'communal plots' here are evidently quite distinct from the small 'lease from the village' attributed to the same priestess in line 3. She is presumably the same priestess of *Pa-ki-ja* who also holds a 'lease' from Amaruntas in 119 = Eo02.8. As the congruent *ekhei* 'has' and *phāsī* = φησι show, *eukhetoi* is in the present tense, with 'Arcadian' -τοι for Attic -ται (see p. 87): it does not mean 'prays' or 'boasts' but 'solemnly or insistently declares', which is nearest to its original sense. The construction with infinitive is only used in Homer of the subject of the verb: εὐχόμεν εἶναι 'I claim to be...'; should one translate here 'and she claims to hold the *e-to-ni-jo* for her god'?

The meaning of *e-to-ni-jo* is uncertain. It recurs only on 146 = Eb34 (cf. Ep03.14), of 'communal plots' held by *Amphimedes*; and on 55 = An724.12 (see p. 188). It



seems to describe a privileged title to originally 'communal' land, quite distinct from the status of 'ownership' implied by the term *ktimenai*. See Vocabulary, p. 394, and cf. Carratelli, 1954a, p. 106.

The construction of the second half of the sentence, and the explanation of the divergent wording in 'Version B', are problematical. In *da-mo-de-mi* the third syllable must be the enclitic *-de* which articulates the second clause in 'Version B': the proposed *dāmos de min* follows the normal word-order, cf. *Od.* iv, 116, νόησε δέ μιν Μενέλαος, etc. Compare *e-ke-de-mi a<sub>4</sub>-ku-mi-jo* on Na70: ἔχει δέ μιν 'A ~ μιος, where *min* would appear to mean 'it' rather than 'him/her' (the most frequent Homeric use). μιν is the anaphoric pronoun referring back to a person just mentioned: it is not reflexive except in subordinate clauses with a new grammatical subject, e.g. *Il.* v, 845: 'Αθήνη δὴν 'Αἰδος κινέην, μὴ μιν ἴδοι ὄβριμος 'Αρης. This sentence cannot therefore mean 'but she says that *she herself* has . . .', which one might deduce from the apparent wording of 'Version B' alone. Another alternative might be 'but she says that the *dāmos* has . . .'; but this leaves *min* without a reasonable explanation, and it would be most unexpected if the priestess, whose name introduces the whole sentence, should at the end turn out not to be herself the party interested in the amount of seed corn listed. The same objection can be levelled at Carratelli and Webster when they translate the *ko-to-no-o-ko* of 'Version B' as 'but (she declares) that the plot-owners have . . .'. That the *dāmos* should be so personified that it can be recorded as 'saying' something is not unreasonable, even for this date: in the *onāton paro damōi* formula it occupies the same position as human beings do in *onāton paro Aithioq<sup>e</sup>i*, etc.

*klāwiphoros*: as suggested by the order *hierēia klāwiphoros q<sup>e</sup>* on 142 = Eb32, and by the parallel *hierēiās doelos/Karpathiās doelos* on Ep03.8-9 (and cf. 27 = Ae08/Ae09), this female title is that of a religious office ('temple superintendent?'). Compare Attic κλειδοῦχος 'priestess'; κλειδοφόρος; Doric κλακοφόρος, title of a priest at Messene (IG 5(I).1447). In 'Version B' the word [ . . . ]-ja-pi (probably *Pa-ki-ja-pi* as on 257 = Jn09.7) is added: compare *hierēia Pa-ki-ja-na* on 119 = Eo02.8.

*ophēlonsa duouphi worzeen ou worzei*: though mis-spelt *wo-zo-e*, the first verb was recognized as an infinitive in 'Version B' by Carratelli (1954a, p. 110), before the publication of Ep704. Formally identical with Homeric ῥέζω 'act, accomplish (a deed), perform (a sacrifice)' and with its doublet ἔρδω (\**féryjw* > \**fépzδw*) of the same meanings, its significance in this context is uncertain. Variant forms of the same formula are repeated on 148 = Ep04 (see p. 261) and on three fragmentary tablets:

Ep04.6, 7, 9, 13: . . . ekhei *q<sup>e</sup>* worzei *q<sup>e</sup>*.

. . . he both holds the land and 'performs'.

Ep04.4: . . . ] duouphi teleiaen, ouq<sup>e</sup> worzei.

. . . (under an obligation) to 'perform' with two, but he does not 'perform'.

Eb39 + 940: . . . o]phēlōn *q<sup>e</sup>* teleiaen, ouq<sup>e</sup> teleiā.

. . . and under an obligation to 'perform', but he does not 'perform'.

Eb40: . . . te]leiaen, hemei de teleiā.

. . . (under an obligation to 'perform' with two), but he 'performs' with one.



Eb37: . . .] *duouphi de* [ . . .

. . . but (he 'performs') with two.

Carratelli (1954a, p. 110) supports the interpretation *worzei* = 'cultivates, ploughs', a meaning which is not shown by the classical  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega/\acute{\epsilon}\rho\delta\omega$ , but which might perhaps be inferred from γεωργός, Homeric ἔργα 'cultivated lands', and from ἐργάζομαι in Hesiod. The expressions 'with one', 'with two' might then refer to the multiple ploughing stipulated when fallow land was brought back into cultivation (Thomson, 1949, p. 309); and these entries might be taken as implying possible penalties for the non-cultivation of land, similar to those mentioned in the Hittite Code (above, p. 233) and in §§ 42-3 of Hammurabi's code (Pritchard, 1950):

'If a seignior rented a field for cultivation, but has not produced grain in the field, they shall prove that he did not work on the field and he shall give grain to the owner of the field on the basis of those adjoining it. If he did not cultivate the field, but has neglected it, he shall give grain to the owner of the field on the basis of those adjoining it; furthermore, the field which he neglected he shall break up with mattocks, harrow and return to the owner of the field.'

It is very remarkable, however, that the fact of '?cultivating' or 'not ?cultivating' should only be recorded for a minute fraction of the total number of tenants. If the *pe-mo* is regarded as a tax, then this might be payable whether the land was cultivated or not, as in the Hammurabi clause; but if it is actually seed grain issued, then its provision for uncultivated land seems senseless. Carratelli has himself pointed out that the *worzei* formula is almost entirely confined to entries concerning the type of holding called *ka-ma*. The present participle *worzōn/worzontes* is also restricted to a corresponding class of men called *ka-ma-e-we* (and once to a *ma-ra-pa*, *moroppās* '?portion-owner' on 57 = An43). From the variations in the formula, particularly Ep04.4, it appears that *worzei* is synonymous with *te-re-ja* (3rd sing. present from \*τελείωμι = Homeric τελείω 'pay'?); and it is more probable that these verbs refer to some kind of feudal dues or services which a holding of *ka-ma* land entails.

Compare the following two entries on Ep03, which diverge from the *onaton paro damōi* formula general on the remainder of the tablet, and which may be intended to be synonymous:

Line 5: *Psoleia thevio doelā onāton ekhei [paro X.] kamaēwei worzontei*:

'She holds a lease from the *kama*-owner, who renders the services.'

Line 7: *Meleus hierēiās doelos onāton ekhei paro [Pto]lematōi kamaēwei, ouq'e worzei*:

'He holds a lease from the *kama*-owner, and does not himself render the services.'

It is significant that on all other entries except Ep03.7 which refer to 'not performing' we have an explanatory clause with *ophēlōn/ophēlōnsa* 'although being under an obligation to do so'.

This stipulation may reflect a similar situation to that in § 47 of the Hittite Code (later recension):

'If any one buys all the fields of a "craftsman", they shall ask the king, and he shall render those services which the king orders. If there still remain fields in the hands of the man from whom he buys, he shall not render the services.'



The precise meaning of the instrumentals *duoup̄hi* 'with two' and *e-me* 'with one' (cf. 236 = Ta641.1) is hard to determine. It is possible that *ke-ke-me-no* here implies a pair of *ktainai* (cf. 128 = Eo278), and one might argue that the 'key-bearer' is consequently called upon to render services 'in respect of the two of them'. The other examples of the same formula, however, are all fragmentary, and it is impossible to check whether they also refer to multiple holdings.

## VERSION B

136 = Eb31 [294]

<sup>1</sup> *o-pe-te-re-u qe-ja-me-no e-ke-qe ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na*

<sup>2</sup> *to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 2 T 5*

§ 1 *O.Q.*, and he holds a communal plot, so much seed: 300 l. wheat.

137 = Eb30 [416]

<sup>1</sup> *u-wa-mi-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra e-[ke]-qe i-je-[re-ja] ke-ra o-[na-to]*

<sup>2</sup> *to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT T 2 4 3*

§ 2 Huamia, servant (f.) of the god, and she holds of the priestess a *geras-lease* (a beneficial pension?), so much seed: 30? l. wheat.

138 = Eb10 [409]

<sup>1</sup> *i-je-re-ja pa-ki-ja-na e-ke-[qe o-na-to ke-ke-me-na]*

<sup>2</sup> *ko-to-na pa-ro-da-mo [to-so pe-mo WHEAT T 4 ?]*

§ 3 The priestess of *Pa-ki-ja-n* holds the lease of a communal plot from the village, so much seed: ? 48 l. wheat.

139 = Eb21 (+ Eb14) [321]

<sup>1</sup> *[ki-ri-wi-] 'ki-ri-te-wi-ja' e-ko-si [o-na-ta ke-ke]-me-na-o*

<sup>2</sup> *ko-[to-na-o pa-ro da-mo to-so]-de pe-mo WHEAT 1 T 9*

§ 4 The *k*-women hold the leases of communal plots from the village, so much seed: 228 l. wheat.

Note that the 'leases' and plots are here in the plural, compared with singular in 'Version A'. The fragment printed together with Eb21 in *PT I* has been found not to belong with it.

140 = Eb35 [297] (see plate III (a), facing p. 111)

<sup>1</sup> *i-je-re-ja e-ke-qe e-u-ke-to-qe e-to-ni-jo e-ke-e te-o*

<sup>2</sup> *ko-to-no-o-ko-de ko-to-na-o ke-ke-me-na-o o-na-ta e-ke-e*

<sup>3</sup> *WHEAT 3 T 9 4 3*

§ 5 The priestess, and she holds (this), and she claims the (her) god holds the freehold, but the actual plot-owner (claims) that he/she holds the leases of communal plots: 474 l. wheat.



The divergences from 'Version A' are as follows: the omission of 'Eritha'; the enclitic in *ekhei q<sup>u</sup>e*; the substitution of *ktoinookhos de* for *dāmos de min phāsi*; the omission of *to-so pe-mo*; and the additional 43 in the total. Our translation assumes that the 'village' is here referred to as the recognized or reputed *ktoinookhos* of the site; but an alternative might be '... but she claims that *she* holds the leases, being herself a plot-owner' (cf. 131 = Ep01.2). A similar analysis is made by Chantraine (1955, p. 25).

141 = Eb20 [338]

<sup>1</sup> *ka-pa-ti-ja ka-ra-wi-po-[ro pa-ki]-ja-pi e-ke-qe | to-so-de pe-mo*

<sup>2</sup> *ke-ke-me-no ko-to-[no] wo-wo o-pe-ro-ss-qe-de wo-zo-e o-wo-ze WHEAT [nn]*

§ 6 Karpathia, the key-bearer (f.) at *Pa-ki-ja<sup>p</sup>*, and she holds the confines of two (?) communal plots; but though under an obligation to perform, she does not perform: so much seed: x l. wheat.

The words *to-so-de pe-mo* have evidently been fitted into the end of line 1 due to lack of space. The wording shows a number of divergences from that of 'Version A'. The last two words, which at first resisted reasonable explanation (cf. *Evidence*, p. 101), are now shown to be mis-spellings, *wo-zo-e* standing for *wo-ze-e* = *worzeen*, and *o-wo-ze* for the more correct *o-u-wo-ze*.

As a pendant to the 'third set' may be added a further tablet devoted to the priestess and her acolytes:

142 = Eb32 [317]

<sup>1</sup> [*o*]-*qa-a<sub>2</sub>* *i-je-re-ja ka-ra-wi-po-ro-qe e-qe-ta-qe*

<sup>2</sup> *we-te-re-u-qe o-na-ta to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 21 T 6*

Now this is how the priestess and the key-bearer and the attendants and ?Westreus (hold) leases: so much seed: 2592 l. wheat.

The formula *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* (= ὥδε ἄρα?) suggests that this tablet is itself one of a set. The only other *E*-tablets which begin in the same way are 151 = Eb36, which similarly recapitulates the 'leases' held by the category of *ktoinetai*, and the fragmentary tablet Eb847 + 849 (see next note); but 149 = Eb33, which does the same for the class of *kamañwes*, may well belong to the same series. Does this tablet Eb32, with its very large total, represent a meticulous digest and addition of all the individual holdings in these four names which are scattered throughout the rest of the year's census? If so, its surviving records must be very incomplete, since a total of only about nine units can be extracted from them for the priestess and the others.

*e-qe-ta* = *heq<sup>u</sup>etās*, lit. 'follower'. Palmer (1955, p. 21) suggests translating it on 57 = An43, etc., where it apparently represents a military rank, by the word 'count' (*comes* = ἐταίρος). It might be plural here, to judge from the entry on Eb847: *o-da-a<sub>2</sub> e-qe-[ta? . . . e]-ko-si o-na-ta*, etc. If the word *e-qe-ta-qe* is taken as singular (which the



parallelism of the three other entries rather favours) it may be necessary to restore Eb847 as *heq<sup>u</sup>e[tāo doeloi]* 'the servants of the count', or the like. (Since writing this, the addition of a 1954 fragment has shown that Eb847 is in fact to be read *o-da-a<sub>2</sub> e-qe-si-jo do-e-ro e-ko-si o-na-ta*, etc.)

*we-te-re-u*: we already know him as a *hierous* on 115 = En03.16, etc.

### 5. THE FOURTH PYLOS SET

After the second and third sets, which record the 'leases' which the land-owners and the priestess hold from the village, the fourth set catalogues (with a few exceptions) those held by the inferior class of craftsmen and *theoio doeloi*, whom we have already met as tenants of *ktoinai ktimenai* in the first set. 'Version A' is represented by the four very large tablets Ep02, Ep03, Ep04 and Ep715, of which only the last two are reproduced here. 'Version B' is broken down into individual entries on a number of small tablets, of which only a fraction survive. The name Hektor occurs twice as the holder of a 'lease from the village': are these two different individuals?

#### 143 = Ep705

- <sup>1</sup> *mā-ra<sub>3</sub>-wa te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-[ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT] T 2*
- <sup>2</sup> *ka-ta-no te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke [ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so pe]-mo WHEAT T 2*
- <sup>3</sup> *du-ni-jo te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-[ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so] pe-mo WHEAT T 1*
- <sup>4</sup> *e-sa-ro te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to [e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro] da-mo to-so-pe-mo WHEAT 4 2*
- <sup>5</sup> *ka-ra-u-du-ro te-u-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke [ke-ke-me-na ko]-to-na pa-ro da-mo to-so-pe-mo WHEAT T 2*
- <sup>6</sup> *to-ro-ja te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-[na] ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo] to-so pe-mo WHEAT T 1*
- <sup>7</sup> *o-re-a<sub>2</sub> te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na [ko-to]-na pa-ro da-mo to-so-pe-mo WHEAT 4 2*
- <sup>8</sup> *e-ko-to te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na [ko-to-na] 'pa-ro da'-mo to-so pe-mo WHEAT T 2*
- <sup>9</sup> *pu-ko-wo te-o-jo do-e-ro o-na-to e-ke ke-ke-me-na [ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo] to-so-pe-mo WHEAT T 2*
- <sup>10</sup> *ta-ra-mi-ka te-o-jo do-e-ra o-na-to e-ke ke-[ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da]-mo to-so-pe-mo WHEAT T 1*



§ 1 ?Marraiwa, servant (f.) of the god, holds the *lease* of a *communal* plot from the village: so much seed: 24 l. wheat,  
etc.

The first entry of 143 = Ep705 is duplicated by Eb866 (as § 2 by Eb890, § 3 by Eb43, § 5 by Eb838, § 8 by Eb913, § 10 by Eb27):

144 = Eb866

ma-ra<sub>3</sub>-wa ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na pa-ro da-mo WHEAT [T 2]  
te-o-jo do-e-ra e-ke-qe o-na-to

The woman's name was written *Ma-ra-wa* and the second letter corrected.

145 = Ea05 [259]

o-ke-u u-me-ta-qe [?] u-po WHEAT T 2  
e-ke o-na-to pa-ro da-mo

O. holds a *lease* from the village, and ?Eumetas under him (?): 24 l. wheat.

This unique variation in the standard formula suggests some form of subtenancy. The full name *E-u-me-ta* (= Εὐμήτης) occurs on KN D1 1388. Bennett reads *a-po*.

Several entries on Ep02 diverge entirely from the *paro dāmōi* formula. The last line reads: *Amphi[mēdēs...]* ekhei e-to-ni-jo ?kekeimenās ktōinās... This reappears in 'Version B' as:

146 = Eb34 [473]

<sup>1</sup> a-pi-me-de e-ke-qe e-to-ni-jo ke-ke-me-na-o ko-to-na-o

<sup>2</sup> to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 4 T 6

Amphimedes, and he holds the *freehold* of *communal* plots, so much seed: 552 l. wheat.

As in the 'third set', § 4, 'Version B' here shows 'leases' and 'plots' in the plural.

Ep03.11-12 also refer to two men as being *Amphimēdeōs doeloi*; a person of this name is a 'sheep collector' on PY 62 = Cn655. The recurrence of *Amphimēdeōs po-ku-ta* on KN C 911.10 (cf. gen. *pe-ri-me-de-o* on 43 = Sn01) gives rise to a suspicion that *A.* may be a title rather than a personal name.

Ep03 lines 4 and 5 record two different kinds of leases which the woman Psoleia holds: first that of a 'communal' plot from the village, then one from a *kamaeus* (quoted above, p. 255). A more elaborate summary of leases held by a single individual is seen in the four entries devoted to Kretheus on the following tablet:

147 = Eq03 [59]

<sup>1</sup> [ ] WHEAT 6

<sup>2</sup> ke-re-u e-ke o-na-to ke-ke-me-(na) ko-to-na WHEAT 2 [T] 4



- <sup>3</sup> *ke-re-te-u e-ke o-na-to ke-ke-me-na ko-to-na su-qa-ta-o* WHEAT 1 T 8  
<sup>4</sup> *ke-re-te-u e-ke o-na-to pa-ro da-mo* WHEAT 3  
                   *pa-ro ra-wa-ke-si-jo* [?] WHEAT 2  
<sup>5</sup> *ke-re-te-u e-ke e-ne-ka i-qa-jo* WHEAT 5  
                   vacat  
<sup>7</sup> *du-ni-jo e-ke o-na-to pa-ro da-mo* WHEAT 1 T 6 [

REVERSE: a tallying in 5's, making up a total of 137 units of WHEAT.

Lines 3-5:

Kretheus holds the *lease* of a *communal* plot of the swineherds: 216 l. wheat,

Kretheus holds a *lease* from the village: 360 l. wheat,

he holds (one) from the commander's (temenos?): 240 l. wheat,

Kretheus holds (this) on account of the horse: 600 l. wheat.

*ke-re-u* in line 2 is probably not a mis-spelling of Kretheus, since the same name recurs on Ea827.

*Kretheus* himself is the subject of four other single-entry tablets, none of whose wordings and amounts appear to correspond with Eq03:

Ea11: *Krētheus ekhei* (ρ) *nāton* {to} ? *kekeimenās ktōinās g<sup>ou</sup>otāōn*: WHEAT T 1

Ea771: *Krētheus ekhei onāton melitēwōn ktōinās*: WHEAT T 5

110 = Ea800: *Krētheus ekhei onāton paro Molog<sup>ra</sup>i poimenei*: WHEAT T 2

Ea806: *Krētheus ekhei onāton ?kekeimenās paro dāmōi*: WHEAT 1 T 2[

*e-ne-ka i-qa-jo*: the meaning of this entry is obscure. It is dangerous to take 'Kretheus' *one* horse' as proof that it was used for riding rather than chariot-driving, since the noun may perhaps (like classical ἡ ἵππος) have been used collectively. Carratelli (1954b, p. 222) quotes with approval Furumark's suggestion that WHEAT 5 in line 5 is in fact a total of the two entries in line 4: 'Both the commune and the military authority have contributed for the horse provided by Kretheus.' But there is no clear evidence of a summation in the layout of the tablet (one would expect *to-so*), and if the grain is taken as fodder for the animal(s), this interpretation can hardly be reconciled with the normal meaning of *onāton paro dāmōi* as a land-holding. That the *heneka hiqq<sup>o</sup>io* entry should mean extra grain for Kretheus' plough animals (on the Babylonian analogy) seems impossible, in view of the light build of early horses and the limit on tractive power set by their inefficient harnessing. But compare the Homeric use of the hardier mule for ploughing, *Il.* x, 351. Kretheus' holding is probably to be compared with the acreages frequently introduced on the contemporary Wilbour Papyrus with the words 'field for horses which the stable-master So-and-so bespoke'. Gardiner (1948, II, p. 78) quotes a model letter from Papyrus Sallier 1: '30 arouras of fields were given to me to make into food for the pair of horses of Pharaoh which are in my charge, and now, behold, they have been taken from me . . .'; and he concludes: 'It would seem, then, that stable-masters of Pharaoh were entitled to lay claim to such land as they needed for grazing the horses entrusted to them, as well no doubt as for their personal support.'



A pair of lines (11-12) describe a *kama* holding by the *ktoinookhos* Phalaikos (whom we know from 119 = Eo02.2, 131 = Ep01.12), and a lease held from him by a *theoio doelā*. It is these two entries which Bennett regards as representing the missing fourteenth paragraph of the 'first set', mistakenly copied out of order. The rest of that set, however, refers exclusively to *ktoinai ktimenai*.

148 = Ep04 [617]

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- § 1 (cf. Eb40?): . . . though under an obligation to *render the services in respect of two*, he (only) renders them in respect of one; so much seed: 1212 l. wheat.
- § 2 (cf. Eb38): K. holds the *lease* of a *communal* plot as a *kama*-holder and *renders the services*; so much seed: x l. wheat.
- § 3 (cf. Eb39?): . . . though under an obligation to *render the services in respect of two*, he does not render them at all; so much seed: x l. wheat.
- § 4 (cf. Eb25): So-and-so the *cook* both holds a *kama* and *renders the services*; so much seed: 144 l. wheat.
- § 5 So-and-so the sacrificing priest holds a *lease* as a *kama*-holder and *renders the services*; so much seed: 120 l. wheat.
- § 6 (cf. Eb842): S. holds a *lease* as a *kama*-holder, and in return for this he *serves*; so much seed: 180 l. wheat.
- § 7 (cf. Eb24): E., the servant (m.) of the god, both holds the *lease* of a *kama* and *renders the services*; so much seed: 156 l. wheat.
- § 8 (cf. Eb22): P., the (priest) of P., and he holds the *lease* of a *kama*; he has obtained the portion of S. (?); so much seed: 120 l. wheat.
- § 9 (cf. Eo173): Phalaikos has the *lease* of a *kama*, being himself a plot-owner; so much seed: 120 l. wheat.  
Psoleia, servant (f.) of the god, holds a *lease* from Phalaikos; so much seed: 18 l. wheat.
- § 10 (cf. Eb839): So-and-so, the *miktās* of P., both holds as a *kama*-holder and *renders the services*; so much seed: 60 l. wheat.

§ 1 and § 3: *o-pe-ro-qe* is restored on the analogy of Eb39 (see p. 254). Compared with the logical sequence . . . *ophellōn sa worzeen, ou worzei* of 135 = Ep704.7, this wording . . . *ophellōn q'e teleiaen, ouq'e worzei* shows not only a puzzling alternation of verb but also some degree of anacoluthon—unless *ouq'e* is taken in the sense of οὐδὲ 'not even' rather than as a connective 'but not'. Compare also 43 = Sn01.3–4.

§ 2: if Bennett is right in regarding Eb38 as the corresponding 'Version B', that differs in showing the participle *worzōn* instead of the indicative *worzei q'e*. It is also significant in writing corrected *ka-ma-e-u* over a *pa-ro da-mo* in erasure, showing that, though the *ka-ma* fields are included in the wider classification of ?*kekeimenai ktōinai*, they are not collectively administered by the village. It is difficult to decide whether the variant formulae

(a) . . . *ekhei kamān* . . .

(b) . . . *ekhei onāton (kekeimenās ktōinās) kamaeus* . . .

(c) . . . *ekhei onāton kamās* . . .



are intended to be entirely synonymous; but (a) and (b) alternate in § 4 and its other version Eb25, and all three entail the action of *worzeen*.

§ 4: the reading *sito-pog<sup>os</sup>* (*Evidence*, p. 96) is uncertain, since the damaged symbol which precedes *si* seems to be syllabic and not a word-divider. On the corresponding Eb25 only ]-to-po-go survives, and the numerals differ in reading WHEAT 1 T 2. Should we read {a}-si-to-po-go here, the *a*- being due to a careless anticipation of *arto-pog<sup>os</sup>* 'baker'?

§ 6: *e-pi-qe to-me te-ra-pi-[]*: Eb842 reads *e-pi-qe to-e te-ra-pi-ke*. With the scribes' apparent prejudice against one-sign words, *to-e* may perhaps be intended as a fuller spelling of the dative pronoun τῷ; is *to-me* a variant form *to<sup>o</sup>mei* (cf. Skt. *tāsmāi* 'to that') with the dative ending seen in Gortyn στίμι 'to whomever'? Cf. ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, etc., 'on this condition', and *Il.* x, 304, τίς κέν μοι τόδε ἔργον τελέσειε δώρῳ ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ; 'in return for a large gift'. The verb *te-ra-pi-ke* (? *therapiskei*) appears to be a derivative of the stem of θεραπεύω, perhaps an earlier equivalent of θεραπεύω 'do service'.

§ 8: the corresponding Eb22 reads: *pe-re-go-tu pa-da-je-u i-je-[ ka-ma si-[n]-jo-jo ra-ke [* The same variation in the spelling of P.'s ethnic (?) description is guaranteed by *mi-ka-ta pa-de-we-u* (§ 10) compared with *mi-ka-ta pa-da-je-u* on Eb839. The word *ra-ke* appears to be λάχε (from λαγχάνω) 'obtained by lot, gained possession'. Note that the subjects of § 9 and § 10, who are in the *telestās* class, are alone in not being required to *worzeen*, etc.

We will close the discussion of the four main sets of Pylos land-tenure lists with three small tablets which, like 142 = Eb32 and Eb847 (see above, p. 257), appear to represent selective totals extracted from the lists for particular categories of individuals.

#### 149 = Eb33 [236]

<sup>1</sup> *ka-ma-e-we o-na-ta e-ko-te ke-ke-me-na-o ko-to-na-o*

<sup>2</sup> *wo-zo-te to-so pe-mo WHEAT 30 T 2 4 3*

The *kama*-holders, having leases of communal plots (and) rendering the services, so much seed: 3630 l. wheat.

Does this total include all the *ka-ma* entries on 148 = Ep04, as well as those of the same type on other tablets which have been lost? If so, what is the function of the similar total for *ka-ma-e-we* on the next tablet? Does *xunstropha* 'grand total' imply a digest of several sub-totals of the Eb33 type? It is of course possible that some of these tablets refer to different geographical areas, which were kept separate in the filing system, but not individually headed by place-names (like those which we know to refer to *Pa-ki-ja*); or even that apparent cases of duplication refer to two consecutive seasons.



150 = Ec07 [411]

<sup>1</sup> *ku-su-to-ro-pa<sub>2</sub> / pa-to [o-e-ko-si?] te-re-ta* WHEAT 44 [?]<sup>2</sup> *ka-ma-e-we* WHEAT 58 T 5EDGE: *te-o-jo do-e-ra* [Aggregate of all (that) the *fief-holders* (? have): 5280 + 1. wheat,Aggregate of all (that) the *kama-holders* (have): 7020 l. wheat.

Here again, does the total for the *telestai* include the fourteen of the 'first set' (who between them are assigned about thirty-four units), or the three of 152 = Er01 (with thirty units)?

151 = Eb36 [901]

<sup>1</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub> ke-ke-me-na(o) ko-to-na-o o-na-ta e-ko-si ko-to-ne-ta*<sup>2</sup> *to-so pe-mo* WHEAT 3 [?]

Now this is how the 'men of the *ktoina*' hold *leases* of the *communal* plots, so much seed: 360 + 1. wheat.

Note the unusual inversion of the word-order. The form κτωίνεται 'members of a township' is known from inscriptions of Syme, north of Rhodes. It is surprising to find it at this early date, since Buck and Petersen (*Reverse Index*, p. 545) regards κτωίνετης = κτωινάτης, φυλέτης, Carpathian δᾱμέτᾱς = δημότης and Argive κωμέτᾱς = κωμήτης as modified by the analogy of οἰκέτης. What the *ktoinetai* represent in the Pylos set-up is difficult to guess: the term is probably not synonymous with *ktinoookhoi*. Cf. also *ko-to-ne-we* with ΜΑΝ<sup>b</sup> on Be995.

## 6. THE ESTATES OF THE KING

The important Pylos tablet Er01 has already been widely discussed (*Evidence*, p. 99, Furumark, 1954, p. 35, Meriggi, 1954*b*, pp. 34-5, Carratelli, 1954*a*, pp. 110-12, Palmer, 1955, pp. 9-10), and general conclusions drawn from it as to the structure of Mycenaean society.

Carratelli understands *telestāōn* <*temenos*> in line 5, but *da-ma-te* or *ktoinai ktimenai* would be expected on the analogy of the 'first set'. These three 'fief-holders' are evidently distinct from the fourteen residents of *Pa-ki-ja* listed in lines 1-2 of 114 = En02. Does Er01, as the princely *temenea* would suggest, refer to land in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace?

For the relation between the *wanax* and the *lāwāgetās*, see p. 120. The new tablet 171 = Un718 (p. 282) shows a similar hierarchical division into four paragraphs, although the subject is not the seed corn proportional to these



lands, but the offerings which are to be taken from them for Poseidon. There are certain differences in the order and wording:

Er01	Un718
(1) <i>wanakteron temenos</i> = (1) <i>E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo</i>	
(2) <i>lāwāgesion temenos</i> = (3) <i>lāwāgetās</i>	
(3) <i>telestāōn</i> < <i>ktoinaī</i> > = (2) <i>dāmos</i>	
(4) <i>worgioneio- e-re-mo</i> = (4) <i>worgioneio- kama</i>	

The sequence *king—military leader* is paralleled on PY Un11, lines 7 and 10: *wanaktei—lāwāgetāi*; but 55 = An724 (An32), lines 5 and 7, substitutes the order *E-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wonei—lāwāgetāi*. This suggests that ?*Ekhelāwōn* is either the name of the king himself or that of a representative member of his household. The latter would be more likely if *E-ke-ra-ne* (Un11.1) is regarded as a defective spelling of the same dative.

The name [*E*]-*ke-ra<sub>2</sub>*-[*wo*] reappears on tablet 153 = Er02, which Bennett has printed together with Er01 on account of the spelling *pe-ma* which it shares and the fact that a single scribe apparently wrote these two tablets and no others. If he is indeed the king, E. has evidently built up an estate of 'private plots' in addition to the hereditary *temenos* assigned to his office at the original land-division.

The further equation between the *telestai* of Er01 and the *dāmos* of Un718 is surprising, after the apparently sharp contrast between these entities on the other land-tenure tablets. But *dāmos* probably means no more than Village, as opposed to Palace, and the *telestai* may well have been regarded as important members of it: in addition to holding 'private plots' in the village, they may themselves have sat on the council responsible for allotting the leases of 'communal plots' *paro dāmōi*. Outside the immediate vicinity of the palace, we apparently find *basilēwes* (further defined as *ko-re-te-re* and *mo-ro-pa<sub>2</sub>*) in charge of the villages (see 43 = Sn01, 258 = Kn01); but in the *dāmos* attached to Pylos itself they evidently have no place in the hierarchy.

Carratelli agrees with us in taking *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* as equivalent to ὀρυεωνικός, from the term ὀρυεῶνες 'members of a religious association'; it is spelt ὀρυίονας (acc. plur.) in the Homeric hymn to Apollo, and derived from (Ϝ)ὀργια 'rites'. Thomson (1949, p. 112) infers 'that the *orgeōnes* were a body of persons appointed by and from the *dēnotai* to administer the village cult', which was centred on an ὀρυός 'rich land or grove sacred to a god' (though this word may not in fact be etymologically connected). The action *worzeen* which is apparently the duty of holders of *kama* land may perhaps be construed in this light as meaning 'to contribute to the (Ϝ)ὀργια'.



The gender and meaning of *e-re-mo* are not clear. γῆ ἐρημος 'waste land' would call for feminine *-ne-ja* (as *kama* in fact should on Un718). Or is *w.* not an adjective but a noun *worgion-eiōn* 'the place of the *worgiones*'? Should ?*erēmon* be taken to mean 'uninhabited land', or 'land left inviolate, free of annexation or encumbrance'?

152 = Er01 [312]

<sup>1</sup> *wa-na-ka-te-ro te-me-no*  
<sup>2</sup> *to-so-jo pe-ma WHEAT 30*  
<sup>3</sup> *ra-wa-ke-si-jo te-me-no WHEAT 10*  
 vacat  
<sup>5</sup> *te-re-ta-o to-so-pe-ma WHEAT 30*  
<sup>6</sup> *to-so-de te-re-ta MEN 3*  
<sup>7</sup> *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo e-re-mo*  
<sup>8</sup> *to-so-jo pe-ma WHEAT 6*  
 vacat

- § 1 The preserve of the king, seed at so much: 3600 l. wheat.  
 § 2 The preserve of the military leader, seed at so much: 1200 l. wheat.  
 § 3 (The lands) of the *fief-holders*, so much seed: 3600 l. wheat; and (there are) so many *fief-holders*: three.  
 § 4 The *unencumbered* (land) of the cult association, seed at so much: 720 l. wheat.

*wanakteron temenos*: cf. τέμενος βασιλῆϊον, *Il.* xviii, 550. The *temenos* is an estate 'cut off' (τέμνω) for the use of ruler or chief; the meaning 'precinct of a god' is secondary.

*tossoio sperma*: why the spelling *pe-ma* should be restricted to Er01 and Er02 is not clear.

One might argue that we indeed have σπέρμα 'seed, ?sowing' here, but that *pe-mo* on the other tablets has a quite different meaning; but no distinction is apparent in the context. Why the genitive *tossoio* in lines 2 and 8? 'A sowing of so much (grain)'; or 'seed of such (an amount or value)', gen. pretii?

*tossoide telestai*: as in 114 = En02.2 and 153 = Er02.4, 6, *to-so-de* follows *to-so* in a linked pair of entries, and suggests that *-de* should here be taken as the particle δέ 'and, but'.

A further link with 171 = Un718 is provided by *sa-ra-pe-do-*[ in Er02.2. It is evidently not the name Sarpedon, but an inflexional variant of the *sa-ra-pe-da* which introduces the other tablet. Its ending (neuter plural?) recalls the *-πεδον* of Greek topographical terms such as γεώπεδον 'plot', ἀλίπεδον 'coastal plain', οἰνόπεδον 'vineyard', Hesychius ἐλάπεδον 'τέμενος'; perhaps it is a local place-name, here to be read in the locative, *-pedoi'i*. Bennett's integration of *temenos* in line 2 is not supported by a word-divider, and *-pu<sub>2</sub>*? is extremely



rare as a word-ending. We would compare πεφυτευμένος 'planted with fruit trees', and interpret the two sections of the tablet as referring to acreages of E.'s wheat-fields and to a census of the trees or vines in E.'s orchards. This twofold division of a chief's lands is frequently alluded to by Homer:

- Il.* vi, 194-5: καὶ μὲν οἱ (Βελλεροφόντη) Λύκιοι τέμενος τάμον ἐξοχον ἄλλων,  
καλόν, φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης, ὅφρα νέμοιτο.  
*Il.* ix, 578-80: ἔνθα μιν (Μελέαγρον) ἤνωγον τέμενος περικαλλὲς ἐλέσθαι  
πεντηκοντόγονον, τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ οἰνοπέδοιο,  
ἡμισυ δὲ ψιλήν ἀροσιν πεδίοιο ταμέσθαι.  
*Il.* xiv, 121-3: (Τυδεΰς) ναῖε δὲ δῶμα  
ἀφνειὸν βιότοιο, ἄλις δὲ οἱ ἦσαν ἀρουραὶ  
πυροφόροι, πολλοὶ δὲ φυτῶν ἔσαν ὄρχατοι ἀμφί.  
*Od.* vi, 293-4: ἔνθα δὲ πατὴρ ἐμοῦ ('Ἀλκινόοιο) τέμενος τεθαλυῖά τ' ἄλωη,  
τόσσον ἀπὸ πτόλιος, ὅσσον τε γέγωνε βοήσας.

153 = Er02 (with addition of new fragments) [380]

- <sup>1</sup> [e]-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-[wo ki]-ti-me-no e-ke  
<sup>2</sup> sa-ra-pe-do-[i ? pe]-ru<sub>2</sub>?-te-me-no  
<sup>3</sup> to-so [pe-ma] WHEAT 30[+20?]  
<sup>4</sup> to-so-de [...] -to pe-ma WHEAT 42[+2?]  
<sup>5</sup> to-sa we-je-[we ] 1100[  
<sup>6</sup> to-sa-de su-za [?] 1000[  
vacat  
<sup>8</sup> ku-su-to-ro-pa<sub>2</sub> to-so pe-ma 94

?Ekhelāwōn has *private* (lands) on the S~peda, planted with trees.

So much seed: ?6000 l. wheat,

so much seed of the [...]: ?5280 l. wheat.

So many [...]: 1100?

So many fig-trees: 1000?

Aggregate, so much seed: 11,280 l.

The detailed descriptions of the four items are unfortunately fragmentary, but the high numbers of the last two are comparable with those of the Knossos lists of trees (see below, pp. 272-4).

we-je-[we: may be restored from KN 164 = Ga863, =some kind of plant.

su-za: *sukiai* 'fig-trees' as in 165 = Gv862. See p. 272.

If the figure of 42 WHEAT in line 4 is intended purely as an acreage-equivalent, one might restore [a-ki-ti]-to 'untilled' here: in antithesis to ki-ti-me-no in line 1?

Pylos Eq01 has up to now received little discussion, due to the great difficulty of interpretation; it is clear, however, that it deals with territory further removed from the palace than any of the other land-tenure tablets. The



subjects of at least the first three entries are not individuals but the names of outlying villages: *A-ke-re-wa* is well known as the sixth of the 'Pylos 9', while *E-ri-no-wo-te* (loc.) is listed with *A-ke-re-wa* and *A-pu<sub>2</sub>?-we* on An07 and with *Lousoi* on Mn01. Its nominative is spelt *E-ri-no-wo* (Na51), which (like *Sa-ri-nu-wo-te*/*Sa-ri-no-te*, *A<sub>2</sub>-pa-tu-wo-te*, *Pe-re-wo-te*) suggests *-wōn/-wontos*: a (possibly non-Greek) development of the adjectival *-\*went-/-wont-* (cf. Σελινοῦς, etc.)? The locative *ko-tu-we* is found on Na908.

The amounts of seed are evidently too small for the total acreages of these villages: the tablet must record a restricted category of land, defined by the introduction and, in particular, by the puzzling word *o-ro-jo*. A photograph of this tablet was published by Blegen, 1939*b* (Fig. 10), and Hrozný (1949) prints a translation which, however fantastic its methods, nevertheless suggests that it is a record of the condition of fields.

# 154 = Eq01 [213]

<sup>1</sup> *o-wi-de a-ko-so-ta to-ro-qe-jo-me-no a-ro-u-ra a<sub>2</sub>-ri-sa*

<sup>2</sup> *a-ke-re-wa o-ro-jo to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 8*

<sup>3</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub> e-ri-no-wo-to o-ro-jo to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 10*

<sup>4</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub> ko-tu-wo o-ro-jo to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 20*

<sup>5</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub> pa-ti-ni-ja-we-jo-jo o-te-pe-o-jo o-ro-jo to-so-de pe-mo WHEAT 6*

<sup>6</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub> ko-no o-ro-jo to-so pe-mo WHEAT 40*

Thus Axotās has observed on his tour of inspection, counting the corn-lands of *A-ke-re-wa*<sup>6</sup>; of the loss, so much (acreage of) seed: 960 l. wheat.

And similarly those of *E-ri-no-wo*; of the loss, so much seed: 1200 l. wheat.

And similarly those of *Ko-tu*; of the loss, so much seed: 2400 l. wheat.

And similarly those of queenly *O-te-pe-o*: of the loss, so much seed: 720 l. wheat.

And similarly those which are common; of the loss, so much seed: 4800 l. wheat.

*hō wide* = Attic ὥδε εἶδε: the same introduction is found to the list of vessels 235 = Ta711, evidently another record guaranteed by personal inspection; cf. *Od.* IV, 411-12:

φώκας μὲν τοι πρῶτον ἀριθμήσει καὶ ἐπεισιν·

αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν πάσας πεμπάσσειται ἥδ' ἰδῆται, etc.

Axotas' name occurs with other aorists on Pn01.1 and 103 = Un08.1, and in the genitive *A-ko-so-ta-o* as one of the 'sheep collectors' (p. 200): he was possibly one of the chief stewards of the palace. The connective *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* occurs in lines 3-5 but not in the first item; it evidently resumes, in abbreviated form, the 'thus' formula of the introduction, which must be regarded as forming a continuous sentence through lines 1-2 (in the same way, *o-da-a<sub>2</sub> da-mo* on 171 = Un718.7 picks up the *o-* of line 2).



*troq<sup>a</sup>eismenos*: middle/passive participle of the 'iterative-intensive' form (-\*ejō, cf. Schwyzler, *Gram.* 1, 719-20) of τρέπω, of which the active τρόπεον 'turned' occurs once in *Il.* xviii, 224. If it agrees with Axotās, it should perhaps be taken in the sense of τρέπομαι 'go on a circuitous journey', cf. *Od.* xv, 80: εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις τραφῆναι ἄν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος, and Herod. ii, 3: καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἥλιου πόλιν ἐτραπόμην, etc. Compare also the Homeric περιτροπέων ἐνιαυτός 'revolving year'.

*a<sub>2</sub>-ri-sa* appears from its form to be an aorist participle, which must agree with Axotās rather than with the feminine *arourans*. The classical verbs ἀλινδέω 'make to roll' and ἀλίζω 'salt' do not fit the sense, nor (φ)αλίζω 'gather together' the spelling. Perhaps the verb \*άρι- 'count', from which άρι-θμός 'number', άριθμέω 'count' (evidently a later substitution) and Homeric ν-ήριτος 'innumerable' are derived. Compare also *a<sub>2</sub>-ri-t*, 55 = An724.5 (p. 187). The sequence of tenses *aorist*—*iterative present*—*aorist* is explained by the 'aspect' function of Greek participles, the 'touring' evidently being regarded as a continuous process, the 'counting' as a series of five discrete acts.

*a-ro-jo*: Palmer reads \*oloio '(seed) of barley', comparing ούλαί (\*όλφαί), Arc. όλοαί, 'sacrificial barley', όλυρα 'Einkorn wheat'. Other possibilities are ώροιο (\*jōt-) 'of the year'; or the genitive of the noun \*όλος which underlies the Homeric adjective ούλος, Dor. ώλος, 'destructive'. In the latter case the tablet may record the acreages of parts of these villages which have been laid waste or allowed to deteriorate. Compare Telemachus' complaint to Menelaus, *Od.* iv, 318: ἐσθιεται μοι οἶκος, όλωλε δὲ πῖονα ἔργα, 'my rich plough-lands have been ruined'. This interpretation is extremely uncertain.

*po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo-jo*: the subdivision of part of a village community by the adjective ?*potnia{we}ias* 'of the Mistress?' is also seen in the lists of smiths on Jn01 and Jn03. No reasonable explanation can be offered.

*ko-no*: possibly κοινός 'common', though the numerals and the introduction *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* prevent us from regarding it as a total of the preceding items. In these the genitives probably qualify *arourans* rather than *a-ro-jo*, but *koino-* can only agree if it is here a two-ending adjective, as in Sophocles, *Tr.* 207. The form of the adjective *to-so* (for *to-so-de*) is probably not significant.

## 7. KNOSSOS LAND-TENURE TABLETS

The Knossos tablets listing the WHEAT ideogram (classified by Bennett with the prefix *E*) do not appear to share any of the characteristic Pylos land-tenure formulae, and should probably be regarded as a record of actual consignments of grain from outlying villages: the amounts listed are generally larger than on the Pylos *E*-tablets, often running into hundreds of units. Of interest are the words *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* on E 1569.2 (and its apparent mis-spelling *ra-wa-e-si-jo*



on E 846.1), which might refer to a *lāwāgesion temenos*; and the heading to the fragmentary E 849 which includes a total of 130 units of WHEAT: *pu-ta-ri-ja pe-ra*-[... This appears to be the word *φυτολιά* 'plantation, orchard', and one might expect, as in Homer, to find it kept distinct from corn-land; but the first half of the tablet may have included olives or figs, and in any case corn can well be grown in areas between olive-trees (cf. Columella, *De re rustica*, v, 8-9).

The equivalent of the Pylos land-tenure series is to be found in the two dozen tablets to which Bennett has given the prefix *Uf*. The words *ekhei*, *?kekeimenā*, *ktoinā* and *telestās* help to establish the identity of context; but the formula *tossonde ?spermo* is replaced by the use of the ideogram *DA*, apparently a land-measure, whose only occurrence at Pylos is on 114 = En02.1. We saw there that it is apparently equivalent to the acreage sown with 1 unit of wheat (about 2.4 ha, or 6 acres?). At Knossos it is subdivided into a smaller unit *PA*: as it is followed by the number 3 on 158 = Uf836, the *PA* is evidently a quarter of the *DA* or less. Does it stand for *spadion* (original form of *στράδιον*) 'a single ploughing'?

This Late Minoan series is too fragmentary to permit a detailed comparison with the system of land-tenure seen in operation at Pylos.

### 155 = Uf981 (K)

*e-ri-ke-re-we* *ko-to-i-na*  
*e-ke-pu-te-ri-ja* [

Eriklewes holds an *orchard* plot. . . .

Bennett's *Index* (p. 66) gives *ko-ti-i-na*, which is not supported by the original: note the fuller spelling of the diphthong. Is *pu-te-ri-ja* merely a variant *phutelia* for *φυτολιά*? Or an adjective *phutērian* agreeing with *ktoinan* 'a plot suitable for planting; given to a gardener'? Or a noun describing a holding (parallel to *onāton*, etc.) 'a lease for planting, as a reward for planting'? In any case the term suggests that these fields are probably orchard or vineyard, not corn-land.

### 156 = Uf1031 joined (K lxxi)

*pe-ri-je-ja* *e-ke pu-te-ri-ja* *DA* 1 *ti-ri-to*[

P. holds an *orchard* plot. . . .

This appears to be a woman's name. The same formula occurs a third time on Uf1022, only *e-ke-pu-te*-[ and *ko-to-i*-[ surviving.



157 = Uf835 (K lxiv)

*ke-ke-me-na*[ ]-do *e-ke ti-ri-to pu-te* DAI PA I...-do holds a communal orchard plot at ?Trittos<sup>p</sup>; 6? acres.

*ti-ri-to*: probably not 'a third share' or the like (cf. the Attic ἐκτρίμοροι?), but a place-name parallel to those on other tablets of the series. *Ti-ri-to* (cf. Τρίττα, said to be an old name of Knossos) is a place frequently mentioned on the Knossos sheep tablets, and its adjective *Ti-ri-ti-jo* parallels *Pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-jo* on E 749.

*pu-te* is either an abbreviation for *pu-te-ri-ja* (as *pu* on Uf432.2?), or a word ?*phutēr* 'planter, gardener'; cf. Palmer's reading of *pu<sub>2</sub>?-te-re ki-ti-je-si* (PY 193 = Na57) as *phutēres ktēnsi* 'the gardeners plant, bring into cultivation'.

*ke-ke-me-na*: the contrasted word *ktimenā* only occurs at Knossos on X 7753. On Uf432, however, the second paragraph is introduced by *e-te-do-mo ki-te-*[], which may be intended for *ktei-*[*toi* or the like (with the 'dead' vowel in *kt-* generalized as in *Luk'tos* and in *wanak'teros*?): 'it is brought into cultivation by the *e-te-domoi*' (cf. 114 = En02.5),

158 = Uf836 (K lxvii)

*wo-we-u**ku-ka-da-ro pa<sub>2</sub>-ra pi-di-jo* DAI PA 3K., the *worweus*, at *Pa<sub>2</sub>-ra* (?Phidios): 7? acres.

*wo-we-u* is a trade-name known only from C 911.3: '*Ri-wo* the *worweus* of the place *Su-ki-ri-ta*'. The classical ὄρευσ came to mean 'mule' ('he who traces the furrow'); does it mean 'superintendent of the field boundaries' here? The context of the word *Pi-di-jo*, which seems to be a proper name, is uncertain: a second party to the transaction?

159 = Uf990 (K)

*a-ri-ja-wo pa<sub>2</sub>-ra te-re-ta* [A ~ āwōn, a *fief-holder* at *Pa<sub>2</sub>-ra*; . . . .

160 = Uf970 (K)

*te-re-ta*[ ]-ra *ti-ri-to wo-ne-*[So-and-so, a *fief-holder* at ?Trittos, . . . .

161 = Uf839 (K lxvii)

*te-re-ta ke-ma-qe-me me-ra**ko-do da-\*22-to ke-nu-wa-so* DA [un]? Koldos, at the place D. (K.); a *fief-holder*, and. . . .



*Da* \*22-*to*: a frequent place-name on Knossos tablets, also unexpectedly occurring on the Eleusis vase. Adjective *Da* \*22-*ti-jo*, etc.

*Ke-ni-wa-so*: another second party to the transaction? Cf. the non-Greek man's name

*Pa<sub>2</sub>-ni-wa-so*/*Pa<sub>2</sub>-ni-wa-so*, Πανύσις, etc.

*ke-ma-ge-me me-ra*: a puzzling group. *me-ra* might conceivably be μῆλα 'sheep'.

162 = Uf983 (K lxxi)

*o-pi po-to-ri-ka-ta*

[ ]-*do-wo e-ko-so ke-ke-me-na* [DΛ nn]

So-and-so, a communal (plot) at *E-ko-so*<sup>p</sup>, . . .

*E-ko-so* is probably the frequent place-name of that spelling (adjective *E-ki-si-jo*, etc.) rather than ἔξω 'outside' or ἐξών 'intending to keep'. The last word looks like a compound parallel to πτολίοικος, etc.

163 = X 984 (K)

<sup>1</sup> ]*pa-te ke-ke-me-na* [


<sup>2</sup> ] *zo-wa e-pi-zo-ta ke-ra ke-ke-me-na* [

The exact context of the tablet is very uncertain, but the word *ke-ke-me-na* suggests that it is part of the *Uf*-series; *ke-ra* recurs on PY 135 = Ep704 and 137 = Eb30. 'Living things' in classical Greek is confined to the form \*ζῳφια > ζῳα; it is uncertain when this secondary form, not found in Homer, may be considered to have developed. Classical ἐπιζῳ only has the sense 'survive'. The Homeric participle ζῳντος is explained as a contraction of ζῳοντος, but the verb shows traces of an earlier athematic conjugation (see Schwyzler, *Gram.* I, p. 675).




## 8. KNOSSOS ORCHARDS

The purpose of this series (classified as *Gv*-) and the identity of the main ideograms have been recognized by Evans (*PM*, iv, p. 717) and by Myres (*SM II*, p. 60). The olive-tree is clearly recognizable on Gv862, line 2: the word *po-pa<sub>2</sub>* in line 3 associates it with the more schematic ideogram no. 122 on Pylos 96 = Un02.2, which probably means OLIVES and recurs on Knossos 94 = F 841 in company with the spelling *e-ra-wa*.

The fig-tree ideogram of Gv862, line 1, is more diagrammatic, being based on a linearized version of the 'hieroglyphic' fig-spray sign (see above, p. 31). The description *su-za* (? *sukia* = συκῆ, Dor. συκλα) also accompanies, on 94 = F 841, the form of the

176  OLIVE-TREE

175  FIG-TREE

174  a) Seedling,  
 b) cutting,  
 layer?



same ideogram without a 'trunk' (identical to the syllabic sign *ni*) which represents the fruit of the fig.

The meaning of ideograms no. 174, which seem to repeat themselves at the end of each section, may be defined by the φυτά of Gv864.3, possibly 'newly-planted specimens' of each variety (cf. Furumark, 1954, p. 40). On this basis, the four ideograms of Gv862, lines 2 and 3, would show olive trees of progressively lessening maturity, rather than a number of different species of fruit tree on the model of Alkinoos' orchard (*Od.* vii, 114-16):

ἐνθα δὲ δένδρεα μακρὰ πεφύκασι τηλεθόωντα,  
ὀγγύηαι καὶ ῥοιαὶ καὶ μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι  
συκέαι τε γλυκεραί καὶ ἐλαῖαι τηλεθόωσαι.

The only introductory sentence is preserved on tablet 164=Gv863. This may be compared to that on a Nuzi tablet of similar context: 'The trees from the orchard of the town Tašeniwa:...' (Lacheman, 1939, p. 534).

164=Gv863 (K lxvii)

<sup>1</sup> *pa<sub>2</sub>-ra* | *jo-e-ke-to-go* *wo-na-si* *si*-[

<sup>2</sup> ?] *we-je-we* ?SEEDLINGS<sup>a</sup> 420 *su*. FIG-TREES 109 [

*Pa<sub>2</sub>-ra*<sup>p</sup>: thus the place has in its vineyards....

420 newly planted..., 109 fig-trees,....

*hō ekhei toq<sup>o</sup>os woinassi*: we have met the place *Pa<sub>2</sub>-ra* on the other Knossos land tablets.

Bennett's *Index* reading *Pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-jo* is not supported by the photograph, but there are traces of a possible second divider after *jo*. This prefix has the function of an introductory 'thus', as on 257=Jn09.1 (*jo-do-jo-si* 'thus they will give'), etc. The etymology of τόπος 'locality' is uncertain: Osthoff proposes \**toq<sup>o</sup>*. The word *wo-na-si* is here taken as the locative of Hesychius' gloss οἰνάδες ἀμπελώδεις τόποι; from οἶνη 'vine' one would expect *wo-na-i*.

165=Gv862 (K lxv)

<sup>1</sup> ] *su-za* FIG-TREES 1770

<sup>2</sup> ] OLIVE-TREES 405

<sup>3</sup> ] *po-pa<sub>2</sub>* Ψ 10+? [...] Ψ 17 ?SEEDLINGS<sup>b</sup> 20  
vacat

<sup>5</sup> ]365 ?SEEDLINGS<sup>a</sup> 225

As Myres remarks, the first tree in line 3 gives the appearance of having been pruned; the second appears to be a young tree without much development of trunk. Of the possible vocalizations of *po-pa<sub>2</sub>*, πόρπη 'brooch', φοῖβη 'radiant', φόβη 'lock of hair; foliage', φορβή 'fodder, food' and φορβάς 'providing food', only the last two appear



to fit the use of the term with OLIVES at Pylos. It is not clear from the photograph whether *po-pa*<sub>2</sub> may not be preceded by other letters; an adjective like εὐφορβος or πολὺφορβος could not agree with feminine *elaiwai*, unless δένδρεα is understood.

166 = Gv864 (K)

- <sup>1</sup> ] ?SEEDLINGS<sup>a</sup> 69 [
- <sup>2</sup> ] *su-za* FIG-TREES 53[
- <sup>3</sup> ] *pu-ta* ?SEEDLINGS<sup>a</sup> [nn



## CHAPTER IX

# PROPORTIONAL TRIBUTE AND RITUAL OFFERINGS

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THE forty-two tablets transcribed in this chapter deal with a variety of miscellaneous commodities, and their classification by Bennett includes eight different prefix initials (*E- F- G- K- M- N- U- V-*); they share, however, a number of characteristic features of context and arrangement which makes it convenient to study them as a group.

(a) Though often fragmentary, the different series which these tablets represent are all of them records of tribute or offerings, assessed in accordance with schedules showing a fixed order.


(b) The operations are evidently of a seasonal or periodic nature, as proved by the use of month-names in their headings, and by such expressions as 'last year', 'next year' in their entries.

(c) The tablets show in detail how the theoretical assessment of the contribution (*dosmos*) compares with the amount actually delivered (*apudosis*), and records the deficit (*ophelo-*) which may result from this sum after allowance has been made for amounts which the contributors may have been 'let off' (*aneta* or *eleuthera ekhonsi*, *ou didonsi*). The assessments themselves are calculated with reasonable accuracy in accordance with various fixed ratios, and demonstrate the most advanced Mycenaean mathematics we have yet seen in operation.

(d) A number of the tablets lay down the scale on which offerings are made to a number of different shrines, priestesses and divinities. These are of great importance in providing our only written evidence for Mycenaean religion, and unexpectedly reveal the worship of many of the gods and goddesses known from classical sources.

### 1. THE PYLOS 'DOSMOS' TABLES

The WHEAT ideogram reappears in the set of fifteen tablets found in 1952 and classified as *Es-* (see Bennett, *PT II*, pp. 159-61): these show a list of thirteen men's names, in three separate versions devoted to different operations. Only the first of these, 167 = Es650,

120  WHEAT



has the *tassonde* ?*spermo* formula which is characteristic of the land-tenure tablets (ch. viii). The second version, complete on 168 = Es644, lists the names in the same order as the subject of a *dosmos wetei-wetei* (see below); the third version is distributed among thirteen separate tablets (169 = Es646, etc.) which record a larger *dosmos* to the god Poseidon and much smaller ones to three entities whose function is rather uncertain.

The following table shows the thirteen men's names rearranged in order of descending importance, with their *spermata* and *dosmoi* converted to litres at a conversion factor of 1 = 12 l. With three exceptions the amounts form regularly descending series in each column, but they have evidently not been arrived at by any completely rigid system of proportions: the average ratio of 30 : 5 : 12 : 1, which can be deduced from the estimated totals of the whole series, only applies exactly to one individual's assessment, that of ?Worthiās.

	DOSMOS				Total
	? <i>spermo</i>	<i>wetei-wetei</i>	<i>Poseidaonei</i>	<i>Diwiewei</i> etc.	
Alektryōn	840 l.	114 l.	276 l.	32 l.	486 l.
Kopreus	720	84	180	20	324
?Hoplomenos	480	?	204	16	?
?Worthiās	240	40	96	8	160
<i>A-ne-o</i>	180	30	60	2	96
Lukouros	168	?	84	6	?
<i>O-ka</i>	144	28	84	6	128
?Philotawōn	144	28?	84	6	128?
<i>Ku-da-ma-ro</i>	144	28?	84	6	128?
Aigi ~ os	120	?	72	4	?
<i>Se-no</i>	120	24	60	4	96
Servant of W ~ neus	48	16	36	2	58
<i>Ka-ra-i</i>	36	6	?	2	?

A fourteenth individual, *Pi-ro-tē-ko-to*, closes the list on 167 = Es650; but the amount of his ?*spermo* was either never entered or has been erased, and his name does not reappear. Of the other names, an Alektryon Etewokleweios is known as a *heq<sup>u</sup>etās* attached to the 'troops' on 58 = An654 (cf. the form *A-ku-tu-ru-wo-* on KN Fh364); the *Se-no* who is a shepherd at *Ma-ro-pi* on 62 = Cn655 and Cn04 may well be a different person.

The fourteen evidently form a group quite distinct from the land-owners of *Pa-ki-ja-* whom we have met in ch. viii; yet the size of Alektryon's holding (7 units) is larger than any single *ktōina* there; the smallest, that of *Ka-ra-i*



is equivalent to a generous 'lease' in the first set (see p. 240). Where is their land situated?

A possible clue is given by the amount of WHEAT listed. The total *?spermo* for the thirteen men (with slight uncertainty as to Lukouros' entry) is 28.2 units; and we have seen that the 'lands of the *telestai*' which follow the royal *temenea* on 152 = Er01 are assessed at 30 units. Those lands, however, have only 3 *telestai* upon them: if the *Es*-tablets in fact record the acreages and obligations of the men owning land in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace at Pylos, we shall have to assume that *telestās* rank is only held by three of the first names on the list. Some of the thirteen or fourteen may in fact be 'tenants', but the formula *e-ke to-so-de pe-mo* does not apparently attempt to make any differentiation.

# 167 = Es650

<sup>1</sup> <i>ki-ri-ti-jo-jo ko-pe-re-u  </i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT 6
<sup>2</sup> <i>a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo</i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT 7
<sup>3</sup> <i>se-no</i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT 1
<sup>4</sup> <i>o-po-ro-me-no</i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT 4
<sup>5</sup> <i>ai-ki-wa-ro a-te-mi-to do-e-ro</i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT 1
<sup>6</sup> <i>we-da-ne-wo do-e-ro</i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT T 4
<sup>7</sup> <i>wo-ro-ti-ja-a</i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT 2
<sup>8</sup> <i>ka-ra-i  </i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT T 3
<i>  a-ne-o</i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT 1 T 5

## REVERSE:

<sup>1</sup> <i>ru-ko-wo-ro</i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT 1 T 4
<sup>2</sup> <i>o-ka</i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT 1 T 2
<sup>3</sup> <i>pi-ro-ta-wo</i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT 1 T 2
<sup>4</sup> <i>ku-da-ma-ro</i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT 1 T 2
<sup>5</sup> <i>pi-ra-te-ko-to</i>	<i>e-ke to-so-de pe-mo</i>	WHEAT [ ? ]

In the month of *?Krithios*:

- § 1 Kopreus, he has (an acreage of) so much seed: 720 l. wheat.
- § 2 Alektryōn, he has so much seed: 840 l. wheat.
- § 3 *Se-no*, he has so much seed: 120 l. wheat.
- § 4 *?Hoplomenos*, he has so much seed: 480 l. wheat.
- § 5 Aigi~os, servant of Artemis, he has so much seed: 120 l. wheat.
- § 6 The servant of W~neus, he has so much seed: 48 l. wheat.
- § 7 *?Worthiās*, he has so much seed: 240 l. wheat,

etc.



?*Krithio*: the analogy of the Knossos tablets similarly introduced by a genitive adjective (e.g. Fp5, *Diwioio mēnos*, see p. 305) suggests that this is the name of a month. If so, it is the only one recorded at Pylos, with the possible exception of *po-ro-wi-to-jo* on 172 = Kn02. If ?*Krithio* was the name of either a man or a place, it would surely be of sufficient importance to occur freely on other tablets.

*ekhei tassonde* ?*spermo*: comparing the formulae on the other land-tenure tablets, we might also punctuate 'he holds (land): so much seed' (especially if *to-so-de* is to be read *tasson de* 'and so much', which is always a possibility).

*A-te-mi-to do-e-ro*: the genitive 'Αρτέμιτος (Doric 'Αρτέμιτος, perhaps by popular etymology from ἄρτεμος) is attested in N.W. Greek inscr.; 'Αρτέμιδος may perhaps be an innovation. Whether all the *theoio doeloi* are in fact 'slaves of Artemis' is of course very uncertain (see also p. 236). A possible dative 'to Artemis' occurs in *A-ti-mi-te* (PY Un11.5).

?*Worhiāo*: the other two versions (where the genitive would in fact be more correct) show the nominative *Wo-ro-ti-ja*; possibly the genitive *W ~ nēwos* in the preceding line induced the confusion. This 'servant (or slave) of *W ~ neus*' is not mentioned by name in any of the three versions; for *W ~ neus* himself see below, p. 279.

*Pi-ro-te-ko-to*: Bennett reads this as one word (Philotektūn?). Or 'Philon, the joiner'?

#### 168 = Es644

<sup>1</sup> <i>ko-pe-re-wo do-so-mo we-te-i-we-te-i</i>	WHEAT	7	
<sup>2</sup> <i>a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-no we-te-i-we-te-i</i>	WHEAT	9	4 3
<sup>3</sup> [ <i>se</i> ]- <i>no do-so-mo we-te-i-we-te-i</i>	WHEAT	2	
<sup>4</sup> <i>o-po-ro-me-no do-so-mo we-te-i-we-te-i</i>	WHEAT	[nn]	
<sup>5</sup> <i>ai-ki-wa-ro do-so-mo we-te-i-we-te-i</i>	WHEAT	[nn]	
<sup>6</sup> <i>we-da-ne-wo do-e-ro do-so-mo we-te-i-we-te-i</i>	WHEAT	1	4 2
<sup>7</sup> [ <i>wo-ro-ti-ja</i> ] <i>do-so-mo we-te-i-we-te-i</i>	WHEAT	3	4 2
<sup>8</sup> [ <i>ka-ra-i</i> ] <i>do-so-[mo] we-te-i-we-te-i</i>	WHEAT	4	3
<sup>9</sup> [ <i>a</i> ]- <i>ne-o do-so-mo we-te-i-we-te-i</i>	WHEAT	2	4 3
<sup>10</sup> [ <i>ru-ko-wo-ro do-so</i> ]- <i>mo we-te-[i-we]-te-i</i>	[WHEAT	nn]	
<sup>11</sup> [ <i>o-ka do</i> ]- <i>so-mo we-te-i-we-te-i</i>	WHEAT	2	4 1
<sup>12</sup> <i>pi-ro-ta-wo do-so-mo we-te-i-[we]-te-i</i>	WHEAT	2	4 [ ]
<sup>13</sup> <i>ku-da-ma-ro do-so-mo we-te-i-we-te-i</i>	WHEAT	2	[ ]

§ 1 The year-by-year contribution of Kopreus: 84 l. wheat.

§ 2 The year-by-year (contribution) of Alektryon: 114 l. wheat.

§ 3 Se-no, (his) year-by-year contribution: 24 l. wheat,  
etc.

*Koprēwos dosmos*: note that the genitive is maintained only in the first two entries; in the third version, only Alektryon shows this case. The word *dosmos*, which is evidently equivalent in sense to classical δόσις, δόμα, δώς, etc., survives in the Arcadian com-



pound ἀπυδοσμός 'sale', adj. ἀπυδόσιμος 'saleable'. The noun ending -σις was originally the mark of compounds (Schwyzer, *Gram.* 1, 504), and there is some doubt whether the simple \**dosis* already existed in Mycenaean times; for *apu-dosis*, see p. 291. The fuller spelling of -sm- also occurs in *de-so-mo* (= *desmos*, KN Ra1548).

*we-te-i-we-te-i*: this reduplicated locative of the word *fētos* 'year' apparently shares the meaning of the classical adverb ἀμφιετεί 'year by year' (cf. ἀμφιετέω 'offer yearly sacrifices', *EM*, xc, 26): the archaic construction can be paralleled by Sanskrit *padepade* 'at every step', *varsevarse* 'every year' (cf. also such modern Greek idioms as φεγγάρια φεγγάρια 'once in a blue moon'). From the fact that no recipient is mentioned, the tablet may record a tithe to the palace. It is equivalent to only about one sixth of the sowing; but the four other *dosmoi* help to bring the total levy on each individual up to between 45 and 125 per cent of the ?*spermo* figure, weighing more heavily on the smaller holders.

### 169 = Es646

<sup>1</sup>	<i>ko-pe-re-u po-se-da-o-ne do-so-mo</i>	WHEAT	1	5
<sup>2</sup>	<i>ai<sub>2</sub>?-ke-te-si do-so-mo</i>	WHEAT	1	4 4
<sup>3</sup>	<i>we-da-ne-we do-so-mo</i>	WHEAT	1	4 4
<sup>4</sup>	<i>di-wi-je-we do-so-mo</i>	WHEAT	1	4 4

§ 1 Kopreus: (his) contribution to Poseidon: 180 l. wheat,  
contribution to the *Protectors*: 20 l. wheat,  
contribution to *W~neus*: 20 l. wheat,  
contribution to *Diwicus*: 20 l. wheat.

*Poseidāōnei dosmos*: this word-order is preserved on the tablets headed by the first five names in the standard list; the sixth saves space by omitting *dosmos* and reads: *W~nēwos doelos Poseidāōnei*; the remainder, perhaps under its influence, show *dosmos Poseidāōnei*. The genitive *Poseidāōnos* on 170 = Es649 is presumably a scribal error; a further spelling difference is seen in *Ru-ko-u-ro*, Es729.

*ai<sub>2</sub>?-ke-te-si*: dative plural in -*tērsi*, possibly from the dual noun *ai<sub>2</sub>?-ka-te-re* on 248 = Va01 (see p. 348). For Hom. ἀλκτήρ?

*We-da-ne-we*: except for those of Alektryon, Kopreus and ?Hoplomenos, all the tablets show the genitive *W~nēwos* in this position: no difference in meaning is probably intended. *W~neus* is one of the 'sheep collectors' on the Pylos *Cn*-tablets (pp. 199-201), on a par with *Axotās* and *Amphimēdēs*. He and *Diwicus* also head a pair of tablets (76 = Cn23 and 77 = Cn22) listing cattle, possibly for sacrifice: they are apparently important figures in palace and cult administration. *Di-wi-je-we* is certainly not a dative of *Zeūs*, for which *Di-we* is the Mycenaean spelling (p. 286).

### 170 = Es649

<sup>1</sup>	<i>a-re-ku-tu-ru-[wo]-ne po-se-da-o-no do-so-mo</i>	WHEAT	2	3
<sup>2</sup>	<i>ai<sub>2</sub>?-ke-te-si do-so-mo</i>	WHEAT	1	2 4 4



<sup>3</sup> *we-da-ne-we do-so-mo* WHEAT T 2 4 4

<sup>4</sup> *di-we-je-we do-so-mo* WHEAT T 2 4 4

§ 2 Alektryon's contribution to Poseidon: 276 l. wheat,  
contribution to the *Protectors*: 32 l. wheat,  
contribution to W~neus: 32 l. wheat,  
contribution to Diwiews: 32 l. wheat.

The entries for the remaining eleven names are contained on the *Es*-tablets 645, 647, 653, 703, 728, 726, 648, 729, 727, 651 and 652.

The expression 'a *dosmos* to Poseidon' serves as the introduction to the first of two extremely important ritual tablets from Pylos. The offerings on Un718 are headed by the word *ṣa-ra-pe-da*, recurring on 153 = Er02 (where it was thought to be the name of a tract of agricultural land adjacent to the Palace), and consist of varying amounts of nine different kinds of farm produce, divided into four paragraphs. These show a remarkable parallelism with the four entries on 152 = Er01, more fully discussed on p. 265, and appear to represent the four different categories of person who own land in this area: ?Ekhelāwōn (either the king or one of his representatives); the *dāmos* or 'village' (perhaps including the class of *telestai*, 'fief-holders'); the 'military leader'; and the *worgiones* or 'cult association'. Their offerings are in roughly descending proportions, like their *sperma* on Er01.

The importance of Poseidon at Pylos is emphasized by 172 = Kn02, and has a possible echo in Book III of the *Odyssey*, where Telemachos' arrival finds the people arranged in three companies offering bulls to Poseidon (perhaps as the legendary grandfather of Nestor, as the scholiast points out):

Κλυθή, Ποσειδάων γαίηοχε, μηδὲ μεγέλης  
ἡμῖν εὐχομένοισι τελευτῆσαι τάδε ἔργα.  
Νέστορι μὲν πρόωπιστα καὶ υἱάσι κύδος ὄπαζε,  
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄλλοισι δίδου χάριςσαν ἀμοιβήν  
σύμπασιν Πυλίοισιν ἀγακλειτῆς ἑκατόμβης.

(III, 55-9)

Similar multiple offerings of different commodities are usual in cuneiform records of ritual operations at various seasons of the year. Here is a Sumerian example from Lagaš (Genouillac, *TSA*, no. 1, 1):

Seven sacks of flour, three pots of light ale, four pots of dark ale, two measures of oil, two measures of dates, two measures of wine, two lake (?) fish, one sheep, one white kid, one lamb—to the god Nina.

A closer parallel, both in the objects and amounts represented and in the probable degree of historical connexion, can be found in classical offerings of



the type listed, for example, on the late fourth-century B.C. sacrificial calendar from Cos (*SGDI*, 3636-8, Schwyzer, *Dial.* 251c):

τρίτῃ ἀνομένου . . . Ἡρακλεῖ ἐς Κονίσσαλον, βοῦς.  
τοῦτον θύει ὁ λαρεὺς, τῷ δὲ θεῷ ἱερὰ δίδεται:

κριθᾶν τρία ἡμιμέδιμνα,  
καὶ σπυρῶν τρεῖς τεταρτῆς,  
καὶ μέλιτος τέτορες κοτυλέαι,  
καὶ τυροὶ οἶσαι δυνώδεκα,  
καὶ ἱπνὸς καινός,  
καὶ φρυγάνων ἄχθος καὶ ξυλέων ἄχθος,  
καὶ οἶνου τρία ἡμίχρα.

The most explicit Minoan or Mycenaean representation of a sacrifice is seen on the painted sarcophagus from Agia Triadha, the two longer panels of which are illustrated in fig. 15. It is dated to the earliest part of LM III, contemporary with or slightly later than the destruction of Knossos, and certain features of style and detail have been regarded as showing Mainland influence. A full discussion of attempts to interpret these scenes is given by Nilsson (1950, pp. 426-43); two general problems make it risky to use them as an exact illustration of the Pylos ritual tablets:

(1) Opinion is divided as to whether the cult scenes illustrate a specifically funerary ritual, or offerings to a deified image of the dead, or merely a series of normal sacrifices to a deity, only indirectly connected with the fact of burial.

(2) Nilsson suggests that the sarcophagus may have been made to the order of a Mycenaean chieftain, but admits that the example of earlier cult scenes from Agia Triada show that a 'Minoan' sacrifice had much the same outward appearance. As with so much of Late Minoan and Mycenaean representative art, we are now faced with the possibility that 'Greek' institutions (or at least ones hitherto only known to us in a later Greek garb) are being carried on with the trappings of 'Minoan' ritual, art and social conventions. There is some parallel in the representative art of the Renaissance; if only a part were to survive, future archaeologists might well doubt the reality of Christianity in that period. We must also take into account the process of syncretism between 'Indo-European' and 'Aegean' deities which has been generally assumed, and which has analogies in the pantheons of the other Near Eastern cultures, particularly of the Hittites and Hurrians.

Analogies between Un718 and the sarcophagus are seen in the objects sacrificed (the ox, the two goats under the table, the vessels containing liquids, and the basket of 'fruit'—which might perhaps be cheeses); and the fact that women officiate connects with the preponderance of *hierēiai* at Pylos and



Knossos. Sheepskins, whose purpose on Un718 is not self-evident, appear on the sarcophagus as the ceremonial lower garments of the acolytes (cf. Evans, *PM*, iv, p. 401), and as a kind of cloak to the effigy (?) in front of the shrine. The grain and wine which precede the bull and rams in lines 3 and 7 are probably to be connected with Nestor's ritual of οὐλοχύται and λοιβή οἶνου detailed in *Od.* iii, 429-63, already invoked for the sarcophagus by von Duhn. Cf. also *Od.* xix, 197.



Fig. 15. The Agia Triada sarcophagus.

171 = Un718

<sup>1</sup> ṣq-ra-pe-da po-se-da-o-ni | do-so-mo

<sup>2</sup> o-twi-de-ta-i do-so-mo to-so e-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo

<sup>3</sup> do-se WHEAT 4 WINE 3 BULL 1



- <sup>4</sup> *tu-ro<sub>2</sub>* TU+RO<sub>2</sub> 10 *ko-wo* SKIN+KO 1  
<sup>5</sup> *me-ri-to* 4 3  
 vacat  
<sup>7</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* *da-mo* WHEAT 2 WINE 2  
<sup>8</sup> RAMS 2 TU+RO<sub>2</sub> 5 *a-re-ro* A+RE+PA 4 2 SKIN+KO 1  
<sup>9</sup> *to-so-de* *ra-wa-ke-ta* *do-se*  
<sup>10</sup> RAMS 2 *me-re-u-ro* IT T 6  
<sup>11</sup> WINE 9 2 *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* *ka-ma*  
<sup>12</sup> WHEAT T 6 WINE 9 1 TU+RO<sub>2</sub> 5 *me-ri-[to]*  
<sup>13</sup> 9 1 4 1

The S~peda<sup>p</sup> to Poseidon, its contribution.

- § 1 *As far as one can see*, ?Ekhelāwōn will give so much as a contribution:  
 480 l. wheat, 108 l. wine, one bull, ten cheeses, one sheepskin, ?6 l. of honey.  
 § 2 And similarly the village (will give): 240 l. wheat, 72 l. wine, two rams,  
 five cheeses, 4 l. *fat*, one sheepskin.  
 § 3 And the military leader will give so much: two rams, 72 l. flour, 24 l. wine.  
 § 4 And similarly the *estate* of the cult association (will give): 72 l. wheat,  
 ?12 l. wine, five cheeses, ?14 l. of honey.

*Poseidāōni*: other Pylos examples of this alternative spelling of the dative ending are  
*ko-re-te-ri* On01.5, *Me-za-wo-ni* 96 = Un02.5. See p. 85.

*o-wi-de-ta-i*: the difficulty of interpreting this word leaves in doubt the punctuation and  
 syntax of the first two lines, but the repetition of *dosmos* shows them to be divided  
 into two clauses. Both terms recur on the fragmentary label Wa731:

*do-so-mo*  
*o-wi-de-ta-[*

The dative plural of a noun in *-tās* (\**owi-detā'i* 'sheep-trussers', cf. Fig. 15??) seems unlikely, since the analogy of 154 = Eq01 (*o-wi-de*, etc.) suggests that *o-* is also a prefixed adverb or conjunction here, whose clause is recapitulated by the *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* of paragraphs § 2 and § 4. The infinitive *ῥιδέσθαι* seems the obvious choice for the second element, although the etymology of the ending *-σθαι* does not suggest an original disyllable (Schwyzer, *Gram.* 1, p. 809). The restrictive construction *ὥς* + infinitive is not attested before Herodotus' *ὥς ἐμολ' ὅκασιν* 'as far as it seems to me', although the Homeric *θεῶμα ἰδέσθαι*, etc. show some analogy with it. Is this a scribal formula to emphasize that the transaction has not yet actually occurred, and that some correction might be expected?



*tu-ro<sub>2</sub>*: note the surprising repetition of the spelling in the form of a 'monogram' (see p. 52), which apparently recurs on KN U 7498.

*ko-wo*: compare the ideogram no. 152, SKIN+W1, which we interpret as *wrinos* 'ox-hide'. This spelling seems to represent the Homeric *κῶας* (\**qōwas*), declined as if from *-os*, 'sheepskin, fleece'.



*a-re-ro*: it is impossible to read  $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ , since the ideogram is reckoned as a liquid on Un06, and 'flour' is already indicated by the word *meleuron* of line 10 (see Vocabulary, p. 399). The monogram on Un06 has a double cross-bar (i.e. A + RE + PA -  $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\alpha\rho$ ?), and it is tempting to regard the present spelling as an error.

Pylos 172 = Kn02 has already been discussed at length by Furumark (1954, pp. 51-3), Meriggi (1954*b*, pp. 19-22), Carratelli (1954*a*, pp. 113-14, 1955) and by Palmer at the London Seminar. Despite difficulty in explaining the introductory formula, there is general agreement on the purpose of the tablet: it clearly records ritual offering or exhibition of cups and bowls of some precious material, carried out under the edict of the palace before the shrines or images of various divinities. The individual vessels are accompanied by MAN OR WOMAN ideograms. Bennett first suggested that these are figurines of the same material, and a suspicion of human sacrifice may also occur; but it seems more probable that their main function is to *carry* the vessels, just like the men and women illustrated on the LM Ia 'Cupbearer' and 'Procession' frescoes at Knossos, of whom Evans says (*PM*, II, p. 710): 'It is a fair conclusion that the scenes here depicted were intended as a glorified representation of actual ceremonial processions in which, at fixed seasons, the acolytes and ministers of the Palace cult carried out the sacred vessels and other relics to be shown to the assembled people in the West Court.'

141		GOLD
		BOWL
		CUP

It is in this light that the syntax of this difficult text should probably be examined. The following translations of lines 1-2 have so far been proposed:

FURUMARK: 'Let them be sent to the shrine of Poseidon, and bring the gifts and cupbearers to the city?'

MERIGGI: 'They were sent to the shrine of Poseidon, and the city sent gifts and acolytes?'

PALMER: 'A ceremony of consecration was performed in the Poseideion, and the town was purified, gifts were brought and the defilement was purified.'

It is fairly generally agreed that the adjectival formations such as *Pa-si-da-i-jo* which differentiate three of the introductory formulae are the names of places rather than the titles of priests or festivals, since the fourth formula provides in their place *Pa-ki-ja-si*, well known as a local toponym; note also *Pa-si-da-i-jo-de* on Fn01.2. But the ending of *Pa-ki-ja-si* and the absence of the usual allative suffix *-de* indicate that these are all in the locative case; it is therefore difficult to regard *i-je-to* as a part of  $\text{ἵημι}$  with the sense 'send to', and preferable to take it as the description of an activity which takes place *at* the different localities.



Palmer goes so far as to postulate a verb *i-je-* 'to sacrifice', distinct from the classical ἱημι and related to ἱερός.

Close examination of the tablet reveals a divider between *pe-re* and *po-re-na-ge* in lines 2, 8 and rev. 2. The recurring verbs *pe-re* and *a-ke* evidently show the classical distinction of sense between φέρω and ἄγω, cf. *Il.* xxiii, 512-13: δῶκε δ' ἄγειν ἑτάροισι γυναῖκα καὶ τρίποδα φέρειν. They record the activities appropriate to the two separate sets of ideograms on the tablet, the *carrying* of the cups and bowls (*dōra* 'gifts') and the *conducting* of the men and women (*po-re-na?*). Though one might logically expect this last word to be an unattested noun meaning something like 'cup-bearer', it is possible that it merely represents φορῆναι 'to carry'.

The tense, voice, person and subject of the verbs *i-je-to* | *pe-re* | *a-ke* are problematical (as is the function of the *-ge* added to the first). There are three alternatives:

1. *They are active/middle indicative.* *i-je-to* could represent *hietoi/hientoi* (present middle, 3rd sing. or plur.) or *hieto/hiento* (imperfect middle); *a-ke* and *pe-re* can only be 3rd or 2nd sing. active, present or imperfect. It is difficult to find a subject for these verbs. Is it the initial *pu-ro* = Pylos? Or must we understand 'he', for the king or one of his officials?

2. *They are passive.* Palmer regards *a-ke*, etc., as aorist passives in *-ē*, *-ēn*. This formation in Homer (e.g. ἑτύπη) is generally regarded as having been originally restricted to intransitives (ῥύη, etc., Schwyzler, *Gram.* 1, pp. 756-60); but while forms in *-θη* are probably late innovations, Palmer is perhaps justified in arguing that the Mycenaean verb may already be allowed to possess some specifically passive forms.

3. *They are imperatives.* In this case *a-ke* and *pe-re* can only correspond to the classical singulars ἄγε and φέρε; but they need not necessarily be taken as instructions to a single person, since the plural forms are the result of an innovating tendency in the different Indo-European languages. In the same way the form *hietō* need not be specifically passive or 3rd person: the original function of *-tō* is that of forming generalized imperatives indifferent as to person or voice (Schwyzler, *Gram.* 1, p. 801), as seen in early Latin and in the Cyprian gloss ἐλθετωσ' ἐλθέ. But it is not clear why *-tō* should be added to the first verb and not to the other two.

The third alternative has been followed in the printed translation, but without any very strong conviction. It must be admitted that securely identified imperatives have not yet been found in any other introductory formulae.

Quite apart from the syntax of the paragraphs, a further problem is set by the peculiar way in which they are disposed on the tablet. In its present form



each face of the tablet is divided by cross-lines into five sections of varying length; and several of these sections are left blank, a fact which must require some special explanation. The only other tablet which shows similar blank entries is Knossos 207 = V 280, which is introduced by a month name and which there is reason to think represents a calendar or diary of fifteen successive days. Palmer has already proposed to identify *po-ro-wi-to-jo* (Kn02, 'reverse', line 1) as a month name *Plōwi(s)toio* 'the time for sailing again' (cf. *πλωίζω*, *πλωϊμα* 'sailing weather'). An alternative explanation of the blank entries might conceivably be that the tablet records a series of processions all occurring on the same day, but that some of those for whom provision was made failed to materialize.

If Kn02 really represents a calendar of the ceremonies prescribed for ten days of a Pylos month (purposely divided into five days on each side?), then we might expect *po-ro-wi-to-jo* to represent the first word of the complete text, and the 'reverse' to be the first side written. The tablet bears considerable signs of erasure and re-use, and Bennett's initial 'reverse' (preserved in our transcription) is the flatter side, i.e. the original obverse; in his new edition published in *PT II* Bennett now regards the side beginning *po-ro-wi-to-jo* as the obverse. The writing is hasty and careless: one case of an omitted sign is certain (in line 5), and two more are highly probable.

## 172 = Kn02 [Tn316]

## OBVERSE:

PU-RO	1	<i>i-je-to-qe po-si-da-i-jo a-ke-qe wa-tu</i>			
	2	<i>do-ra-qe pe-re po-re-na-qe a-ke</i>			
	3	GOLD CUP 1 WOMEN 2 <i>qo-wi-ja</i> [...] <i>ko-ma-we-te-ja</i>			
PU-RO	4	<i>i-je-to-qe pe-re-*82-jo i-pe-me-de-ja-(jo?)&gt;-qe di-u-ja-jo-qe</i>			
	5	<i>do-ra-qe pe-re-po-re-na-qe a-(ke) pe-re-*82 GOLD+BOWL 1</i>			
					WOMAN 1
PU-RO	6	<i>i-pe-me-de-ja GOLD+BOWL 1 di-u-ja GOLD BOWL 1</i>			
					WOMAN 1
	7	<i>e-ma-a<sub>2</sub> / q-re-ja GOLD CUP 1 MAN 1</i>			
PU-RO	8	<i>i-je-to-qe di-u-jo do-ra-qe pe-re po-re-na-qe a-ke</i>			
	9	<i>di-we GOLD BOWL 1 MAN 1 e-ra GOLD BOWL 1 WOMAN 1</i>			
	10	<i>di-ri-mi-jo / di-wo i-je-(re?)&gt;-we GOLD BOWL 1 [ ? ]</i>			
PU-RO		vacat			
	12-16	vacant			



## REVERSE:

<sup>1</sup> *po-ro-wi-to-jo*

PU-RO { <sup>2</sup> *i-je-to-ge pa-ki-ja-si do-ra-ge pe-re po-re-na-ge*  
<sup>3</sup> *a-ke po-ti-ni-ja* GOLD CUP I WOMAN I

<sup>4</sup> *ma-na-sa* GOLD BOWL I WOMAN I *po-si-da-e-ja* GOLD BOWL I WOMAN I<sup>5</sup> *ti-ri-se-ro-e* GOLD CUP I *do-po-ta* GOLD CUP I

vacat

PU-RO <sup>7-10</sup> vacant

## OBVERSE:

(1st) PYLOS: *perform a certain action* at the (shrine) of Poseidon and . . . the town, and bring the gifts and bring those to carry them.

One gold cup, two women. . . .

(2nd) PYLOS: *perform a certain action* at the (shrines) of the *Dove*-goddess and of Iphemedeia and of Diwja, and bring the gifts and bring those to carry them.To the *Dove*-goddess: one gold bowl, one woman.

To Iphemedeia: one gold bowl.

To Diwja: one gold bowl, one woman.

To Hermes. . . : one gold cup, one man.

(3rd) PYLOS: *perform a certain action* at the (shrine) of Zeus, and bring the gifts and bring those to carry them.

To Zeus: one gold bowl, one man.

To Hera: one gold bowl, one woman.

To Drimios the priest of Zeus: one gold bowl, [one man?].

(4th) blank.

(5th) PYLOS: blank.

## REVERSE:

(In the month?) of ? Plōwi(s)tos:

(1st) PYLOS: *perform a certain action* at the place *Pa-ki-ja-ne*, and bring the gifts and bring those to carry them.

To the Mistress: one gold cup, one woman.

(2nd) To ? Mnasa: one gold bowl, one woman.

To Posidācia: one gold bowl, one woman.

(3rd) To the 'thrice-hero': one gold cup.

To the 'lord of the house': one gold cup.

(4th) blank.

(5th) PYLOS: blank.



*Posidāōi*: compare *Od.* vi, 266: ἐνθα δὲ τέ σφ' ἄγορῇ καλὸν Ποσιδῆϊον ἄμφις. Mycenaean shares the classical distinction in vowel between the noun (-*sei*-) and adjective (-*si*-) in this name. Poseidon is not mentioned by name in line 3, since his is the only offering.

*a-ke-qe wa-tu* = *age q'e wastu*? There is nothing lost after *tu*, as Bennett's 1951 drawing suggests. Is this phrase, whose meaning is obscure, meant to be understood in all the paragraphs? If we translate 'bring to the town', then what is the object? And should we not expect *wastu-de*? If we regard *wastu* itself as the object of *age*, 'bring the townspeople' (compare Evans' showing of the sacred vessels 'to the assembled people'), this presupposes a personalized sense of ἄστυ which is so far quite unparalleled. It is these difficulties which have evidently led Palmer to postulate in this line a quite different verb \*ἄγω 'purify' related to ἄγνός, ἄγιος, ἄζομαι.

*qo-wi-ja*, etc.: the second word, too uncertain to be read, seems to consist of two signs written over an erased three-letter word. The phrase may be intended as a description of the preceding women. *qo-wi-ja* is apparently from *g'ous* 'ox': acrobats for the bull games?? *ko-ma-we-te-ja* cannot mean 'long-haired', for which *-wessa* would be the feminine. Note that these words do not show the expected dual in -*ō*: Chadwick suggests that they are in fact the names of female divinities associated with the *Posidāōn*, and possibly explaining the sex of the cup-bearers, which elsewhere agrees with that of the recipients.

*pe-re* \*82: the vowel ending is probably -*a* in view of the adjectival formation in -*jo*, which parallels that from *di-u-ja*. Palmer reads \*82 as *ja<sub>2</sub>*, comparing the men's names *Ki-ri* \*82-*jo* / *Ki-ri-ja* -*i-jo* / *Ki-ra<sub>2</sub>* -*i-jo*; and reads Πελεία 'dove-goddess' (cf. the πέλεια at Dodona). This goddess now recurs on Pylos Un1189, as the recipient of female animals, and with *Po-se-da-o-ne* (erased) on the same tablet. Does \*82 represent *jai/jāi*, so that the form is in fact dative plural?

*Iphemedēai* = Ἰφιμέδεια, the mother of Otus and Ephialtes by Poseidon, *Od.* xi, 305. The absence of initial *W*- and the spelling *-pe-* show that this name does not contain Ἰφι; contrast the man's name *Wi-pi-no-o* = Ἰφινοός. Almost certainly a pre-Greek deity, whose name has been modified by popular etymology; the confusion of *e* and *i* seems to be confined to non-Greek words.

*Diwjai* (disyllabic like *me-u-jo* = *meu-jōn*?): compare the goddess Διφία on an early fourth-century Pamphylian inscription (Schwyzer, *Dial.* 686<sup>1</sup>). This paragraph, like lines 4 and 5 of the 'reverse', evidently deals with a mixed collection of deities, who may have features of their cult in common.

*E-ma-a<sub>2</sub>* (also Un11.8): apparently *Hermāai*, cf. Hom. Ἑρμῆς, Ἑρμείας, dial. Ἑρμᾶς, Ἑρμᾶων, Ἑρμᾶος, etc. The etymology from ἑρμα 'cairn' is disproved by the absence of *ῑ*- in early Cretan inscriptions and in Homer. *A-re-ja* is obscure: cf. the epithet Ἀρηα (acc.) applied to Zeus and Enyalios, and Ἀρειαν, Ἀρηαν to Athena, in a fourth-century inscription from Arcadian Orchomenos, Schwyzer, *Dial.* 665c. The connexion with Ἀρης is doubtful, unless the Aeol. Ἀρεϋς, Ἀρεϋῖος is secondary.

*diwjo* 'of Zeus': note the different spelling (and meaning?) of *di-wi-ja* on 28 - An42. The meaning 'of Zeus' is very rare for the classical δῖος, and no temple-name is



formed from it. Compare, however, the Knossos month-name *Di-wi-jo* with the classical Δίος.

*E-ra*: the association with Zeus makes the identification with Hera almost inevitable. The etymology < \**H<sub>2</sub>ḡrā* must be abandoned; it is built on the isolated Elean Ἐρφαῖοις, the derivation of which from the divine name is only assumed. It is contradicted by dialect forms without *ḡ*, e.g. Cypr. Ἐρα, Schwyzer, *Dial.* 68: (4), and by the Attic Ἥρα, since \**H<sub>2</sub>ḡrā* would give Ἥρη (cf. κόρη). Chadwick suggests reading *E-[ra]* on Un11.8 between *Potniāi* and *Hermāi*.

*di-ri-mi-jo*, etc.: the second word appears to be *di-wo* (gen.) rather than Bennett's *di-we*. This would prevent us from regarding *Drimios* as an epithet of Zeus (cf. Δρύμνιος ὁ Ζεὺς ἦτοι δαίμων οὕτω παρὰ Παιφνυλίοις, Tzetzes ad Lycophron, *Alex.* 536); but this 'priest of Zeus' may conceivably be a hero figure rather than a living person.

*Potniāi*: the specification 'at *Pa-ki-ja-ne*' makes it unnecessary to name her more exactly; whoever she is, the Mistress is almost certainly the divinity served by the 'priestess of *Pa-ki-ja-ne*' on the Pylos land tenure tablets, and possibly that understood in the phrase *theoio doelos*. Compare *Athānā potniā* on Knossos 208 = V 52? Or the phrase *Artemitos doelos* on 167 = Es650 (and Ἀρτεμις πότνια θηρῶν, *Il.* xxi, 470)? Or the title αἱ Πότνιαι = Demeter and Persephone (and read 'the Demeter of *Pa-ki-ja-ne*' on 114 = En02.1)?

*Posidāiāi*: her name shows the same structural relation to that of Poseidon as *Diwja's* does to Zeus.

*Tris-hērōi*?: the subject of an article by Hemberg (1954), who regards him as an ancestral figure related to the Attic τρι(το)πάτορες, lit. 'great-grandfathers', recorded as having the function of θυρωροὶ καὶ φύλακες τῶν ἀνέμων. One would, however, expect *→ro-we* in the dative.

Hemberg also joins Furumark and Carratelli in reading *do-po-ta* as a variant form of δεσπότης (\**doms-potās* beside \**dems-*; cf. δόμος, Skt. *dāmpati-* 'master'); or more likely *dospotās* from \**dms-* (cf. Arcad. δέκοτος < \**dek-m-tos*). Note that for some reason (the absence of a public procession?) neither of these last entries includes a 'cup-bearer'.

## 2. PROPORTIONAL TRIBUTE FROM PYLOS VILLAGES

### (i) THE *Ma-* TABLETS

The arithmetic and phraseology of the eighteen tablets which make up the *Ma-* series have been discussed by Bennett (1951c, p. 36), Furumark (1954, pp. 42-3), Sundwall (1953b) and Carratelli (1954a, p. 97; 1954b, p. 220). Each tablet is a reckoning of varying amounts of a list of six commodities in fixed order, which will for simplicity be transcribed by the letters *A-F*. It will be noticed that *A*, *D* and *F* are measured in whole numbers, *B*, *C* and *E* in units of weight: this distinction will not be further indicated in transcription.



The ideogram *D* probably represents *wrioi* 'oxhides' (more clearly on Knossos M 797, identified in *SM II*, p. 61, no. B 101). The other pictorial symbol, *A*, looks like the syllabic sign *pte* with an inserted *we*; but the Knossos forms of this sign (e.g. on M 467) diverge considerably from the Knossos *pte*, and on M 757 and M 5712 it even has a 'fringe' along the bottom similar to that of the CLOTH ideogram (see p. 313). It is associated with WOOL on M 559 and on M683, as well as on the fragmentary Pylos Un853, in which Poseidon's name occurs in the preamble. It probably represents some textile material. Tablets Mn01 and Mn02 are lists of this commodity by itself.

The other four commodities are recorded by syllabic 'initials', and there is no guarantee that they have the same meaning as similar syllables used as abbreviations in other contexts. Note, however, that *ke-ro* is used at Knossos (U 436, U 746) as an adjunct to the circular ideogram measured by weight on the Knossos *Mc*-tablets, which are similar in arrangement to this Pylos series (see below, p. 302). It may represent *κηρός* 'beeswax'; though there is some doubt whether the Common Greek may not be \**κῶρός* (cf. Boisacq *s.v.*). *A*, *B*, *D*, *E* and *F* also occur on a fragmentary tablet of different arrangement, Mn03.

The six commodities are probably all materials required by the palace workshops (though not all of metal, as Carratelli assumes), but whether for connected or various purposes is uncertain. The first line of each tablet records a place-name, followed by amounts of the six commodities which are clearly calculated in a fixed proportion of 7 : 7 : 2 : 3 : 1½ : 150. The first table gives the ideal scheme, including fractions, which results from exact calculation:

<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>
17½	17½	5	7½	3½	375
2 ½	23½	6½	10	5	500
28	28	8	12	6	600
42	42	12	18	9	900
46½	46½	13½	20	10	1000
63	63	18	27	13½	1350
70	70	20	30	15	1500

The next table shows the amounts actually recorded, arranged in ascending order: where these diverge from the ideal values by 1.0 or more, they have been printed in heavy type.



The eighteen place-names agree with the fourteen legible on 257 = Jn09, with the exception of *E-re-i* (Jn09.19) and *A-si-ja-ti-ja* (Jn09.16, which may, however, be an alternative spelling of *A-\*85-ta<sub>2</sub>*). The 'Pylos 9' are all represented: the last two columns of the table below give for comparison the amounts of 'fat hogs' and 'wine (?)' recorded for these nine on 75 = Cn02 and 250 = Vn01. These show a similar scheme of rising proportions, evidently adapted to the relative importance of the different villages.

		<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	Cn02	Vn01
Ma09	<i>Ri-jo</i>	17	17	5	7	4	362	2	20
Ma13	<i>Ro-u-so</i>	17	17	5	8	4	?		
Ma08	<i>Ka-ra-do-ro</i>	18	18	4	8	4	440	2	40
Ma04	<i>Pa-ki-ja-pi</i>	22	22	7	10	4?	500?	2	35
Ma05	<i>A-pu<sub>2</sub>-we</i>	23	23	7	10	5	500	2	35
Ma06	<i>A-ke-re-wa</i>	23	23	7	10	5	500	2	30
Ma11	<i>A-te-re-wi-ja</i>	23	23	7?	10	?	?		
Ma12	<i>Ti-mi-to a-ke-e</i>	24	24	7	10	5	500		
Ma14	<i>Sa-ma-ra</i>	24	24	7	10	5	500		
Ma17	<i>A-*85-ta<sub>2</sub></i>	24	24	?	?	?	500		
Ma01	<i>Pi-*82</i>	28	28	8	22	?	600	3	50
Ma10	<i>[Za]-ma-e-wi-ja</i>	28	28	8	12	5	600		
Ma02	<i>Me-ta-pa</i>	28	28	8	12	6	600	3	50
Ma15	<i>E-sa-re-wi-ja</i>	42	42	12	18	8	900		
Ma07	<i>E-ra-te-re-we</i>	46	46	?	?	10	1000	3	50
Ma03	<i>Pe-to-no</i>	63	63	17	27	?	1350	6	100
Ma16	<i>Ra-wa-ra-ta<sub>2</sub></i>	70	?	20	30	20	1500?		
Ma18	<i>Si-re-wa</i>								

('assessment' not recorded)

The shortest tablet of the series (Ma07) has only a single line, tabulating the calculated proportions for the village *E-ra-te-re-we*. Furumark is no doubt right in regarding this first-line entry as the total 'assessment' which the villages are required to contribute; and the absence of any further entry here would indicate that the full amount has in fact been received.

On four tablets the term *apudosis* ('actual delivery') describes a contribution which falls short of the total assessment, and the adjunct *o-* is used with each ideogram to show the resulting 'debt' (*ophelo-*): this calculation is evidently the main purpose of the series. On the surviving Knossos tablets, a regular pair of entries with *a-pu-do-si* and *o-pe-ro* is only found on X 409, G 461 and Ga1530. In the translations of the *Ma-* tablets printed below, it will be seen that the amounts in each column below the first line together add up to the total 'assessment' above.



## 173 = Ma06 [222]

<sup>1</sup> <i>a-ke-re-wa</i>	A 23	B 23	C 7	D 10	E 5	F 500	
<sup>2</sup> <i>a-pu-do-si</i>	A 10	o. 13	B 22	o. 1	C 7	D 8	o. 2 E 5 F 500
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
<i>A-ke-re-wa</i> (assessment)	23	23 kg.	7 kg.	10	5 kg.	500	
Actual delivery	10	22	7	8	5	500	
Owing	13	1		2			

## 174 = Ma08 [346]

<sup>1</sup> <i>ka-ra-do-ro</i>	A 18	B 18	C 4	D [			
<sup>2</sup> <i>a-pu-do-si</i>	A 14	o. 4	B 16	o. 2	C 4	D 8	E 4 F 440
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
Kharadros (assessment)	18	18 kg.	4 kg.	[8	4 kg.	440]	
Actual delivery	14	16	4	8	4	440	
Owing	4	2					

## 175 = Ma10 [393]

<sup>1</sup> [ <i>za</i> ]- <i>ma-e-wi-ja</i>	A 28	B 28	C 8	D 12	E 5	F 600	
<sup>2</sup> <i>a-pu-do-si</i>	A 20	<i>a-ne-ta-de</i>	A 1	B 21	C 5	o. 1	D 8 E 6 F 450
<sup>3</sup> <i>o-da-a<sub>2</sub></i> <i>ma-ra-ne-ni-jo</i>	<i>o-u-di-do-si</i>	A 7	B 7	C 2	D 3	E 2	F 150
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
<i>Za-ma-e-wi-ja</i> (assessment)	28	28 kg.	8 kg.	12	5 kg.	600	
Actual delivery	20	21	5	8	6	450	
Remitted	1						
Owing				1			
Thus M. are/is excused payment	7	7	2	3	2	150	

The sum is here complicated by a common formula which states that a particular class 'does not give' a certain amount. From the fact that this deficit is not taken into account in calculating the overall 'debt', Furumark (1954, p. 43) is evidently right in regarding it as a free allowance, by which the theoretical assessment for each village is officially reduced. This is made clearer by the parallel use of the words *λευτέρα*, *λευτέρωσε* on the *Na*-tablets (see p. 298). The class in question is most often that of the *khalkēwes* 'smiths', and it would be interesting to know if the listed commodities are in fact the product of the smithies; or whether they are materials which the smiths (or other classes named) are likely to need in the villages more urgently than in the palace workshops; or whether the formula is in fact only the equivalent of saying: 'The village of *X*. is excused payment of so much, in recognition of the fact that it has so many smiths working on government contracts' (cf. the *Jn*-tablets, pp. 352-8).



Tablet 183 - Nu831 shows a breakdown of a levy of 45 SA (see p. 295) among the different members of a single village. 'The smith' is represented among them; and it seems likely that the *Ma*-tribute was also allocated in detail among the different classes of each village, some of which might receive preferential treatment. The tendency of the smiths in particular to claim exemption from feudal obligations in time of emergency is reflected, for example, in § 56 of the contemporary Hittite Code.

Compare *Ma-ra-ne-ni-jo* with *Ma-ra-ne-nu-we*, a class or place providing rowers on 54 - An19.

The sums for *D* and *E* are anomalous, since the village contributes three more of *E* than it need, and a debt of one *D* goes unnoticed; perhaps these discrepancies were regarded as cancelling each other out. An additional concession for *A* is introduced by the word *aneta* (cf. ἀνεσις φόρων 'remission of taxes').

176 = Ma12 [123]

<sup>1</sup> *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* A 24 B 24 C 7 D 10 E 5 F 500

<sup>2</sup> *a-pu-do-si* A 21 o. 2 B C D E F

<sup>3</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub> ka-ke-we o-u-di-do-si* A 1 B 1 F 10

	A	B	C	D	E	F
<i>Ti-mi-to a-ke-e</i> (assessment)	24	24 kg.	7 kg.	10	5 kg.	500
Actual delivery	21	(23)	(7)	(10)	(5)	(490)
Owing	2					
Thus the smiths are excused payment	1	1				10

The entries of line 2 reveal something of the scribe's procedure: he has written in the ideograms for the six commodities, but has not bothered to complete the amounts of *apudosis* for the last five, evidently because no 'debt' in fact resulted from them. We can therefore restore them by subtracting the smith's allowance from the total 'assessment'.

From there it is a short step to the layout shown on the next two tablets, where no *apudosis* entry figures at all, and where we must again assume that the delivery was satisfactory and incurred no 'debt'.

177 = Ma02 [90]

<sup>1</sup> *me-ta-pa* A 28 B 28 C 8 D 12 E 6 F 600

<sup>2</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub> ka-ke-we o-u-di-do-si* A 1 B 1 D 1

*ku-re-we o-u-di-do-si* A 4 B 4 D 2 E 1½ F 100

*ku-re-we*: Carratelli (1954b, p. 220) suggests *skulēioes* 'leather workers' (cf. σκύλος/σκύτος 'hide', σκυτεῦς, Hom. σκυτοτόμος). See also p. 191.

178 = Ma13 [365]

<sup>1</sup> *ro-u-so* A 17 B 17 C 5 D 8 E 4 F [ ]

<sup>2</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub> ka-ke-we a<sub>2</sub>-te-ro we-to di-do-si* A 1 B ½ F 10



*hateron wetos didonsi*: evidently a less generous concession than the *ou didonsi* formula.

Either 'some other year' or, more probably, 'in the following year' (cf. Attic θατέρον 'on the morrow', and the root meaning of ἑτέρος as 'one or other of two'). The temporal accusative (where *fēteĩ* might be expected) recurs in *to-to we-to* (43 = Sn01) and may perhaps be explained as referring to an inclusive period rather than a single point of time; but cf. also Hom. αὐτῆμαρ 'on the same day', Attic τὴν ὥραν 'at the proper season', etc. (Schwyzer, *Gram.* II, p. 70).

On the remainder of the tablets the deficit resulting from the calculation is shown in the entry *perusinwon ophelo-*, which is equivalent to the 'debt' figures (*o.-*) included in the *apudosis* entry of the first tablets. Their identity of function, in spite of the different wording, is shown by the fact that the two formulae never occur on the same tablet, and that only one tablet of either type is extant for each place-name. The variations are probably due to the accounts being completed at different times, or to differences in the other records from which they are abstracted. The whole series must presumably be regarded as referring to *πέρυσι* 'last year' (or 'the season which is past'), and as a collation of the season's records made after all the returns are complete.

The occurrence of *perusimwa ophelo-* on two of the tablets makes it difficult to read the second word as a noun ὄφελος 'debt' (only 'usefulness' in Greek), and preferable to understand ὀφειλό(μενον), ὀφειλό(μενα); unless we punctuate 'the things of last year: the deficit'. On Ma16 the ideograms have the adjunct *o.-* added to them, and the deficit of *E* is written, surprisingly, *o.pe-ro* instead of *o.o.* The adjunct *o.-* also occurs with an *ou didonsi* amount on 180 = Ma01.2, where it seems out of place.

On the remaining tablets the 'actual delivery' can be restored as the difference between the 'assessment' and the remaining items. A puzzling exception is the sum for *F* on the next tablet, where the full assessment of 362 is recorded as owing, in spite of the smiths' free allowance of forty: this deficit of unparalleled size may be suspected of having been inserted in error.

179 = Ma09 [193]

<sup>1</sup> *ri-jo* A 17 B 17 C 5 D 7 E 4 F 362  
<sup>2</sup> *pe-ru-si-nu-(wo)* *o-pe-ro* A 2 E 4 F 362  
<sup>3</sup> *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* *ka-ke-we* *o-u-di-do-si* A 2 B 4 F 40  
*o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* *pe-ra<sub>3</sub>-go* A 1 D 1 [?]

*Pe-ra<sub>3</sub>-go*: applying the common vocalization *rai* to *ra<sub>3</sub>*, Andrews reads the name of the Thessalian tribe of Περραιβοί, recorded at Dodona in *Il.* II, 749. This is difficult to control.



180 = Ma01 [225]

<sup>1</sup> *pi* \*82 *A* 28 *B* 28 *C* 8 *D* 22 [*E* 6] *F* 600

<sup>2</sup> *pe*-*ru*-*si*-*nu*-*wa* | *o*-*pe*-*ro* 're-u-ko-lo-ro' *B* 2

*o*-*da*-*a*<sub>2</sub> *ka*-*ke*-*we* *o*-*u*-*di*-*do*-*si* 'za-we-te' *o* *A* 1 *B* 1 *F* 16

*Leuktron*<sup>b</sup> *za-we-te*: to be taken together? The purpose of this annotation is obscure. The place-name *L.* occurs, for example, with *Sa-ma-ra* on 41 = An14.

181 = Ma14 [378]

<sup>1</sup> *sa*-*ma*-*ra* *A* 24 *B* 24 *C* 7 *D* 10 *E* 5 *F* 500

<sup>2</sup> *o*-*da*-*a*<sub>2</sub> *ka*-*ke*-*we* *o*-*u*-*di*-*do*-*si* 'D 2' *A* 3 *B* 3 *C* 2 'F 60'

*pe*-*ru*-*si*-*nu*-*wo* *o*-*pe*-*ro* *A* 1 *D* 2 *F* 100

182 = Ma18 [126]

*i*-*na*-*ma*-*ta*
<sup>1</sup> *pe*-*ru*-*si*-*nu*-*wa* *si*-*re*-*wa* *o*-*pe*-*ro* *do*-*si*-*mi*-*ja*
<sup>2</sup> *A* 3 *B* *C* 1

This tablet is exceptional in showing no 'assessment' entry. The word *dosmia* presumably means '(items owing last season) belonging to the *dosmos*', perhaps the generic name for a levy of this type. Compare also the enigmatic basketry-label Wa730:

 [ ]-*ra*-*o* *do*-*so*-*mo* 10

*sa*-*ma*-*ra* *do*-*si*-*mi*-*jo*-*qe* 1

The place-name *Si-re-wa* recurs on Mn01.4. It is tempting to read *i-na-ma-ta* as a neuter plural qualified by the adjectives in *-a*, but difficult to find one to fit. Cf. Arcadian *iv* ἀμάρτα πάντα 'in perpetuity', *IG* 5(2), 5?—but this presupposes a Mycenaean form *in-* which is contradicted by *en-eensi* 114 = En02.2.

## (ii) THE *N*-TABLETS

The ideogram *sa* occurs on only three fragmentary Knossos tablets, and is confined at Pylos to the *N*-series (*Na Ng Nn*). The pronunciation is probably given by the word *ri-no* (184 = Nn01.1) = λίνον, which might mean any or all of 'flax', 'linen thread', 'net', 'sail', 'linen cloth' or 'linen garment'. Like *wool*?, it is weighed at Knossos but measured in whole numbers at Pylos. Skeins of linen thread or bales of linen cloth seem the most probable: the totalling *to-sa-de* perhaps implies the plural λίνα. As with the ideogram *ni* = 'figs', the phonetic use of the sign bears no apparent relation to the initial of the Greek word.

The commodity is evidently subject to the same kind of yearly levy as the six items counted on the *Ma*-tablets above, but the number of different villages responsible for it is very much larger.



Nn831 shows an assessment of forty-five *SA* for a single village (probably to be restored as *Ko-ri-to*, cf. An13, Ad07), broken down among its inhabitants. Some are mentioned by name, some by trade: the *ko-re-te* ('mayor', more or less synonymous with βασιλεύς?) contributes more than half.

183 = Nn831 (including former Nn02)

<sup>1</sup> <i>ko-ri-[. ri]-no</i>	[do- ]	?Korinthos [will give?] <i>linen</i> :
<sup>2</sup> <i>u-re-[ ]</i>	<i>SA</i> 4	U.: four of <i>linen</i> .
<sup>3</sup> <i>a-mo-ke-re-[?]</i>	<i>SA</i> 1	A.: one of <i>linen</i> .
<sup>4</sup> <i>e-re-e-u</i>	<i>SA</i> 2	E.: two of <i>linen</i> .
<sup>5</sup> <i>qo-u-ko-ro</i>	<i>SA</i> 2	The cowherd(s): two of <i>linen</i> .
<sup>6</sup> <i>a-ro-je-u</i>	<i>SA</i> 1	A.: one of <i>linen</i> .
<sup>7</sup> <i>a-mu?-ta-wo</i>	<i>SA</i> 4	?Amuthaon: four of <i>linen</i> .
<sup>8</sup> <i>e-po-me-ne-u</i>	<i>SA</i> 4	?Hepomeneus: four of <i>linen</i> .
<sup>9</sup> <i>ko-re-te</i>	<i>SA</i> 24	The mayor: twenty-four of <i>linen</i> .
<sup>10</sup> <i>po-me-ne</i>	<i>SA</i> 2	The shepherds: two of <i>linen</i> .
<sup>11</sup> <i>ka-ke-u</i>	<i>SA</i> 1	The smith: one of <i>linen</i> .

For the last word in line 1 one might expect *dosmos* or *dōsei*, but the reason for the erasure is obscure.

*e-re-e-u*: possibly the name of a trade, cf. *e-re-e-wo* on Na60.

Nn01 is a record of the deficit shown by the *SA* deliveries of nine villages. Nearly all the place-names are known from other tablets, and the sequence *A-pi-no-e-wi-jo*—*E-na-po-ro* is found again on Vn04. Three of the names recur in the surviving *Na*- series, all with larger amounts of *SA*:

<i>Pu<sub>2</sub>?-ra<sub>2</sub>-a-ke-re-u</i>	Nn01: 10	Na52: 27+3
<i>E-na-po-ro</i>	Nn01: 33	Na02: 70
<i>Te-tu-ru-we</i>	Nn01: 38	Na14: 40

From this, and from the fact that the *Na*- totals are generally in round numbers (10's), we conclude that the latter are a record of the theoretical assessments, of which Nn01 (and the lost tablets of the same series) enable us to deduce the amounts actually delivered.

184 = Nn01 [228]

<sup>1</sup> <i>o-o-pe-ro-si</i>	<i>ri-no</i>		<i>o-pe-ro</i>
<sup>2</sup> <i>u-ka-jo</i>	<i>SA</i> 20		<i>ro-o-wa</i> <i>SA</i> 35
<sup>3</sup> <i>pu<sub>2</sub>?-ra<sub>2</sub>-a-ke-re-u</i>	<i>SA</i> 10		<i>ke-i-ja-ka-ra-na</i>
<sup>4</sup> <i>SA</i> 5	<i>di-wi-ja-ta</i>	<i>SA</i> 60	
<sup>5</sup> <i>a-pi-no-e-wi-jo</i>	<i>SA</i> 28		



<sup>6</sup> *po-ra-pi* SA 10 *e-na-po-ro* SA 33

<sup>7</sup> *le-tu-ru-we* SA 38

vacant 8

Thus they owe *linen*. Deficit: *U-ka-jo*<sup>8</sup>, twenty of *linen*.

*Ro-o-wa*<sup>9</sup>, thirty-five of *linen*,

etc.

The simplest form of assessment is shown by the tablets Na01-Na44, which merely contain a place-name followed directly by an amount of SA. The figures vary between five and 100, averaging nineteen per village; the most frequent entries are ten and thirty. Each name only occurs once in the whole series, with the exception of Erkhomenos duplicated on Na72 (perhaps to be excluded from it?).

185 = Na32 [419]

*re-u-ko-to-ro* SA 10

Leuktron: ten of *linen*.

On seven tablets the assessment is qualified by the formula '*X. ekhonsi*', in which X. is one of the three terms applied to soldiers (?) on the five *An*-tablets dealing with 'troops' (see pp. 183-94); the place-names also agree with those detailed there. Apparently all the entries on the *Na*-tablets which have verbal formulae, additional to the place-name, are intended to distinguish amounts which are *not* expected to be delivered to the palace (see below); and the wording '*X. ekhonsi*' may be taken to mean either

'The X. are in occupation of the place (and they will use the *linen*)', or  
'The X. (who are at the place) are retaining it for their own use'.

186 = Na46 [543]

*ka-ra-do-ro* / *ko-[ro]-ku-ra-i-jo* '*e-ko-si*' SA 30

Kharadros: the men of *Krokula* are in possession: thirty of *linen*.

Compare *ka-ra-do-ro ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* MEN on 60 = An661.5 (p. 193).

187 = Na49 [514]

[*ku*]-*pa-ri-so* / *ke-ki-de* *e-ko-si* SA 30

Kuparissos: the *ke-ki-de* are in possession: thirty of *linen*.

Compare *ku-pa-ri-si-jo ke-ki-de* MEN on 56 = An657.8 and 10 (p. 188). Probably the present Kyparissia, on the coast 25-30 km. north of Pylos (Κυπαρισσία *Il.* II, 593, Κυπαρίσσια Strabo, Κυπάρισσος Scylax, Pliny).



188 = Na928.

[        ] *u-ru-pi-ja-jo 'e-ko-si'* SA 10[Place-name:] the men of ?Olympia are in possession: ten of *linen*.For ?*Ulympiaioi* compare 57 = An43. 11, 58 = An654. 16, 60 = An661. 12, 76 = Cn22. 6-7.

See p. 190.

A number of the *Na*-tablets record two different amounts of SA, one immediately following the place-name, the other introduced by a clause *tossade X. eleuthera* or *tossade X. ou didonsi*. As on the *Ma*-tablets, these two formulae evidently refer to a free allowance deducted from the official assessment, as has been recognized by Furumark (1954, p. 43) and Webster (1954, p. 15). Their interconnexion is clearly shown in the long formula of the next tablet, and is confirmed by the totals for the whole series. If one adds up the surviving 'assessment' entries (in which the numerals directly follow the place-name), one arrives at a total of 1245 SA; all the entries which represent 'authorized concessions' (e.g. *ekhonsi*, *eleuthera*, *ou didonsi*, *aktiton*) together yield 336. These figures may be compared with the cumulative totals recorded on 198 = Ng02 and 199 = Ng01, which (when restored approximately in proportion with the entries of Ng02) probably indicate an expected delivery of about 1500 SA, and an allowance which 'is not given' of about 550.

On five of the tablets with two or three entries, their amounts add up exactly to thirty, a frequent amount on the single-entry tablets; and it is clear that the first number does not, as on the *Ma*-tablets, record the whole 'assessment' but only the 'delivery' to be expected when the concessions have been subtracted from it (Furumark, *ibid.*). This is also plain on Na65, where the second amount is larger than the first.

189 = Na65 [568]

[?a-ke-re]-*wa* SA 30 *e-sa-re-u ke-(u)-po-da e-re-u-te-ro-se* SA 50  
*to-sa-de na-u-do-mo o-u-di-do-si*

?A-ke-re-wa<sup>p</sup>: thirty of *linen*.

And the shipbuilders are excused payment of so much—the *e-sa-re-u*  
*Ke-u-podās* made it free: fifty of *linen*.

The title *e-sa-re-u* only recurs on Knossos 39 = As1517, *q.v.* Webster (1954, p. 15) connects the *λίον* concessions directly with the requirements of the trades named, i.e. sails and ropes for the *naudomoi* (see Vocabulary), thread and cloth (for shields, cuirasses, etc.) for the *khalkēwes*, nets and ropes for the *kunāgetai*. The same reservations apply as in the case of the *Ma*-concessions (see p. 293).



Both the secondary sense of ἐλεύθερος and the verb-formation in -όω (originally confined to tenses other than present, Schwyzler, *Gram.* 1, p. 727) appear earlier than one might have expected.

190 = Na55 [395]

(top edge: *ke-ke-me-no-jo wa-te-u*)

[ SA nn] *e-re-u-te-ro-se* SA 15  
*to-sa-de pe-i ke-u-po-da e-sa-re-u*

[Place-name: *x* of *linen*.]

And *Ke-u-podās* the *e-sa-re-u* made so much free to them: fifteen of *linen*.

*pe-i* = *sphēi* or possibly *sphēis*, 'to them', as on 56 - An657.11, etc. The note written along the top edge is obscure.

191 = Na56 [248]

*ta-mi-ta-na* | *ku-na-ke-ta-i 'e-re-u-te-ro'* SA 30

*Ta-mi-ta-na*<sup>v</sup>: free to the huntsmen: thirty of *linen*.

*e-re-u-te-ro*: the singular also appears (wrongly?) on Na54.

192 = Na50 [252]

*ri-jo* SA 24 *e-re-u-te-ra* SA 6  
*to-sa-de ka-ke-we*

Rhion: twenty-four of *linen*.

And the smiths (have) a free allowance: six of *linen*.

*ka-ke-we*: the dative plural *kunāgetā'i* on 191 = Na56 suggests the alternative reading 'a free allowance to the smith' (singular) here. The plural is perhaps more likely on the analogy of the *Ma*-tablets, and that of *ma-ra-te-we ou didonsi* on 195 - Na67.

193 = Na57 [520]

[ ] *to-j-qe e-re-u-te-ra*  
*pu<sub>2</sub>?-te-re ki-ti-je-si* SA 30

[Place-name:] the *planters* are bringing into cultivation, and there is a free allowance for these: thirty of *linen*.

*ki-ti-je-si*: the derivation of the verb from an original \*κτεῖμι = κρίζω (cf. Skt. *kṛtī*) is due to Palmer (1954a, p. 67).

*to-j-qe*: *toi'i* or *tois*, dat. plur.?

194 = Na58 [334]

*wa-na-ka e-ke*  
*pi-ka-na* | *e-re-u-te-ra* SA 20

*Pi-ka-na*<sup>v</sup>: a free allowance—the king is in possession: twenty of *linen*.



*wa-na-ka*: the place may conceivably have a *wanax* of its own ('the king has a free allowance'?). but it is more probable that the position of the king in the formulae is similar to that of the *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*, etc. on 186 = Na46 ff. No other entry combines *ekhei* and *eleuthera* in a continuous sentence, or writes the latter on the bottom line. Perhaps the king has already made a levy (in person?) on the place, and the seasonal contribution is therefore excused.

## 195 = Na67 [245]

*e-wi-te-wi-jo* SA 20      *o-u-di-do-si* SA 10  
    *to-sa-de ma-ra-te-we ra-wa-ke-si-jo*

*E-wi-te-wi-jo*<sup>p</sup>: twenty of linen.

And the military leader's *ma-ra-te-we* are excused payment of so much: ten of linen.

*ma-ra-te-we*: see Vocabulary. This tablet shows the alternative *ou didonsi* formula: that and the alternative *eleuthera* occupy successive lines of Na66, probably without distinction of meaning.

## 196 = Na70 [926]

*e-ke-de-mi* *a<sub>2</sub>-ku-mi-jo*  
*pa-ka-a-ka-ri* *a-ki-ti-to* SA 6

*Pa-ka-a-ka-ri*<sup>p</sup>: (? the land is) uncultivated, and *A<sub>2</sub>-ku-mi-jo* holds it: six of linen.

*e-ke-de-mi*: apparently *ekhei de min*, cf. *da-mo-de-mi* = *dāmos de min* 135 = Ep704.5. Does this entry mean that no flax has been grown during the relevant season?

## 197 = Na69 [1088]

*?to-sa-de o-u-di-do]-si* SA 20  
                                  *[... ?e]-ke a-ki-ti-to*

[Place-name: So-and-so] holds the uncultivated land [and he is excused payment of so much?]: twenty of linen.

The series closes with the two *Ng*-tablets, which we have seen to represent a cumulative total of all the assessments. The figures for 'delivery' and 'allowance' are split into two different categories by the varying prefix of the introductory adjectives, whose explanation we owe to Andrews.

## 198 = Ng02 [319]

<sup>1</sup> *de-we-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-ja* SA 1239

<sup>2</sup> *to-sa-de o-u-di-do-to* SA 457

Those from this side of ?Aigaleon: 1239 of linen;  
     and so many are not contributed: 457 of linen.



*dewero-Aigolaia?*: classical δεῦρο, perhaps from \*δε-αρερο (Schwyzer, *Gram.* 1, p. 632: \*δε-αρο, cf. Avestan *avar* 'here, hither?'), is not found in the sense 'on this side of'. But cf. Aristophanes τὰ τῆδε καὶ τὰ δεῦρο, Aristotle τὰ δεῦρο 'objects near enough to be sensible', English *on the hither side*, Swedish *hit* 'hither', *hit-om* 'on this side of', etc.

*Aigol-* is perhaps to be identified with mount Aigaleon; see p. 144.

The tablet On01 is evidently divided in the same way into villages 'this side of A.' and 'beyond A.', and reveals *E-ra-to-* to be in the first category, and *Ra-wa-ra-ti-ja*, *E-sa-re-wi-ja*, *E-ra-te-re-wa*, ?*Ti-mi-to*, *Sa-ma-ra*, *A-si-ja-ti-ja* and \**Ti-nwa-so* to be in the second. The latter are repeated on the last part of 257 = Jn09 (lines 13-19), which is probably arranged on a similar geographical basis. It is noteworthy that none of the villages 'beyond Aigaleon' occurs on the three tablets which deal with levies of 'rowers', nor on the five which appear to record the disposition of coastal guards (except for the doubtful reading *ti-mi-to* on 60 = An661). There is unfortunately no more detailed evidence for dividing the villages of the *Na-* tablets among the two provinces, but the further one is evidently much less important than the nearer.

The adjectives can either be understood as applying to the territory, 'the lands this side of Aigaleon' (cf. τὰ ὑπεράκρια 'the uplands', also the division of Attica into οἱ Ὑπεράκριοι and οἱ Πάραλοι, etc.), or to the objects themselves, totalled by *to-sa-de* in the second line.

*o-u-di-do-to*: probably singular, *tossa de ou didotoi*, agreeing with the neuter plural subject (unless this is to be taken as feminine).

199 = Ng01 [332]

<sup>1</sup> *pe-ra<sub>2</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja* SA 200[+]

<sup>2</sup> *to-sa-de o-u-di-do-to* [SA nn]

Those from beyond ?Aigaleon: 200 of *linen*;  
and so many are not contributed: *x* of *linen*.

*pe-ra<sub>2</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja* = *pera(i)-Aigolaia?*: compare *pe-ra<sub>2</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja* Wa01.2, *pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja* Ad15, *pe-ra-a-ke-ra-i-jo* On01.8; Hom. πέρην ὁλός 'on the other side of the sea', Aeschylus ἐκ πέρας Ναυπακτίας, ἡ Περαιά 'land on the other side (of a river or sea), etc.'; Skt. *parā* 'away!' (cf. δεῦρο!). The name of the site Perakhora north of Corinth, compared by Turner (1954, p. 19), was Περαιά in antiquity.

### 3. THE KNOSSOS *Mc-* SERIES

Bennett has demonstrated to us that the commodities of the eighteen fragmentary *Mc-* tablets, found in the 'Arsenal' building at Knossos together with records of chariots, wheels, spears and arrows, show a listing in fixed order and proportion similar to that of the six items of tribute on the Pylos *Ma-* series. Evans (*PM*, iv, p. 833) identified the last commodity *ḫ* as the horn of the *agrimi* goat (*capra aegagrus creticus*) used in the manufacture of



composite bows like the τόξον ἔνδοον ἱξάλου αἰγὸς ἀγρίου of *Il.* iv, 105; he also noted that the numbers of 'horns' are always even (except now on Mc5098, and on M 0452 where 'one horn' is introduced by [*?ke*]-*ra*).

The second ideogram *H* is the normal 'she-goat' symbol found on the livestock tablets, and Evans suggested that semi-domesticated *agrimi* may have been kept in enclosures to ensure a regular supply of horns; but in any case the ideograms most probably represent *carcases* sent in by the hunters, whose names possibly appear as the variable introduction to the tablets. The first ideogram *G*, not found elsewhere, appears to combine the upper constant of the 'goat' symbols with syllabic *ra* (or *ra-so*, cf. λασιήιον ??): it may be the ideogram for a buck *agrimi*, the doe not needing to be distinguished from the domesticated nanny-goat when appearing in conjunction with him.

The third ideogram *I*, measured by weight, is problematical. One cannot argue that all the separate items on the tablet are likely to be needed in the manufacture of bows, since this can hardly be true of the first two; on the other hand, it is difficult to think of a weighed substance which might be derived directly from wild goats. For a possible *ke-ro* 'beeswax', see p. 290; was this a product of the mountain-sides where the goats were hunted? Compare μελισσάων πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς ἐρχομέναων (*Il.* ii, 88) with αἶγα ἀγρίον πέτρης ἐκβαίνοντα (*Il.* iv, 107). Apart from their horns, the *agrimi* carcases would also provide meat (*Od.* ix, 155) and rugs, etc. (*Od.* xiv, 50).

The *Mc*-tablets are too fragmentary to be worth transcribing individually, but the following table shows the amounts visible on the eleven best-preserved

	<i>G</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>J</i>
Mc5098	345	208	154 kg.	345
Mc0462 + 5792 + 5808	62	30	24 kg.	52
Mc0454 + 0458	30	17	13 kg.	26
Mc0455	28	17	12 kg.	24
Mc0453 + 5798	28?	17	12 kg.	24
Mc5118	—	15	—	20
Mc0459 +	23	14	10 kg.	20
Mc0456 + 0477	16	10	7 kg.	14
Mc1508 + 1528 + 1564	16	10	6 kg.	12
Mc0460	14	8	6 kg.	12?
Mc0464	12	—	6 kg.	—



of them. The values approximate to a ratio of 5:3:2:4; where they diverge from the ideal proportion by 2.0 or more they are printed in heavy type. Mc5098 is possibly the total of the complete series, though high numbers of *G* and *H* also occur on the fragmentary M 5107.

It is not clear whether the tablets are the record of an expected quota, or of an actual delivery. The horns are considerably fewer than might have been provided by the number of goats listed, but perhaps only a proportion of them were of acceptable length and curvature.

#### 4. OFFERINGS TO DIVINITIES AT KNOSSOS

The eleven tablets of the *Fp*-series were found by Evans at the beginning of the campaign of 1900, lying in a bath-shaped receptacle of clay at basement level between the East Propylaeum and the central court (point *A* on fig. 13, p. 115), together with the remains of the wooden box in which they and the *Fs*-series (see below) had been neatly filed in order. The identification of their only ideogram as 'olive-oil' was tentatively suggested by Furumark (1954, p. 116) and Bennett (*MT I*, p. 448), and is now confirmed by the vocalization *e-ra<sub>3</sub>-wo* on a number of Pylos tablets (see p. 217).

Both Furumark and Meriggi (1954*b*, pp. 22-6) have recognized from the month-names which introduce each tablet that the series forms part of a ritual calendar, specifying or recording offerings sent to a limited number of places, priests and divinities. It is not always easy to decide in which of these categories the listed names are to be placed, but the allative accusative ending *-de* may be taken as a criterion of place-names.

Within the sub-paragraphs introduced by each toponym three expressions are found to recur, which will be referenced as *P*, *Q* and *A* in the synoptic table below. They presumably refer to shrines of the same cult in different places.

*P*: *pa-si-te-o-i -pānsi theoi'i*, 'to all the gods'. See the article 'Pantheon' in *Paulys RE*, xviii, 3, cols. 698-730. The dedication of shrines and offerings *πᾶσιν θεοῖς* or *θεοῖς πᾶσιν καὶ πάσας* seems to have had its widest vogue in Hellenistic times. Pausanias records two altars *θεοῖς πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ* at Olympia (v, 14, 8; 15, 1; 15, 10), as well as others elsewhere in the Peloponnese. The words *?do]-ra te-o-i* introduce KN E 842.1, which shows *di-wo* on the same line.

*Q*: *qe-ra-si-ja -Q<sup>e</sup>erasiāi?* Note *qe-ra-si-jo* on Fp16 and possibly Fp18. Furumark connects this name or title with Hom. *τέρας* (\**q<sup>e</sup>eras*) 'meteorological phenomenon'. Schulze (*Quaest. Ep.* p. 176) regards the name of the Theban seer Teiresias as similarly derived (for the second vowel, cf. Etruscan *Terasias*, *Terasials*), and Robert,



*Oidipus*, p. 69, thought he might originally have been 'a chthonic oracle god' (of ambiguous sex?). Cf. also Ζεύς Τεράστιος.

A: *a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja* = Ἀνέμων ἱερὴ. See the article Ἄνεμοι in *Paulys RE*, 1, 2, cols. 2176-80. Compare Herodotus vii, 178: Δελφοὶ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἱλάσκονται; further the Εὐδάνεμοι at Athens and Ἄνεμοκοῖται at Corinth.

Where a place-name occurs without any such qualification, the offering is presumably to the tutelary deity or spirit of the locality, whom it is superfluous to name (cf. *Diktā-* on Fp1 and Fp7): these entries are shown as *X* on the table below.

Where *P*, *Q*, etc. occur without any place-name, Furumark suggests that they refer to the vicinity of Knossos itself: they have been entered in the column Nil. The status of the words *si-ja-ma-to* and *e-ke-se-si* is uncertain, and their initials are shown bracketed.

Within each month the place-names appear to have been entered in a more or less standard order, though this is spread over several tablets in each case, and the greater part of the series must be lost. The table below attempts to place the surviving tablets in their approximate sequence (though the order of the months themselves is of course unknown). The amounts of oil for each entry appear to be identical in successive months, with the exception of the larger entry for *P* at *Pa-de* on 200 = Fp1.

Tablet	Month	Nil	<i>Pa-ni</i>	<i>Di-ka-to-de</i>	<i>Pa-da-e-je-ja-de</i>	<i>Pa-de</i>	<i>A-mi-ni-to-de</i>	* 47- <i>da-de</i>	* 47- <i>ka-to-de</i>	* 47- <i>ri-mo-de</i>	<i>U-to-ro</i>
Fp1	?]- <i>de-u-ki-jo-jo</i> m.			<i>d</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>XPQ</i>	<i>Pe</i>	<i>XA</i>			
Fp16	<i>Wo-de-wi-jo</i> m.	<i>PQ</i>									
Fp48	<i>Wo-de-wi-jo</i> m.	( <i>r</i> )				<i>XQP</i>	<i>P</i>				
Fp6	<i>Ka-ra-e-ri-jo</i>	<i>PQ</i>									
Fp15	<i>Ka-ra-e-ri-jo</i> m.		<i>XP</i>								
Fp7	<i>Ka-ra-e-ri-jo</i> m.			<i>X</i>							
Fp18	<i>Ka-ra-e-ri-jo</i>				<i>QP</i>						
Fp5	<i>Di-wi-jo-jo</i> m.	<i>QP</i>									
Fp14	<i>A-sa-ka-to</i> m.	( <i>c</i> ) <i>Q</i>					<i>Pa</i>				
Fp13	<i>Ra-pa-to</i> m.							<i>Xp</i>		<i>XPQA</i>	<i>A</i>

*De-u-ki-jo-jo* = *Deukioio mēnos*? Sittig reads a *wo-* before this group on 200 = Fp1.1, and takes it as a fuller spelling of *wo-de-wi-jo-jo*; but the duplication of entries on Fp48 (found apart from the others?) makes this unlikely, unless the latter belongs to a



different year or series. Chadwick reads a possible  $\mu$ -. Cf. *De-u-ki-jo* as a man's name on MY 46=Au102.

*Wo-de-wi-jo*: the month recurs on 207=V 280 and in the genitive on 203=F 953.

*U-de-wi-jo-jo* on Pylos Jn07 has been corrected to *U-de-wi-ni-jo* (cf. *U-de-wi-ne* on Cn10, probably a place-name).

*Ka-ra-e-ri-jo*: from κραιρα 'head' (\**kra-eira*?), or cf. the Ephesian month Κλαριών?

The form *Ka-ra-e-i-jo* on Fp354 may be a mis-spelling of the same word (though the context, like that of Fp148 and Fp363, suggests that it should be classified *Fh*-); and the following words *-jo* and *Pa-ja-ni-jo* may also be the names of months. [*ka*]-*ra-e-ri-jo-jo me-no* recurs on Gg7369 and Oa7374.

*Di-wi-jo-jo*=*Diwioio mēnos*. Cf. Δίος, first month of the Macedonian year, also in use in Aetolia, Lesbos, etc. Cf. *-wi-jo-jo* on G 726.

*A-ma-ko-to*: not *a-ma-ko-ro*, as read by Furumark and in Bennett's *Index*.

*Ra-pa-to*=*Lapato(-jo) mēnos*. As pointed out by Sittig, the name of this month survives in the Arcadian μηνὸς Ἀσπάτω of an inscription of Orchomenos (Schwyzer, *Dial.* 667; cf. Carratelli, 1955, p. 5).

The word *mēnos* recurs at Knossos on M 724, Wb M 133 and Od5672, but the month-names are unfortunately lost. To the six or seven months listed above, we may perhaps add *po-ro-wi-to-jo* and *ki-ri-ti-jo-jo* at Pylos (and new evidence on the unpublished 1955 tablets). The calendars of the two palaces may of course have differed somewhat. Does the solitary *me* of E 842.1 stand for *mēn* 'month'? None of the names identified shows the typical Attic-Ionic month formation in -ιών, which is probably a comparatively late secondary development.

For a cuneiform parallel to the Knossos *Fp*-tablets, compare Alalakh nos. 309-18 (Wiseman, 1953, p. 92), which record monthly issues of barley and sesame-oil to temples and priests. E.g.:

309: In the month of Tammuz,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  (?) *qa* of barley to the gods,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *qa* to Tarhuziti, 1 *qa* to the goddess Hepat, 1 *qa* to the carpenters,  $\frac{1}{2}$  *qa* to the gods,  $\frac{1}{2}$  *qa* to Beruwa. Total  $6\frac{1}{2}$  (*sic*).

310: In the month of Iyyar,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  (?) *qa* of barley to the gods,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *qa* to Tarhuziti, 5 *qa* to Beruwa, 5 *qa* to the aldermen. Total 13.

200=Fp1 (A xix)

1	[?]-de-u-ki-jo-jo		me-no	
2	di-ka-ta-jo		di-we	OIL 9 1
3	da-da-re-jo-de			OIL 9 2
4	pa-de			OIL 9 1
5	pa-si-te-o-i			OIL 1



<sup>6</sup>	<i>qe-ra-si-ja</i>	OIL	¶ [1?]	
<sup>7</sup>	<i>a-mi-ni-so</i>   <i>pa-si-te-o-i</i>	<OIL>	¶ [2?]	
<sup>8</sup>	<i>e-ri-nu</i>	OIL	4 3	
<sup>9</sup>	* <i>47-da-de</i>	OIL	4 1	
<sup>10</sup>	<i>a-ne-mo</i>   <i>i-je-re-ja</i>	<OIL>	4 4	
	vacat			
<sup>12</sup>	<i>to-so</i>	OIL	3	¶ 2 4 2

In the month of Deukios:

To the Diktaian Zeus:	12 l. oil.
To Daidaleion:	24 l. oil.
To <i>Pa-de</i> :	12 l. oil,
To all the gods:	36 l. oil,
To the <i>augur</i> : ?	12 l. oil.
Amnisos, to all the gods: ?	24 l. oil,
To ?Erinys: ?	6 l. oil.
To * <i>47-da</i> :	2 l. oil,
To the priestess of the winds:	8 l. oil.
(total)	136 l. oil.

Bennett (*MT I*, 1953, p. 446) recognized the figures in the last line as a total. Reading 4 2 in line 8, he assumes that lines 6 and 7 between them account for ¶ 3 4 1; but *Pa-de Q.* shows ¶ 1 on Fp48 and *A-mi-ni-so P.* ¶ 2 on 201 = Fp14, and one might expect the same entries here. Chadwick reads 4 3 in line 8 of the original.

*di-ka-ta-jo di-we*: Bennett reads [.]-*ka-ta-jo ne-we*, but the doubtful signs appear to be mis-shapen *di*'s. *Diktānde* recurs without qualification on Fp7, G 866 and the fragmentary Fh5467, where *i-je-re-ja* appears in the second line. The association of Zeus with Mount Dikte (now 'Αφέντης Χριστός in the Λασιθιώτικα ὄρη), which perhaps results from syncretism with a 'Minoan' mountain god, is explained in Hesiod's *Theogony*, pp. 477 ff.: these lines describe how Rhea was smuggled from the mainland to the Cretan town of Lyktos (*Ru-ki-to* of the tablets), taken to Dikte, and hidden in the cave in the 'Aegean Mountain' where she gave birth to Zeus. Ζεὺς Δικταῖος is, for example, invoked in the civic oath of Itanos (Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 526): Δία Δικταῖον καὶ Ἥραν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐν Δίκτῃ καὶ Ἀθαναῖαν Πολιάδα καὶ θεοὺς ὅσοις ἐν Ἀθαναίᾳ θύεται πάντας; and discussed (with an erroneous location of the mountain) by Strabo, x, 478: εἴρηται δέ, ὅτι τῶν Ἑτεοκρήτων ὑπῆρχεν ἡ Πράδος, καὶ διότι ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν· καὶ γὰρ ἡ Δίκτη πλησίον, οὐχ, ὥς Ἀρατος, ὅρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίου· καὶ γὰρ χιλιούς ἡ Δίκτη τῆς Ἰδῆς ἀπέχει.

Evans (1897) lent his support to the identification of the Δικταῖον ἄντρον (Strabo, x, 476) with the cave near the village of Psychro, 30 km. south-east of Knossos, where continuous votive deposits from MM II down to Geometric have come to light since its first exploration by Halbherr and Hatzidakis in 1886. The offerings



on the *Fp*-tablets are perhaps confined to a restricted association of cults, possibly centred on sky or weather gods.

*da-da-re-jo-de*: Furumark and Meriggi read Δαδάλεόνδε. Cf. Steph. Byz.: Δαίδαλα... καὶ Κρήτης ἄλλη (πόλις).

*pa-de*: 203 = F 955 has the form *pa-de-i* (locative?), which makes it doubtful whether *-de* can here be allative.

*a-mi-ni-so*, elsewhere with *-de*: see 206 = Gg705, below.

*e-ri-nu*: Furumark (1954, p. 34) takes this as a defective spelling of the dative singular of Ἐρινός (plural for Meriggi). In addition to her (or their) function as an avenging deity, Ἐρινός appears as an epithet of Demeter in Arcadia (Pausanias, viii, 25, 6, etc.) and in Hesychius' gloss E. = Ἀφροδίτης εἰδωλον; so that her early status is uncertain.

\*47-*da-de*: presumably a different name from \*47-*ku-to-de* (Fp13) and \*47-*so-de* (Fh351, etc.).

201 = Fp14 (joined to Fp27 and Fp28; A)

<sup>1</sup> *a-ma-ko-to* 'me-no' | *jo-te-re-pa-to* 'Q14' | *e-ke-se-si* 4 1

<sup>2</sup> *qe-ra-si-ja* 1 1 *a-mi-ni-so-de* | *pa-si-te-o-i* 1 2 *a-re* 4 [ ]

In the month of *A-ma-ko-to*:

... 2 l. (oil),

To the *augur*: 12 litres.

To Amnisos, to all the gods: 24 litres,

To *A-re*: [ ]

*jo-te-re-pa-to e-ke-se-si*: Meriggi (1954b, p. 25) recognizes a verbal formula, and reads ὁ τράπετο \*Ἐξεσι 'what was directed towards the deities E.' (but the Mycenaean form of τράπεω appears to have had a labio-velar). ὥς τέψαντο ἔξεσι 'thus they took delight in the discharge'?? But this leaves the first entry without a specified recipient.

There is a common place-name *E-ko-so*, adj. *E-ki-si-jo*, but this can hardly be its locative.

*a-re*: Furumark reads 'to Ares', but one might expect \**a-re-wo* (\*Ἀρηφι).

202 = Fp13, now in the British Museum. (A xx)

<sup>1</sup> *ra-pa-to* 'me-no' | \*47-*ku-to-de* OIL 4 1 *pi-pi-tu-na* 4 1

<sup>2</sup> \*85-*ri-mo-de* OIL 4 4 *pa-si-te-o-i* 1 1 *qe-ra-si-ja* 1 1

<sup>3</sup> *a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja* OIL 1 *u-ta-no* | *a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja* 1 1 4 2

In the month of Lapatos:

To \*47-*ku-to*: 2 l. oil,

To *Pi-pi-tu-na*: 2 litres.

To \*85-*ri-mo*: 8 l. oil,

To all the gods: 12 litres,

To the *augur*: 12 litres,

To the priestess of the winds: 36 l. oil.

?Itanos, to the priestess of the winds: 16 litres.



Note that the oil ideogram is only entered in the first item of each line.

*pi-pi-tu-na*: Furumark compares Δικτυον in form; that her name should actually have been assimilated to Greek δίκτυον 'net' from a native \**Piptunna* seems unlikely, since the name Δικτη might well have provided its original derivation.

\**85-ri-mo-de*: Furumark reads \**85* as *su*, and regards the name as a variant spelling of the place *Su-ri-mo*. Compare Pylos *A-si-ja-ti-ja/A-\*85-ta<sub>2</sub>*, which confirms the consonant *s-* but not, apparently, the vowel (\**85*=*si*, *sa* or *sja*?). See also p. 337.

*u-ta-no*, adj. *u-ta-ni-jo*, etc.: possibly Itanos, at the eastern tip of Crete, though this seems very far away (120 km. by road) for a town which apparently supplies sheep to the palace.

The relation between these tablets and the seventeen of the *Fs-* series which were found with them is not altogether clear. These each contain an undated record of an offering or ration of five to six commodities in fixed order and in more or less constant amounts (the numbers in brackets show the surviving occurrences):

BARLEY:	Τ 1 (13)	Τ 2 (1)	= 12-24 litres.
FIGS:	4 2 (2)	4 3 (9)	Τ 1 (1)
			= 4-12 litres.
FLOUR:	∩ 1 (9)	∩ 2 (4)	= $\frac{1}{2}$ -1 litre.
OIL:	∩ 1 (4)	∩ 2 (6)	= $\frac{1}{2}$ -1 litre.
WINE:	4 1 (7)	4 2 (3)	= 2-4 litres.
HONEY:	Nil (6)	∩ 1 (3)	∩ 2 (1)
			= $\frac{1}{2}$ -1 litre.

Several of the introductory words have *-de*, which suggests that they are place-names. Apart from *Pa-de* (cf. 200 = Fp1) they are all unique, and of non-Greek appearance. Except for the absence of oxen and sheep, the commodities may perhaps be compared with those listed on 171 = Un718.

Other fragmentary groups of Knossos tablets found elsewhere in the palace show signs of belonging to similar calendars of offerings. Small amounts of oil are recorded as going *Da-\*83-ja-de i-je-ro* ('to the shrine') on Fh363 and [*Da*]-\**83-ja-de* on Fh365, where the second line has a parallel [ ]-*da-so-de*. Tablets F 953 and F 955 seem to be part of a series listing the same months and places as the *Fp-* series, but recording the commodities *MA* and *KO*; these recur, together with the enigmatic word *ko-no*, on the 'spice' tablets from Mycenae, where they are used as abbreviations of *marathwon* 'fennel' and *koria(n)dnon* 'coriander' (see p. 227). Meriggi has convincingly suggested that these two fragments should be joined thus:

203 = F 953 + 955 (K lxiii + lx)

<sup>1</sup> *wo-de-[wi]-jo-jo / me-[no . .]-ri-jo-de*

<sup>2</sup> *ko-no MA 3 ko-ri-[ja-do-no nn] pa-de-i ko-no MA 2 KO T 1*



<sup>3</sup> *pa-sa-ja ko-no* MA [nn ko nn] *pa-si-te-o-i* MA 2 KO T 4  
*a-mi-ni-so-de*

In the month of *Wo-de-wi-jo*:

To [ ]-*ri-jo*: 3 *ko-no* of fennel, x l. of coriander.

At *Pa-de*:- 2 *ko-no* of fennel, 36 l. of coriander.

To *Pa-sa-ja*: x *ko-no* of fennel, x l. of coriander.

To Amnisos, to all the gods: 2 *ko-no* of fennel, 48 l. of coriander.

*]ri-jo-de*: Meriggi suggests [*Da-da*]-*ri-jo-de*, but cf. *]ki-ri-jo-de* on Fs26.

*Pa-sa-ja*: this name is repeated on V 451 below *Si-ja-ma-[to]*, which itself occurs directly after the month-name (and before *Pa-de*) on Fp48.

The last MA in the third line has the small stroke over it which normally distinguishes the WOOL(?) ideogram: this is presumably an error.

Another fragmentary series, of which we have perhaps little more than a month's records, deals with offerings of jars of honey: one of these, Gg10, was apparently found together with the *Fp*- and *Fs*- series. Offerings of oil and honey (μέλιτος καὶ ἐλείφατος ἀμφιφορέας, *Il.* xxiii, 170) are among the rites at the funeral of Patroclus. The word 'amphora' is indicated by the A surcharged over the ideogram on Gg704, etc.

204 = Gg704 (D 1)

<sup>1</sup> [ ] *me-no*

<sup>2</sup> [*e-ne-si-da*]-*o-ne me-ri* AMPHORA+A I

In the month of . . . :

One jar of honey to the *Earth-shaker*.

The month reference, unfortunately incomplete, suggests that this is the first tablet of a set. *]o-ne* could be completed *Po-se-da-o-ne*, but the more immediate parallel is *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* on M 719, cf. Gg717 (where *me-na* is probably not μήνα but a name, Μήνη 'Moon-goddess' as on E842, where *]pe-ro<sub>2</sub>-ne* could be Ὑπερίωνι). Meriggi compares E. with Poseidon's names Ἐννοσίγαιος, Ἐννοσίχθων (*Il.* xiii, 34, vii, 445, etc., cf. εἰννοσίφυλλος) or Ἐννοσίδῃς (Pindar). If this connexion is maintained, the etymology \**enwōthi*- (\**wedh-/wodh-*, also in ὠθέω and perhaps ἔθρις) would indicate a graphic *ne* for *-nwe*- similar to that required in *e-ne-ka* = \**enwēka* (cf. Pylos *Sa-ri-nu-wo-tē/Sa-ri-no-tē*), in the absence of a convenient shortening like the sign *nwa* = *-nu-wa-*. It might also indicate that, though the second part of Kretschmer's etymology Poseidon < πρῶσις Δῶς 'husband of Earth' may be correct, a parallel verbal form should be sought for the first half; but a relative of Lat. *quatiō*, O.H.G. *scutten*, Old Norse *hossa* 'shake' would appear in the Mycenaean spelling with a labio-velar.



205 = Gg702 (D 1)

<sup>1</sup> *pa-si-te-o-i / me-ri* AMPHORA 1<sup>2</sup> *da-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ri-to-jo / po-ti-ni-ja* 'me-ri' AMPHORA 1

One jar of honey to all the gods,

One jar of honey to the Mistress of the ?*Labyrinth*.

*da-pu<sub>2</sub>?-ri-to-jo* (gen.): this place-name probably recurs in the *da-pu-ri-to-* of the fragmentary X 140, and might conceivably be a fuller spelling of the *Da-\*22-to* of Knossos and Eleusis. To identify it with λαβύρινθος involves the highly uncertain assumption that the initial consonant has some intermediate sound peculiar to 'Aegean'. But cf. the alternation *Labarnas/Tabarnas* in the Anatolian dynastic name of the Hittite kings of the Old Kingdom (Gurney, 1952, p. 64); also λάφνη/δάφνη.

206 = Gg705 (D 1)

<sup>1</sup> ] *a-mi-ni-so / e-re-u-ti-ja* ME+RI AMPHORA 1<sup>2</sup> ] *pa-si-te-o-i* ME+RI AMPHORA 1<sup>3</sup> ] *-ke-ne* ME+RI AMPHORA 1

Amnisos: One jar of honey to Eleuthia,

One jar of honey to all the gods,

One jar of honey [... ].

*E-re-u-ti-ja* = Attic Ειλειθυία, in which the quasi-participial ending is probably due to popular etymology. The form 'Ελευθία, known from Messenia and Laconia (also 'Ελευσία, 'Ελυσία), is probably a long-standing variant to the 'Ελεύθυ(ι)α which is the Cretan form in classical times. Her name also appears on three tablets (Od714-16) apparently listing woollen garments. Pausanias (iv, 20, 2) records that the priestess of Eileithyia Sosipolis at Olympia put out for her μάζος μεμαγμένως μέλιτι. For the traditional connexion of E. with Amnisos, cf. *Od.* xix, 188-90:

(Ὀδυσσεύς) στήσε δ' ἐν Ἀμνισῷ, ὅθι τε σπέος Εἰλειθυίης,  
ἐν λιμέσιν χαλαιοῖσι, μόγις δ' ὑπάλυξεν ἄλλος.  
αὐτίκα δ' ἴδομενῆα μετὰλλα ἄστυδε (Κνωσσόνδε) ἀνελθών,

and Strabo, x, 476, 8: Μίνω δέ φασιν ἐπινειῶ χρήσασθαι τῷ Ἀμνισῷ, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἱερὸν.

The site of Amnisos is generally identified with Paliókhora, at the east end of the long sandy beach of Karterós, 7 km. east of Iraklion, where Marinatos found a Late Minoan building in 1932. He believes this bay to have formed the chief port of Knossos; a rival claimant is the 'Harbour Town' located by Evans on the eastern outskirts of Iraklion itself, which, though less convenient for the beaching of ships, is easier of access to the palace. Whatever the name of this other port may have been in early times, the proposed location of Amnisos appears to be confirmed by the nearby cave at Ayi Theodori, first excavated by Hatzidakis in 1886 (cf. Marinatos,



Πρακτικά, 1929, pp. 95-104; Evans, *PM*, II, p. 839), where a deposit was found stretching from Neolithic to Geometric, around an idol in the form of a 'stalagmitic omphalos'.

Chadwick and Bennett read J-~~ke~~-ne in line 3.

207 = V 280 (B xxx)

<sup>1</sup> *wo-de-wi-jo*

The month of *Wo-de-wi-jo*:

vacant

<sup>5</sup> *to-pe-za o-u-ki-te-mi* +

(4th) The tables: it is not right.

vacant

<sup>11</sup> *a-pe-ti-ra<sub>2</sub> o-u-te-mi* +

(10th) The *releasers*: it is not right.

<sup>12</sup> *o-u-te-mi* +

(11th) The *releasers*: it is not right.

<sup>13</sup> *o-u-te-mi* +

(12th) The *releasers*: it is not right.

<sup>14</sup> *o-u-te-mi* +

(13th) The *releasers*: it is not right.

<sup>15</sup> *e-pi i-ku-wo-i-pi*

(14th) At the *waist* (??).

vacat

Meriggi (1954*b*, p. 24) plausibly regards this tablet as a record of the *ἡμέραι ἀποφράδες* or *dies nefasti* of the first or second half of a Knossos month. As in the case of 172 = Kn02, a calendar will most reasonably explain the deliberate leaving of blank entries. The expression οὐ θέμις, οὐχὶ θέμις has an exact classical counterpart, but the objects or actions to which it applies are obscure: are they the names of festivals or ceremonies, which can only take place in circumstances ascertained to be favourable? And did they in fact take place on the day corresponding to the next succeeding blank entry?

*to-pe-za* is now known from Pylos 239 = Ta642, etc. to mean 'table' (probably *torpeza*): tables of offerings? *a-pe-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>* is apparently a feminine agent noun in *-tria*; from ἀφίημι?

*e-pi i-ku-wo-i-pi*, without *ou themis* formula or 'check mark': a fuller spelling of *i-go* (\**ikwos*) 'horse'? Or a phrase relating the middle or end of the month to a phase of the moon: *e-pi ixuiphi* (dual instr., cf. ἰξύς, ἰξύες, 'waist')??

208 = V 52 (?)

<sup>1</sup> *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* 1 [...]

<sup>2</sup> *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* 1 *pa-ja-wo*-[*ne?* 1] *po-se-da*-[*o-ne* 1?]

To Mistress Athena: 1

To ...

To Enyalios: 1

To Paian: [1]

To Poseidon: [1]

*a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*: cf. *Il.* vi, 305: πότνι' Ἀθηναίη, ἐρυσίπτολι, δία θεάων. Nilsson (1950, p. 499) suggests that Athena 'was originally the goddess who protected the palace



of the Mycenaean king, and whose cult belonged and whose protection was afforded to the king personally' (cf. 205 = Gg702?). The name *Potnia* (not necessarily referring to the same goddess) also occurs on Knossos M 729.2.

*e-nu-wa-ri-jo* = 'Ενυάλιος, an early god of war (*Il.* II, 651, etc.), perhaps a consort of 'Ενυώ, later regarded as an epithet of Ares. The name possibly recurs in the form *E-pu-ri-jo* on Pylos 55 = An724.

*pa-ja-wo* = Homeric Παιήων *Il.* V, 401, Dor. Παϊάν (\*Παιάφων, perhaps from παίω 'strike'), healer god, later identified with Apollo. It is not clear whether the names on this tablet are in the nominative or dative.

*po-se-da-[o-ne]*: cf. 169 = Es646, etc. at Pylos. The name only recurs at Knossos on X 5560: ]-ke *po-se-da-o* 1 [ .











## CHAPTER X

# TEXTILES, VESSELS AND FURNITURE

### 1. TEXTILES AT KNOSSOS.

THE numerous Knossos tablets characterized by Evans' 'banner' ideogram (no. 159) and classified by Bennett with the prefix *L-* have been discussed in some detail by Furumark (1954, pp. 44-8) and Björck (1954*b*). Their most characteristic vocabulary word is the plural *pa-we-a* = *pharwea*, whose identity

159		CLOTH <sup>1-4</sup>	164		A kind of cloth
		CLOTH <sup>1-2</sup> + TE	145		WOOL
161		(Adjunct)	162		TUNIC + KI
		CLOTH <sup>2</sup> + PU	158		Bundle?

with the Homeric *φᾶρος* proves that the 'banner' is in fact a piece of cloth: the ideogram probably represents an upright loom with loom-weights on the warp rather than a garment with a tasselled fringe. Small superior figures have been added to the word CLOTH in transcription to indicate the number of intermediate strokes springing from the bottom horizontal, although these variations are probably not significant except on 210 = Lc526. The Linear A version, found only on Agia Triada tablet HT 38, has two intermediate strokes, and (surprisingly) the surcharged initials *KU* and *ZO* also found occasionally at Knossos. The Pylos version, found on the 1952 tablets, has a 'fringe' of three strokes at top as well as bottom, and the surcharge *PA* (presumably *pharwos*) in the contexts where the Knossos ideogram is blank. The meaning of the curious adjunct No. 161 is obscure (see p. 320), but evidently not a 'superintendent of olive groves' (Evans, *PM*, IV, p. 716).

The lack of naturalistic variation in the ideograms makes it difficult to visualize the actual textiles or garments listed and to interpret the associated vocabulary. The Homeric *φᾶρος* itself is still remarkably unspecific in meaning: 'a large cloth for a sail' (*Od.* v, 258), 'a large cloak' (*Il.* ii, 43, etc.), 'a funerary shroud' (*xviii*, 353).

Late Minoan man's dress is usually shown on frescoes and engravings as



consisting of no more than a kilt; a more abbreviated garment with prominent cod-piece and open sides is worn by infantrymen, boxers and gymnasts (including women). Women normally wear a long flounced skirt, sometimes with an 'apron', and above the waist an open bolero with prominent short sleeves over a diaphanous or non-existent blouse. The white robes worn by men and women (e.g. on the Agia Triada sarcophagus, fig. 15, and on the Palanquin Fresco, *PM*, II, pp. 770-3) have been considered to have an exclusively ritual use, and large formal cloaks have been regarded as the prerogative of chieftains; but something more than a kilt must evidently have been worn by all classes at least during the winter.

On the Mainland some kind of divided drawers takes the place of the kilt, and soldiers and retainers wear a white tunic coming down to above the knees. Women's dress is apparently similar to that of Crete.

The word *pharvea* has here been rendered somewhat arbitrarily as 'cloaks', but the remaining occurrences of the 'banner' ideogram merely as 'cloths', with little or no attempt to guess the exact shape and purpose of the textiles.

The ideogram translated as WOOL is derived from a Linear A monogram of the signs MA+RU; its meaning is indicated by its prominent place on the SHEEP tablets (see p. 203). Even where wool is counted together with CLOTHS in large numbers, its method of measurement is betrayed by occasional fractional amounts reckoned in  $\frac{1}{2}$  (e.g. on 211=Lc532); Bennett has shown that  $\frac{1}{2}$  3 go to the normal WOOL unit of weight, which is therefore equivalent to about 3 kg. (approximately the weight of a heavy blanket or of a present-day winter overcoat). On the Mainland WOOL only occurs with whole numbers; and on Mycenae 227=Oc127 it is itself introduced by *pa-we-a<sub>2</sub>*, suggesting that it has come to mean an indivisible unit of woollen material parallel to the CLOTH ideogram.

Parallel accounts of cloth and wool are found at Alalakh, e.g. no. 357 (Wiseman, 1953, p. 99): 'Account of thirty-seven pieces of cloth and thirty-five measures of wool belonging to the *takanaku* official's store'; and at Ugarit, e.g. *RS*, XI, 732 B (Virolleaud, 1940, p. 257):

Five tunics, 500 shekels of purple wool...for the king,  
Two tunics, 200 shekels of purple wool...for the queen,  
One tunic, 100 shekels of purple wool...for the king's son,  
One tunic, 100 shekels of purple wool...(for various officials).

Knossos tablets 214=Ld571 ff. are probably palace inventories of cloaks designed, as at Ugarit, for 'distribution to functionaries, for example those who lived in the palace itself, who were guaranteed to receive a new garment when



their old one was worn out' (Virolleaud, 1953, p. 193). Medieval English account rolls show a similar grading of officials according to the value and elaborateness of the robes which they receive from the king as part of their allowance.

The *Lc*- and *L*-series, on the other hand, probably represent for the most part receipts of cloth and wool from outlying villages, since they are introduced by place-names and include entries of *o-pe-ro* 'debt' (L 473, L 869) and *a-pu-do-si* 'delivery' (L 5867, L 5930). The surviving range of place-names is as follows:

*A-mi-ni-so*, *Da-te-we-ja*, *Da-wi-ja*, *Da-\*22-ti-ja*, *Da-ti-ja*, *E-ki-si-ja*, *E-ra-ja*, *Ja-pu<sub>2</sub>-wi-ja*, *Ko-no-so* (*te-pe-ja*), *Pa-i-ti-ja*, *Pa<sub>2</sub>-mi-ja*, *Ra-su-ti-jo*, *Ri-jo-ni-ja*, *Se-to-i-ja*, *Ti-ri-to*, *Tu-ni-ja*, *Tu-ri-si-ja*, *] -ru-wo-we-ja*.

It will be seen that the majority are in the *-a* form of the adjective: this can be taken either as referring to the *pharwea* themselves or to the groups of women who have manufactured the goods.

209 = Lc525 (F xl)

*se-to-i-ja* *wa-na-ka-te-ra* CLOTH<sup>2</sup>+TE 40 WOOL 200 [+]  
*tu-na-no* CLOTH<sup>1</sup> 3 WOOL [nn]

From *Se-to-i-ja*:

Forty *edged* cloths of royal type, 200+ measures of wool;

Three cloths of *tu-na-no* type, several hundred (?) measures of wool.

CLOTH+TE: Mycenaean wheels are distinguished as being *te-mi-\*71-ta* (Pylos WHEELS+TE) or *o-da-ku-we-ta* (see p. 370). The second term is also applied to woollen cloths on 220 = L 870, and it is possible that they refer to different kinds of decorative border, CLOTH+TE containing the initial of the first. Some of the instances of CLOTH+TE in Bennett's *Index* (p. 116) must be corrected to CLOTH+PA (e.g. Lc786).

*tu-na-no*: the meaning of this term is unknown. It regularly occurs with the plain CLOTH ideogram on the second line of tablets whose first lists CLOTH+TE (with *pe-ko-to*) or plain CLOTH (with *ko-u-ra*). On 212 = Lc535 all three categories are separately totalled. The traces of numerals after the second WOOL seem to include hundreds.

210 = Lc526

*da-wi-ja* *pe-ko-to* CLOTH<sup>1</sup>+TE 10 CLOTH<sup>2</sup>+TE 14 [  
*tu-na-no* CLOTH<sup>1</sup> 3 WOOL [nn]

From *Da-wo*:

Ten *edged* cloths (type A) of *pe-ko-to*, fourteen *edged* cloths (type B)...;

Three cloths of *tu-na-no* type, x measures of wool.

*pe-ko-to*: occurs on the similar Lc527 and on 212 = Lc535, and introduces ideogram no. 164 on L 698 (cf. 225 = L 520). It is probably connected with the woman's



trade *pe-ki-ti-ra*<sub>2</sub> = *pektria* 'wool-carder?' at Pylos (cf. *pe-ki-ti-* on L. 656); but 'carded' seems meaningless when applied to wool which is already woven into cloth. The second meaning of *πέκω* is 'cut, shear': some process analogous to that used in velvet-making? On this tablet, as on Lc527 and L. 5746, two separate entries of CLOTH+TE are differentiated by a varying number of intermediate strokes to the 'fringe'.

211 = Lc532 + 554 (F)

]·*ku-wo* *pa-we-a* | *ko-u-ra* CLOTH<sup>1</sup> 16 WOOL 26  $\frac{1}{2}$  2  
*tu-na-no* CLOTH<sup>1</sup> 1 WOOL 3 CLOTH<sup>1</sup>+TE 4 WOOL 26

[ ]: Sixteen cloaks of *ko-u-ra* type, 26½ measures of wool;

One cloth of *tu-na-no* type, three measures of wool;

Four *edged* cloths, twenty-six measures of wool.

*pa-we-a ko-u-ra*: the words are written out of alignment, so that it is doubtful whether they are in grammatical agreement. Furumark's connexion with *κουρά* 'shearing, fleece' is impossible, since the Mycenaean form should be *kōrā* < \**korrā*. Cf. *ko-u-re-ja* applied to WOOL on Lc581, to WOMEN on 25 = Ap694 (p. 165).

The three separate entries for WOOL on this tablet are puzzling, since they seem to be closely allied with the three categories of CLOTH. It is possible that the WOOL entries do not in fact represent a separate consignment but a record of the weight of wool in the cloths themselves. The numerals on the Lc- and L- series are mostly fragmentary, but the only complete *ko-u-ra* entry, on this tablet, would give a ratio of exactly 1½ measures (or 5 kg.) per cloth; we can probably restore 1½ on Lc557 and 3½ on Lc556. The *tu-na-no* entries in the second line generally give 3 measures per cloth (but 4 on Lc530, and apparently about 100 on 209 = Lc525!). The surviving entries for CLOTH+TE would give 6½ on this tablet and 7 on Lc553. See also 225 = L. 520, where a ratio of 6 is apparent. Sundwall long ago suggested that the WOOL ideogram is exclusively a unit of value (cf. *PM*, iv, p. 663); but this will not work on the D- tablets. Although the SHEEP and WOOL are in a fixed ratio in the totals, their proportions are quite erratic in the subsidiary sections of the account.

212 = Lc535 + 538 (F)

*to-sa* { *ta-ra-si-ja* *pa-we-a* [*ko-u-ra* CLOTH nn ?]  
           *ke-ri-mi-ja* [*tu*]-*na-no* [ CLOTH nn ?]  
                           *pe-ko-to* [CLOTH+TE nn ?]

So much *piece-work* of the *ke-ri-mi-ja*: x cloaks of *ko-u-ra* type,

x *tu-na-no* cloths,

x *pe-ko-to* cloths.

*ta-ra-si-ja* 'allocation of raw material by weight' (= Lat. *pensum*). See the Pylos BRONZE tablets, p. 352.

*ke-ri-mi-ja*: see Pylos 28 = An42, where it is applied to slave-girls.



213=L 641 (F? xlv)

<sup>1</sup> *o-a-po-te de-ka-sa-tō a-re-i-jo | o-u-qe po-[ ]*<sup>2</sup> *pa-i-ti-ja pe. CLOTH+TE 2 mi. CLOTH+TE 14 da-wi-ja pe. CLOTH+TE [nn]*<sup>3</sup> *do-ti-ja mi. CLOTH+TE 6 pa<sub>2</sub>-mi-ja CLOTH+TE [nn]*<sup>4</sup> *ko-no-so | te-pe-ja mi. CLOTH+TE 3 tu-ni-ja CLOTH+TE [nn]*

Thus Arcios received delivery from outside, and there are not...:

From Phaistos: Two *clean edged* cloths, fourteen *dirty edged* cloths,From Da-wo: ...x *clean edged* cloths,

etc.

*o-a-po-te* = *hō* 'thus' + ἀπὸθεν 'from afar'; compare the introduction *hō-dexato* on Pylos Pn01.1; and ]-*ra-wo de-ko-to ta-ra-si-ja | qe-*], '[?Age]lawos received the piece-work', on the adjoining L 642, which is evidently of identical context and which preserves the alternative Homeric form of the aorist, δέκτο.

The adjuncts *pe.-* and *mi.-* also occur with this ideogram on KN L 1568. The second is spelt in full *mi-ja-ro* in the first entry, which may represent the Homeric μιᾶρός 'stained, defiled', though Boisacq postulates \**miwros*; *pe-* might then represent πεπλυμένος 'washed clean'.

*te-pe-ja*: its recurrence on PY Ad07 (in the genitive plural) suggests that it is a woman's trade. Possibly something like *sterpheiai*, cf. στέρφος 'hide' (Furumark). This would confirm that the ethnics all refer to women workers. These Knossos women are presumably somewhere in the town, and ἀπὸθεν means 'from outside the palace'.

214=Ld571 (G xlii); Ld572 is identical

*pe-ne-we-la a-ro<sub>2</sub>-a BUNDLE? 1**pa-we-a | e-qe-si-ja re-u-ko-nu-ka CLOTH<sup>3</sup> 25*

Twenty-five cloaks with white *o-nu-ke* suitable for Followers, provided with *pe-ne-*, of better quality; and one *bundle*.

*e-qe-si-ja*: probably formed from *e-qe-la* (a military or religious title), but disconcertingly used of **WHEELS** on PY 288=Sa790.

*re-u-ko-nu-ka* = *leuk-onukha*, parallel to *po-ki-ro-nu-ka* = *poikil-onukha* on 217=L. 587, etc.

The simple word *o-nu-ke* (*onukhes?*) is used with the **WOOL** ideogram on Od682 and M 683. It is also written on one face of the sealing Ws1703: the other face has *stathmos* ('weight') and the seal-impression itself is cancelled with the weight symbol **2**. The tablet L 1568, mentioned above in connexion with the adjunct *mi.-*, has on its edge the puzzling annotation:

<i>a-ze-ti-ti-ja</i>	<i>ne-ki-ri-de</i>
<i>o-pi-ma-tu o-nu-ke WOOL 1</i>	<i>o-pi-po-ni-ke-ja [ ]</i>
ἐπιμαρτυς?	cf. ἐπιποινήσω

*o-nu-ka* also occurs with **CLOTHS** on Ld584, as if to mean 'with *o-nu-ke* of unspecified colour' (though the form of the adjective is anomalous). The connexion with ὄνωξ,



'nail, claw, onyx', etc., is problematical; the sense of the word seems to be that of some kind of decoration made of woollen thread, which may be measured separately, but which is designed for application to garments (cf. 'lace', etc.). Björck (1954*b*, p. 272) suggests 'border, fringe'. Compare  $\delta\omega\omega\xi$  in the sense of an ornamental band on the Erechtheion building inscription.

*pe-ne-we-ta*: a neuter plural adjective in *-wenta* (dual on Ld5108?); the initial element is obscure. Not for  $\pi\tau\epsilon\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  'fragrant'? Chadwick suggests *pen-wenta*, from  $\pi\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  'natural grease in wool'.

*a-ro<sub>2</sub>-a* occurs on several other Ld- tablets, and is applied to WHEELS on So0430: the feminine plural *a-ro<sub>2</sub>-e* is found on L 735 applied to *pu-ka-ta-ri-ja* cloths. The parallel declension of *me-zo-a<sub>2</sub>/me-zo-e* suggests the comparative  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$ ; for this use of *ro<sub>2</sub>* cf. *po-pu-ro<sub>2</sub>* = *porphureiō* on L 758. Perhaps  $\ast\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omega\nu$  (cf.  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota$ -στος)? The form *a-ro<sub>2</sub>-jo* on 279 = So0437 is puzzling.

The numeral with the ideogram in the top line remains 1 irrespective of the number of cloaks (and is often written after them), and Björck is probably right in identifying it as the container or wrapping in which they are kept rather than as a 'hat' or other garment.

## 215 = Ld573 (G xlii)

*e-ru-ta-ra-pi*

*pa-we-a / ke-se-nu-wi-ja re-u-ko-nu-ka* CLOTH<sup>3</sup> 35 BUNDLE? 1

Thirty-five cloaks with white *o-nu-ke* suitable for guest-gifts, with red (some-things); and one bundle.

*ke-se-nu-wi-ja* = Homeric  $\xi\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\alpha$  'guest-gifts', here adjectival. On Ld649 *ke-se-ne-* is probably an alternative spelling *ke-se-ne-we-ja*, but note the Homeric by-form  $\xi\epsilon\iota\nu\eta\iota\alpha < \ast\xi\epsilon\nu\eta\eta\iota\alpha$ . Compare also [*?ke-se*]-*nu-we-jo* on X 651, whose context is shown by the genitive *pa-we-o* in line 1. Björck's doubts whether *e-ru-ta-ra-pi* represents the feminine instrumental  $\epsilon\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\alpha\pi\iota$  seem unjustifiable.

## 216 = Ld871 (K? lxvii)

*pa-ro re-wa-jo*

[ ]-*ra pe-ne-we-ta / e-qe-si-ja te-tu-ko-wo-a* CLOTH<sup>4</sup> 6

Six [garments] provided with *pe-ne-*, suitable for Followers, well made; from R.

]-*ra*: a neuter noun, possibly *e-ne-ra* (cf. the dual *e-ne-ro re-u-ko* on L 695); the context of *e-ne-ra* on Ai762 is not clear from Evans' drawing; *e-ne-re-ja* is a description of women on Ak638. Björck connects the word with Hom.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$  'those below': 'under-garments, under-blankets'? Cf. *Od.* x, 353:  $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\ \theta\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\ \rho\acute{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\pi\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\theta'$ ,  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\theta\epsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \lambda\iota\theta'$   $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\nu$ .

*te-tu-ko-wo-a*, formally perfect participle active of  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\chi\omega$ , but used in sense of Hom.  $\tau\epsilon\tau\upsilon\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ; see Vocabulary, p. 409.



217 = L 587 + 589 + 596 (G)

<sup>1</sup> *po-ki-ro-nu-ka* CLOTH<sup>2</sup> 24 *re-u-ko-nu-ka* CLOTH<sup>2</sup> 372

<sup>2</sup> *ko-ro-ta<sub>2</sub>* CLOTH<sup>2</sup> 14 *pa<sub>2</sub>?-ra-ku-ja* CLOTH<sup>2</sup> 42 *po-ri-wa* CLOTH<sup>2</sup> 1  
edge: *to-sa* CLOTH<sup>2</sup> 149

Twenty-four cloths with coloured *o-nu-ke*, 372 with white *o-nu-ke*,  
fourteen dyed cloths, forty-two of the colour of *pa-ra-ku*, one grey one.

So many cloths (in all?): 149.

*ko-ro-ta<sub>2</sub>*: perhaps the same word as *ko-ro-to* on Mycenae Oc106 (see Vocabulary, p. 398),  
but *-ta<sub>2</sub>* may imply *-tia*. Not for *krokia* 'yellow'?

*pa<sub>2</sub>?-ra-ku-ja*: probably an alternative spelling of *pa-ra-ku-ja* Ld580. Or 'adorned with  
*pa-ra-ku*'? For the unidentified precious material *pa-ra-ku* see 239 = Ta642.

*po-ri-wa* = Hom. πολίως (of grey hair, a wolf, steel, the sea).

The sum (?) on the edge unaccountably bears no relation to the separate items.

218 = L 598 (G xlv)

<sup>1</sup> [ ]-*ta-o* *po-ki-ro-nu-ka* CLOTH<sup>1</sup> 1

<sup>2</sup> [*re-u-ko-nu*]-*ka* CLOTH<sup>1</sup> 37 *ko-ro-ta<sub>2</sub>* CLOTH<sup>1</sup> 2

edge: *to-sa* CLOTH<sup>1</sup> 40 *o*. CLOTH<sup>1</sup> 6

... of [ ]-*tās*: one cloth with coloured *o-nu-ke*,  
thirty-seven cloths with white *o-nu-ke*,  
two dyed cloths.

So many in all: forty cloths.

Deficit: six cloths.

This tablet is apparently introduced by a man's name, like the five pointed out by  
Björck (Lc481, etc.) each of which has the enigmatic word *to-u-ka* followed by  
WOOL on the reverse. The ending *-ka* in line 1, like *po-ri-wa* on the preceding tablet,  
may indicate that the name of the cloths is here feminine.

219 = L 594 (G xlv)

*ri-ta pa-we-a*

[*da*]-*te-we-ja* CLOTH<sup>1</sup> 1 TUNIC + KI 1

Linen clothes from D.: one cloak, one tunic.

*ri-ta pa-we-a*: also on X 5927. With this tablet we leave the category of woollen garments: *ri-ta* is the Homeric neuter plural λῖτρα 'linen cloth', probably adjectival here. The TUNIC ideogram differs from the CORSLET sign (see p. 380) by the absence of cross-lines and the less pronounced shoulder-loops. The surcharged KI probably stands for the *ki-to* = χιτῶν of 222 = J 693, and identifies the garment as a shirt, a lightly protected tunic, or as the foundation of a corslet before the addition of armour. The word is borrowed from the Semitic form seen in Hebrew *k'tōnet*,



Ugaritic *kitut* (probably) and Akkadian *kitintu* 'linen dress'; the basic *kitu*, *kitinnu* means 'linen' itself in Akkadian, but it is perhaps better to assume that the Mycenaean word was borrowed as the name of a specific garment. On Le178 the TUNIC occurs with the surcharge R1 (*litos*?) and the annotation *u-po-we*: compare Hesychius ὑπο(\*F)έστης χιτῶν.

220 = L 870 (K? lxi)

[o]-da-ku-we-ta / we-we-e-a CLOTH<sup>2</sup> 1 TUNIC+KI 1

Woollen clothes provided with o-da-k-: one cloak, one tunic.

Compare the formula of Od. viii, 392, etc.: φᾶρος ἑμπλυνὲς ἡδὲ χιτῶνα.

221 = L 647 + M12 + 5943 + 5974 (F)

nu-wa-ja pe. CLOTH [nn] W. CLOTH 17 TUNIC+KI 3

[ ]-ra e-ni-ge e-ra-pe-me-na 'nu-wa-ja' CLOTH 1 [ ]-ra<sub>2</sub> CLOTH 1

[Garments:] *x* clean cloths of nu-wa-ja type,

seventeen dirty cloths, three tunics,

one cloth of nu-wa-ja type, torn and mended,

one . . . cloth.

Joined by Bennett from four fragments in 1954. The meaning of nu-wa-ja is unknown (cf. nu-wa-i- [X 663]). It is just possible that the unidentified adjunct, which seems to be a monogram of mi + pu<sub>2</sub>, is an alternative way of writing mi-ja-ro 'dirty'?; pu<sub>2</sub> for πλυτέον 'must be washed'?

e-ni-ge occurs on two other fragments as e-ni-ge nu- [ and e-ni-ge pe-ne- [; see Vocabulary, p. 392.

e-ra-pe-me-na: the perfect participle passive of ῥάπτω 'stitch', i.e. *errapmend* > ἑρραμμένη, with a surprising lack of assimilation. Cf. ra-pe 'tailor', ra-pi-ti-ra<sub>2</sub> 'seamstress', neither of which shows the postulated \*F-.

222 = J 693 (F xlv)

<sup>1</sup> ri-no / re-po-to 'ge-te-o' ki-to BRONZE 2 1 [

<sup>2</sup> sa-pa 2 2 1 e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja BRONZE 2 1 [

Fine linen, of the tribute: a tunic = 1 kg. of bronze . . .

a sa-pa = 45 g. (of bronze),

over-shirt(s) = 1 kg. of bronze . . .

ri-no re-po-to = λίνον λεπτόν, cf. Il. xviii, 595: τῶν δ' αἱ μὲν λεπτάς ὀθόνας ἔχον, οἱ δὲ χιτῶνας εἰσὶν εὐνήτους. The form ge-te-a<sub>2</sub> (neuter plural) occurs on Pylos 96 = Un02, q.v. It is uncertain whether the BRONZE figures are an indication of the value of the items or of their actual weight ('measured in bronze units', in default of special units like those for wool?); but a 'tunic of fine linen' is perhaps unlikely to weigh more than 300 g. or so.

ki-to = χιτῶν: other cases of this word occur in less clear contexts: ki-to-pi on Le787 (instr. plur., cf. pa-we-pi = pharwesphi L 104), ki-to-na on L 785.



*sa-pa*: this garment recurs on Mycenae Oe108.

*e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja*: presumably *epikhitōnia*. A similar formation is seen in the expression *e-pi-ro-pa-ja o-du-we te-o-qo-ri-ja* on the related tablet in the same hand Od696: cf. λώπη 'cloak', *Od.* xiii, 224, and θεοπόλος 'priest'. Note also *o-pi-i-ta-ja* on X 537 (cf. ιστός 'loom, web'?).

223 = L 471 (? xciv)

[*pu*]-*ka-ta-ri-ja* | *re-u-ka* 'me-zo-e' CLOTH<sup>4</sup>+PU 10

Ten white double cloaks, larger size.

*pu-ka-ta-ri-ja*: this word recurs on the Mycenae tablet X 508. Chadwick rejects a connexion with πυκταλίζω 'fight, box', and suggests a dissimilated form of \**plukt-*, i.e. 'a garment of double thickness' = Homeric διπλαξ (fem., sc. χλαίνα). The feminine gender is proved by the ending of *mezoēs* 'larger'. *Me-zo-* also occurs on Lc504; Björck suggests emending *me-ko-ta* on L 469 to read *megistai* 'largest', which actually occurs on X 537.


224 = L 474 joined (E? xlviii)


*po-pu-re-ja* | *pu-ka-ta-ri-ja* CLOTH<sup>3</sup>+PU 21


Twenty-one purple double cloaks.

*po-pu-re-ja*: cf. the dual *po-pu-ro*, with two CLOTHS+PU on L 758; and *wa-na-ka-te-ro po-pu-re-* on X 976, suggesting that purple was already a favourite royal colour. Cf. *Od.* xix, 225: χλαῖναν πορφυρέην οὖλην ἔχε δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς διπλῆν.

225 = L 520 (F)

<sup>1</sup> *do-ti-ja* WOOL 18 *pe-re-ke*  3

<sup>2</sup> *ka-ma* WOOL 12  2

<sup>3</sup> *sa-mu?-ta-jo* WOOL 24  4

*Do-ti-ja*<sup>p</sup>: 54 kg. of wool, makes three cloths.

The *ka-ma*: 36 kg. of wool, makes two cloths.

*Sa-mu-ta-jo*<sup>m</sup>: 72 kg. of wool, makes four cloths.

*pe-re-ke*: possibly περιέχει ('embraces, comprises, makes'), with περ before a vowel as in Cyprian, Pamphylian, etc. Evans (*PM*, iv, pp. 662-3) pointed out the 'numerical equation' on this tablet, and regarded the second ideogram as a unit of weight, identical to a Zakro stone weight of MM III which has a similar design on one face and six dots on the other, and which weighs 220 grams. If there is in fact an equation on this tablet, then the value represented must be much larger, since six times the WOOL unit makes 18 kg. It is clear in any case from L 698 (where the ideogram is introduced by *pe-ko-to* and has the normal 'fringe' at the bottom) that it is no more than a specialized form of the CLOTH sign.



## 2. TEXTILES AT MYCENAE

Of the three dozen tablets found by Wace in 1952 in the 'House of the Oil Merchant' and published by Bennett, all but two probably list the WOOL ideogram. The majority consist largely of personal names in the dative (e.g. *Ophelānorei* on Oe126), and seem to be the record of cloths or clothes issued to members of a large household.

226 = Oe129

*di-ke*

*ne-wo ka-na-pe-we WOOL 4*

Four woollen cloths to the young (or new) fuller *Di-ke*.

Other occupational names found in this context are *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* 'nurse?', *pe-re-ke-we* (*plekēwei*?), *a-to-po-go* 'baker', *ke-ra-me-wi* 'potter', *ka-ke-wi* 'smith' (note the unusual datives in *-i*); also *ko-wo* 'son' and *tu-ka-te-re* 'daughter'. General textile vocabulary shared with the other sites includes *ta-ra-si-ja* = *talasia* (cf. 212 = Lc535), *o-no* (also with WOOL on Pylos 41 = An14 and Un01) and *pa-we-a<sub>2</sub>* = *pharwea*.

227 = Oe127

*pa-we-a<sub>2</sub> e-we-pe-se-so-me-na WOOL 20*

Twenty woollen cloaks which are to be well *boiled*.

*e-we-pe-se-so-me-na*: apparently εὔ ἐψησόμενα, from ἐψω 'boil (trans.)'. The meaning is uncertain: cf. ἐψησασθαι 'to dye' (Pollux, 2 A.D.)? Or cf. the word *bašlu* 'cooked' frequently applied to clothes at Nuzi, interpreted as 'bleached' (Lacheman, 1939, p. 543)? Or are the clothes simply going to the laundry?

228 = Oe111 + 136

<sup>1</sup> *pe-ru-si-nwa o-u-ka* [?

<sup>2</sup> *wa-ro-ŋe-ja pa-we-si* [

<sup>3</sup> *ne-[wa?] o-u-ka*

<sup>4</sup> [ ]-*ki-ni-ja WOOL 100* [

<sup>5</sup> [ ]-*ta-pa-ro-te-wa-ro WOOL 200* [

Last year's *o-u-ka*:

*x* woollen cloths for cloaks.

New *o-u-ka*:

100 cloths of. . .-*ki-ni-ja* type.

200 cloths. . ., which are from *Te-wa-ro*.



*o-u-ka* (cf. *o-u-ko* Oe108): meaning unknown. Compare the Knossos word *to-u-ka* (Lc481, etc.)?


*wo-ro-ne-ja*: a form *woloneia* from \**wolnos* > οὔλος 'wool', with the metathesis seen in the by-form λῆνος < \**wlānos*? Palmer proposes *worneia* = ἄρνεια 'of lambs'. Bennett reads *pa-ws-si-jo* followed by the WOOL ideogram, but the end of line 2 is very uncertain.


*o-ta-*: the very tentative division *onta paro Te-wa-ro* would involve the form οντα of the present participle which is so far confined to Attic; but *o* may not be initial.


### 3. TEXTILES AT PYLOS


Ten very fragmentary tablets of a textile context (classified *La-*) were found at Pylos in 1952. They share with Knossos the word *ko-u-ra* (cf. 211 = Lc532); the genitive *wanaktos* 'of the king' is found on the reverse of La622 (cf.

145  WOOL

159  CLOTH+PA

143  Silver?

160  Kind of cloth?

209 = Lc525); the ideogram no. 143 occurs with the weight symbol  on the reverse of La630, and is perhaps identical with that suggested for 'silver' (see p. 351, and compare the metal weights on 222 = J 693).

### 4. MYCENAEAN VESSEL NAMES

The ideograms for vessels show a great variety of forms, and it is not feasible to allot a separate reference number for all of them; new tablets may easily extend the range. Although they are intended as a more or less faithful drawing of the numerous different types in use, it is characteristic of both Knossos and Pylos that the scribe almost always adds the Greek name of the vessel type either in full spelling or as a 'surcharged' initial (the references to these initials in *SM II*, p. 59 should be treated with caution). The fact that the same names recur with the same shapes at the two palaces effectively disproves the objection which has been raised that such an added description is superfluous and improbable. That the practice is inherited from Linear A is suggested by the Agia Triada tablet HT 31 (*PM*, iv, p. 732, fig. 717), where vessels are annotated with sign-groups corresponding to Linear B *su-pu* and *ka-ro-pa<sub>3</sub>*, cups with *pa<sub>2</sub>-pa<sub>3</sub>*, *su-pa<sub>3</sub>-ra* and *pa-ta-ge*: the difference of language is obvious. Thirteen vessel types with known Mycenaean names are shown in fig. 16.

Even though the ideograms are naturalistic and provided with Greek names, it is not easy to connect all of them securely with types known from the



archaeological record, or to fit them accurately into the classification of shapes set out by Furumark (*MP*, figs. 2-21). There are two main reasons for this:

1. The connexion of classical Greek vessel-names with classical shapes is itself to some extent a matter of guesswork; and not only have the classical shapes designed for each specific purpose undergone marked changes from their Mycenaean equivalents, but the Greek names themselves can be seen to show shifts of meaning between earlier and later writers.

	Knossos		Pylos		Mycenae	Transcription
200				<i>pi-je-ra<sub>1</sub></i> <i>pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra</i>		BOILING PAN
201				<i>ti-ri-po-de</i>	<i>ti-ri-po-di-ko</i>	TRIPOD CAULDRON
202	  <i>di-pa</i>		  <i>di-pa</i>			GOBLET?
203				<i>qe-to</i>	<i>qe-to</i>	WINE JAR?
204				<i>qe-ra-na</i>		EWER
205				<i>a-te-we</i>		JUG
206				<i>ha-ti</i>		HYDRIA
207	<i>ka-ru-su-pa<sub>3</sub></i>					TRIPOD AMPHORA
208						BOWL
209	 <i>a-pi-po-re-we</i>			<i>i-re-we</i>	<i>a-po-re-we</i>	AMPHORA
210	<i>ka-ra-re-we</i>			<i>ka-ra-re-we</i>		STIRRUP JAR
211	 <i>po-ti-l, i-we</i>					WATER BOWL?
212	 <i>u-do-ro</i>			<i>u-do-ro</i>		WATER JAR?
213	<i>i-po-no</i>					COOKING BOWL

Fig. 16. Mycenaean vessel ideograms and their names.

2. That most of the ideograms (at any rate nos. 200-8) represent metal rather than pottery types is indicated not only by their profiles but by the BRONZE ideogram (nos. 202, 205 and 208), and by the fact that they are counted, like those of GOLD, in small numbers from one to three. By contrast, note that in 1953 Blegen found 2853 plain pottery kylixes in Room 2 and 2147 bowls and 'teacups' in Room 5 at Pylos: the tablets listing these sets, if they were listed at all, would evidently have a very



different appearance. Owing to their melting-down value, finds of metal vessels are almost entirely confined to undisturbed burials of kings and chieftains, and to household treasures which have escaped looting by concealment. The bulk of such finds date from 1600–1400 B.C., and it is a moot point whether metal shapes and decoration so far characteristic only of Late Minoan and Helladic I–II may in fact be assumed to be still in use around 1200 B.C., and used to illustrate the phraseology of the Pylos tablets. But some of the more valuable objects may of course be heirlooms rather than of recent manufacture.

The majority of the fourteen types listed above evidently belong to the characteristic furnishing of a chieftain's apartments, and are designed largely for the heating and carrying of water for baths and hand-washing (and possibly to a lesser extent for the preparation and consumption of drink). Such services are shown on the Knossos tablet K 93 (fig. 17), where the first set apparently comprises our types 200, 212 and 205, the second our types 208 and 204. Similar sets of bronze vessels provide (together with weapons and Palace Style vases) the typical grave furniture of chieftains. A representative group from the LM II 'Tomb of the Tripod Hearth' at Zafer Papoura (*PM*, III, p. 634, fig. 398) is shown in fig. 18: relatives of our types 200, 201, 204 and 208 can be seen, together with the ladle of 229 = K 434 and the lamp(?) of 237 = Ta709.

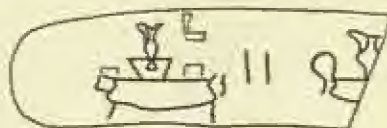


Fig. 17. Knossos tablet K 93.

The 'Chieftain's Grave' at Zafer Papoura (*PM*, IV, p. 861, fig. 843) yielded a ewer of type 204, a two-handled bowl, a 'frying-pan' (lamp?), a mirror, two swords and two spears. Similar groups of bronze vessels from houses adjoining the palace are discussed by Evans (*PM*, II, pp. 623 ff.), and include two tripods and a ewer from a house to the S.E. of the South House (fig. 394). Note also the hoard of bronze vessels (types 200, 201, 204) from the 4th Shaft Grave (Schliemann, 1878, pp. 273–8). The following notes discuss in more detail the identification of our types.

200. *pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra* or *pi-je-ra<sub>3</sub>* (plural), 'boiling-pan': a large shallow vessel, designed to expose a large area to the fire, and provided with high-swung handles for suspension. The foot apparently shown on 237 = Ta709.1 is unusual, since it is much too narrow to keep the vessel in equilibrium; it is not entirely clear on the tablet. These vessels are evidently considerably smaller than the huge hemispherical bronze cauldrons with three handles found at Tylissos, of which the largest had a diameter of 1.40 m. The name agrees in sense with the ἀμφίθετος φιάλη ἀπύρωτος of *Il.* XXIII, 270, and shows the same vowel-alternation as the classical φιάλη/φιάλη.

201. *ti-ri-po*, plural *ti-ri-po-de* = τρίπος, cf. *Il.* XVIII, 346: οἱ δὲ λοετροχόον τρίποδ'



- ἱστασσαν ἐν πυρὶ κηλέω. The ideogram conforms to the Bronze Age pattern in showing the legs attached to the belly rather than to the underside of the handles, but in a rather more schematic way than on the surviving metal examples.
202. *di-pa*, dual *di-pa-e*: spelling, gender and declension suggest identity with the Homeric δέπας 'goblet', but the precise shape and use are far from certain. Late Minoan and Helladic drinking vessels belong to the class of 'stemmed cups' (*MP*, figs. 16-17). The earlier version A in fig. 19 is exemplified by the four gold cups from



Fig. 18. Contents of the Tomb of the Tripod Hearth, Zafer Papoura  
(Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, p. 634, fig. 398).

the Mycenae acropolis treasure (Thomas, 1939), the silver 'crater' from Shaft II at Dendra, and the 'loving cup' on the Knossos Camp-stool Fresco (*PM*, IV, p. 365, fig. 305c); and is paralleled in pottery by the 'Ephyraean goblet'. The kylix from the end of the Mycenaean age has a narrower stem, and either one or two handles which may be low (*B*) or high-swung (*C*). The identification of our *dipus* with such a cup is made difficult by the marked constriction at the neck of the ideogram; by the fact that the handles are shown high-swung even at Knossos; by the broad base and lack of foot on the Knossos version; and by the four handles on 236 = Ta641, which would seem to interfere with either drinking, pouring or scooping (unless arranged in the paired fashion which has been argued for Nestor's famous 'four-



handled δέπας' in *Il.* xi, 632-7). The alternative of assuming that the ideogram is only a schematic indication of a 'piriform amphora' (*MP*, fig. 4) with handles below the neck encounters the objection that the *qe-to* of 236 = Ta641.2 is deliberately so distinguished in drawing. The collocation with tripods might suggest that the *dipas* is used for bath-water rather than drink, but its narrow base and handleless variety prove it to be quite small.

203. *qe-to* (plural): this vessel appears to have two horizontal handles (like the small pithoid jar, *MP*, fig. 3, no. 27). Bennett's suggested identification with the classical πίθος 'wine-jar', 'wine-cask', is hard to reconcile with the current etymology.

204. *qe-ra-na* (sing.): a bronze ewer or 'oinochoe' of the type usual in the surviving bronze hoards: these generally show a horizontal ring two-thirds of the way from handle to base, to help in pouring (cf. κορωνόφεσσα on 235 = Ta711?). Palmer's comparison with πέλανος 'funerary libation' would apparently involve an unetymological use of *q-*. Alternatively cf. Old Norse *huerna* 'pot', Gothic *hwairnei* (fem.) 'cranium' (cf. Lat. *testa*)? One might expect the *prokhouos* of Mycenae 234 = Ue611 to have a similar appearance.



Fig. 19. Late Helladic drinking cups.

205. *a-le-we* (plural): a word in *-eus*, describing a straight-sided ewer or 'cream-jug' with a more elongated neck than (204). The first vessel on fig. 17 differs in its curved handle and tilted spout.

206. *ka-ti* (singular): a globular pitcher with the indication of two extra smaller handles at the widest part of the body, which may be designed to help carry the vessel on the head. As in the classical *hydria* and in Mycenaean globular jugs of pottery (*MP*, fig. 7, nos. 128 and 129), one might expect to find these two handles in fact set on the opposite axis to the main one. The spelling represents the ancestor of the classical κηθίς, κηθάριον 'dice-shaker or voting urn' (cf. ὀδρίαι in the same sense, and Hesychius' Arcadian gloss κάθιδος ὀδρίαι).

207. *ku-ru-su-pa<sub>3</sub>*?: a squat globular amphora with three legs or a tripod stand. Probably not a compound of χρυσός 'gold' but a native 'Minoan' word, to judge from the Agia Triada vessel names *ka-ro-pa<sub>3</sub>*, *su-pu* and *su-pa<sub>3</sub>-ra* quoted above; cf. the Hittite (Hurrian) *huprushh-* 'pilgrim flask'?

208. A shallow bowl with upstanding ring handle riveted on: on 229 = K 434 the bottom end of the ring stands clear of the body, the condition usual in the surviving



examples. According to size and context this ideogram may evidently represent anything from a large bronze basin (cf. fig. 18, object *b*; and *PM*, II, p. 631, fig. 395*a, b, c*) to a small gold or silver bowl like those from Marathon, Mycenae, Dendra and from Ai Iannis by Knossos (*JHS*, 74, 1954, Pl. IX). The Homeric λέβης (e.g. *Od.* I, 137) is a possible Greek name for this type. On 238 = Tn996.4 the bronze bowls apparently have feet, which makes them similar to the pedestalled bowls found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae (fig. 20).



Fig. 20. Pedestalled bowl from the Fourth Shaft Grave, Mycenae.

209. *a-pi-po-re-we*, *a-po-re-we* = ἀμφιφορῆτες, ἀμφορῆτες. The Mainland spelling already shows the telescoped form (metrically impossible in Homer), but the clear etymology 'carried on both sides' has preserved the bond between name and shape down to classical times. Evans (*PM*, IV, p. 732) shows that the single honey amphoras on 204 = Gg704, etc. are probably of metal, pointing particularly to the handles on Gg709 (of which his fig. 716 gives an inaccurate impression); but the amphoras on 233 = Ucl60 rev. may be of pottery, as the 1800 specimens of Gg700 certainly are. Evans (*PM*, IV, p. 734) says that the latter have a surcharged *A* and 'spouts' like stirrup-jars, but publishes no photo; Bennett's *Index* (p. 114) does not refer to either of these peculiarities.
210. *ka-ra-re-we*: called 'stirrup-handled vases' in *SM II*; the 'spout' which appears in profile on Evans' drawing is not clear on the photograph (and indeed unexpected, since the mouth of a stirrup-jar projects in the opposite axis to the handles) but is confirmed by Chadwick's autopsy. The use of the word on Pylos Gn1184 suggests that this vessel type does in fact represent a stirrup-jar used for oil storage, and the large number (180) counted on Ucl778 again points to a pottery type; but note that Evans infers the existence of stirrup-jars in metal from the rivet decoration of some from Shaft Grave 68 at Zafer Papoura (*PM*, II, p. 640). *Krairēwes* from κραῖρα 'head', or *klārēwes* from κληρος (cf. κληρωτής 'voting urn')?? What Evans interprets as the neck of a stirrup-jar on U 746 is in fact the word *ke-ro* above the ideogram no. 172.
211. That *po-ti-* on 232 = K 875.6 represents the initial of the vessels introduced by *-we* and surcharged *po* on K 873 is only a conjecture. The ideogram shows a shallow bowl or cup (numerals 32, 24, 22) of similar outline to the *dipas* but with two handles set on the widest part of the body. On K 873 the first line adds *u-do*, presumably ὕδωρ.
212. *u-do-ro* (plural): apparently a conical bucket-shaped bowl with two horizontal (?) handles (absent on K 774, 776). The horizontal line near the top may indicate a separate rim or lid (shown open on 238 = Tn996.4?). It is perhaps the vessel seen to the left of K 93 (fig. 17 above) between the basin and the jug. This vessel was



possibly used for baling out the bath in 238 = Tn996, and resembles the conical bronze pans from Knossos (*PM*, II, fig. 394, no. 4; fig. 396) and from Shaft V in chamber tomb no. 7 at Dendra. Some similarity is also shown by the bronze tankard from Tiryns and by the same shape in clay from Pylos, but these have only one handle. The name is evidently derived from ὕδρo- 'water', but the form ὕδρoς itself is only found with the meaning 'water-snake' in Greek.

213. *i-po-no* (plural): a shallow open dish. The classical ἰρνός (of uncertain etymology) means 'an earthenware dish or cover in which food was baked' and, no doubt as a secondary development, 'oven, furnace'.

## 5. INVENTORIES OF VESSELS AT KNOSSOS

229 = K 434 (D xxxv)

<sup>1</sup> ] I BOWL I ] I  
<sup>2</sup> ]-de-wa-pi ko-no-ni-pi ] I

One . . . , one bowl, one ladle,  
 one [jug] with . . . bars.

Evans compares the silver ladle from the Vaphio tomb (*PM*, IV, fig. 911); note also object *o* on fig. 18 above.

*ko-no-ni-pi*: Evans describes the ideogram as a 'jug, the handle of which is partly obliterated; it seems to have had a raised ring round its neck'; Chadwick confirms that it has a clear band round the neck. *ko-no-ni-pi* (wrongly printed in Bennett's *Index* as *-ja*) is evidently a feminine noun (cf. 244 = Ta714.3) with genitive singular in *-nios* or *-nidos*. Does it represent κρονίς 'cross-bar'? Cf. also *Il.* XIII, 407: ἀσπίδα . . . δῶκα κρονέσσας ἀπαυλάν. A restoration [*peri*] *derwāphi* = περὶ δέρας 'round the neck' would, however, violate both the declension rules for compound adjectives and the accepted etymology of δέρας from \**g<sup>erwā</sup>*.

230 = K 740 (H li)

<sup>1</sup>? [ ]  
<sup>2</sup> di-pa BRONZE GOBLET? + D! 3!  
<sup>3</sup> qe-ro<sub>2</sub> BRONZE ] 16  
<sup>4</sup> ku-ru-su-pa<sub>3</sub>? . TRIPOD-AMPHORA 1  
<sup>5</sup> pi-ri-je . ZE 1  
<sup>6</sup> [ ] me-[ ]  
 uncertain number of lines missing

*di-pa*: probably an error for plural \**di-pa-a*. The plural δέρας in Homer is not a valid analogy, since it is everywhere the result of elision.




*qe-ro<sub>2</sub>*: Evans (*PM*, IV, p. 732) says that the ideogram 'must probably be regarded as a variant of the cuirass sign seen on the Chariot tablets'. It has the yoke-shaped top



characteristic of the TUNIC symbol (see p. 313) and recurs in the armour context of 299 = V 789 and 300 = G 5670, *q.v.*

*pi-ri-je*: the absence of another ideogram suggests that we should take *ze* not as 'pairs' but in the sense 'saw'; but one would expect *pi-ri-jo* for *πριων*. The function of the dots in lines 4 and 5 is uncertain; ditto signs for 'bronze'?

231 = K 872 (D or K? lxi)

<sup>1</sup> [            ] *ke-ra-a*  [nn]  
<sup>2</sup> [            ] *-me-no ne-pa<sub>2</sub>-sa-pi*  1  
<sup>3</sup> [            ] *-pi-te-te ku-ru-so*  
                     *ne-pa<sub>2</sub>-sa-pi we.*  3

? two bull's head 'rhytons' [? gilded] on the horns;

one bull's head 'rhyton' [? decorated] with *ne-pa<sub>2</sub>-sa-*;

three silver cups [? decorated] with *ne-pa<sub>2</sub>-sa-*, the rim of gold.

*Lines 1 and 2*: a comparable 'bull's head rhyton' is shown among Keftiu tribute in the early fifteenth century B.C. Egyptian tomb of User-Amon. The black steatite example from the Little Palace (*PM*, II, pp. 527 ff.) has *tridachna* shell inlay round the nose and in irregular patches; eyes of crystal and red jasper; small medallions with revolving rays between the horns; and probably horns of wood covered with gold foil. The silver one from the fourth shaft grave at Mycenae (*PM*, II, p. 531, fig. 333) has horns of wood plated with gold, gold inlay round the muzzle, and a gold rosette on the forehead. The objects or substance represented in this context by *ne-pa<sub>2</sub>-sa-pi* (instr. plur.) is unknown, but it also enters into the cups of line 3, and into the composition of the man's name *Ne-pa<sub>2</sub>-sa-ta* on PY Fn03.

*-pi-te-te*: cf. *o-pi-te-te-re*, PY 251 = Vn02.5. Either 'lid' (cf. ἐπίθεμα, Hom. ἐπίθημα) or 'applied band' (cf. πεπίθεμα). Compare the silver bowls from Dendra and Mycenae with a gold plate attached to the rim; Nuzi tablet SMN 589 ('a cup of silver with its edges covered in gold', Lacheman, 1939, p. 538); and *Od.* IV, 615-16: ἀργύρεος δὲ ἔστιν ἄπας, χρυσοῦ δ' ἐπὶ χεῖλεα κεκράνται. The cups are of the same shape as the gold ones from Vaphio and those shown in the Egyptian tomb of Senmut. Such cups were also made of bronze (cf. *PM*, II, fig. 288c, from Tomb 12 at Mochlos). There appears to be a diminutive *we*, of unknown significance, written to the right of the ideogram.

232 = K 875 (K lxxv)

<sup>1</sup> [ . . . ] | *pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja* | *di-pa a-no-wo-to* [▽ 1]  
<sup>2</sup> *pe-ri-ta* | *pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja* | *di-pa a-no-wo-to* [▽ 1]  
<sup>3</sup> *wi-na-jo* | *pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja* | *di-pa a-no-wo-to* [▽ 1]  
<sup>4</sup> *i-da-i-jo* | *pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja* | *di-pa a-no-wo-to* [▽ 1]  
<sup>5</sup> *sa-me-ti-jo* | *pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja* | *di-pa a-no-wo-to* [▽ 1]  
<sup>6</sup> *i-je-re-wi-jo* | *pa<sub>2</sub>-si-[re-wi]-ja* | *a-na-wo-to* ▽ 1 | *po-ti-* [            ]




So-and-so (the basileus' retinue): one goblet (?) without a handle,  
etc.

The bottom line is damaged. Evans' drawing shows the number 10, but this horizontal appears to be a crack in the clay. For the 'goblet without a handle' cf. Pylos 236 = Ta641.3.

233 = Ucl60 reverse (? xxvii)

<sup>1</sup>? [

<sup>2</sup> *a-pi-po-re-we*  3[ three amphoras...

<sup>3</sup> *i-po-no*  14 [ fourteen cooking bowls...

<sup>4</sup> [*u*]-*qo-ro*  17 [ seventeen water jars...

uncertain number of lines lost

The other side of this tablet is a fragmentary list of wine and other measured commodities. The small T which follows the ideograms on Evans' drawing is a single ten with a vertical crack in the clay.

## 6. VESSELS AT MYCENAE

234 = Ue611 reverse. (House of the Sphinxes)

<sup>1</sup> *ku-pe-ra* 4 *a-po-re-we* 2 *pe-ri-ke* 3

<sup>2</sup> *ka-ra-te-ra* 1 *po-ro-ko-wo* 4 *a-la-ra* 10

<sup>3</sup> ?] *pa-ke-te-re* 30 *ka-na-to* 5 *qe-ti-ja* 10

<sup>4</sup> *qe-to* 2 *ti-ri-po-di-ko* 8 *ka-ro-ti-ri-jo* 7

Four drinking cups, two amphoras, three *pitchers*,  
one mixing-bowl, four pouring jugs, ten *ladles*,  
thirty . . . , five *baskets*, ten small *wine-jars*,  
two *wine-jars*, eight small tripods, seven *baskets*.

The other side of this tablet is a list of olives, figs and wine. The list of vessels is unfortunately not accompanied by ideograms; a considerable store of different pottery types was found in a room adjacent to that in which this tablet was discovered in 1954. In the doorway of this store-room a number of clay sealings were found in 1953; they are inscribed with a series of words apparently describing vessels or utensils, some of which recur on 234 = Ue611.

*ku-pe-ra*: probably the Homeric κύπελλα. Note the absence of the *di-pa* from this list of vessels apparently devoted largely to drinking purposes.

*pe-ri-ke* = πέλικες: the word is quoted by Pollux (x, 67) from Cratinus, and mentioned by Athenaeus (xi, 495) in the form πελίκαι. The grammarians were by no means sure of the meaning: κύλιξ, προχοῖδιον and χοῦς are all given as equivalents.

*ka-ra-te-ra*: apparently *kratēra*, but the accusative is surprising; possibly for a derivative *kratēriā*? Old Latin *crēterra* is supposed to be an early borrowing of the Ionic accusative κρητήρα by way of Etruscan.




- po-ro-ko-we* = Hom. πρόκοος. Cretan πρόκοος is used as a measure.  
*a-ta-ra*: possibly *antla*. A neuter ἀντλον is quoted from Pollux (i, 92); the sense 'bucket' is not recorded before Manetho. Cf. Hesychius ἀντλία·καδίσκος.  
*pa-ke-te-re* occurs on Pylos Vn879 (probably to be restored on 251 = Vn02.6); no plausible explanation. From σφάζω or πήγνυμι? Cf. also *J-ke-te-ri-ja* with the 'lamp?' on 237 = Ta709.  
*ka-na-to*: cf. κάναστρον, κάνασθον? Not γνώθος in some technical sense?  
*qe-ti-ja*: probably a diminutive of *qe-to* (236 = Ta641.2, *q.v.*), which is apparently to be read in line 4.  
*ti-ri-po-di-ko* = *tripodiskoi*. Also a man's name on PY Cn12.8: cf. the Attic deme Τριποδίσκος.  
*ka-ra-ti-ri-jo*: connected with κάλαθος?

## 7. INVENTORIES OF VESSELS AND FURNITURE AT PYLOS

### THE *Ta*- SERIES

Among the documents which were found by Blegen in the campaigns of 1952-3 and have appeared in Bennett's second (1955) edition of the Pylos tablets, the most important (both for further decipherment and for the light they throw on Mycenaean culture) are the series which have been classified by the prefix *Ta*-. One of these, 236 = Ta641 with its tripods and four-handled 'goblets', was separately published by Blegen (1953, cf. Ventris, 1954*a*, p. 18), and has been invaluable in providing a conclusive check on the decipherment. An earlier draft of the present chapter has already been partly published in *Eranos* (53, 1955, 109-24); Bennett has independently arrived at a very similar idea of their meaning.

The *Ta*-series consists of thirteen tablets of 'palm-leaf' shape in grey-burnt clay, exceptionally neatly written and well preserved. From their similar context, 'hand' and common locus, adjoining the Archive Room, they evidently constitute a coherent set written for a single occasion. Ta710, which merely repeats Ta721 lines 3-4, has been omitted here; but the red tablet Tn996 (with 'bath-tubs') may conveniently be discussed together with the series because of its similar subject-matter, even though found some distance away (in Room 4, Blegen, 1954, p. 28). We have printed first 711, 641, 709 and 996 which record vessels and utensils; next 642, 713 and 715 which list the article *to-pe-za*; then 707, 708 and 714 which record *to-no* and *ta-ra-nu* in combination; and finally 721 and 722, where *ta-ra-nu* (plural *ta-ra-nu-we*) are counted alone and illustrated by the ideogram .

Although this rectangular object with its looped ends at first sight resembles a vessel, its name *thrānus*, plural *thrānues*, is clearly the Homeric θρήνυς



'footstool'. On Ta722.1 the object can be seen to have short legs under it. An identical piece of furniture is visible under the feet of the seated goddess on the large gold signet-ring from Tiryns. Doubts were expressed by Evans as to the ring's authenticity, but the odd form of the footstool could hardly have been anticipated by a forger. Wace tells us that he and Seager examined the ring and shared Karo's opinion that it is genuine.

The spelling of the objects *to-no* and *to-pe-za* will be discussed below; but the first, which regularly forms a pair with *thrānus*, is evidently the equivalent of *θρόνος* 'chair', the second of *τράπεζα* 'table'. The furniture listed on the



Fig. 21. The gold signet ring from Tiryns.

surviving tablets comprises eleven tables, five chairs and fifteen footstools (four of them paired with chairs). The low number of chairs may suggest that part of their inventory is missing, or possibly that some of the *thrānues* were intended to be sat on. A close parallel is given by the Akkadian tablets nos. 417-24 from Alalakh (Wiseman, 1953, pp. 108-9), e.g. no. 419: 'twenty tables, thirty-two chairs and thirty-five footstools, for the house of Iriḫalpa'.

The construction and decoration of this furniture have fortunately been listed in detail by the Pylos scribe, offering a fascinating sidelight on what we already know of Mycenaean craftsmanship and of its favourite design motifs. Compare especially Furumark's analysis in *Mycenaean Pottery* (MP), the ivory ornaments found at Mycenae in 1952-4 (Wace, 1954, where their function as furniture decoration is stressed), and those from Delos (de Santerre & Tréheux, 1948, with full references to previous Mycenaean ivories). Note also the ivory fragments found in Pylos Rooms 53 and 54 in 1954, 'evidently fallen from a



lady's apartment above' (Blegen, 1955, p. 34). The specification makes great use of adjectives in -*φισσα* and -*ειος* to specify the component details, and applies to the furniture two recurrent passive participles in -*μένος*. The first of these, *a-ja-me-no*, is known from the specification of Knossos chariots 200 years earlier (e.g. 266 = Sd0401): it apparently describes the *inlay* or *veneering* of wood with more costly materials, especially ivory. The second, *qe-qi-no-me-no* or *qe-qi-no-to*, probably refers to the *turning* or *carving* of particular designs.

The *Ta*-tablets appear to list the furnishings of a luxurious reception room (furniture, vessels and arrangements for heating), and their context and vocabulary find a significant echo in *Od.* xix, 53-62:

Ἡ δ' ἱεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια.  
τῇ παρὰ μὲν κλισίην πυρὶ κάτθεσαν, ἐνθ' ἄρ' ἐφίζε,  
δινωτὴν ἐλέφαντι καὶ ἀργύρῳ (ἦν ποτε τέκτων  
ποίησ' Ἰκμάλιος) καὶ ὑπὸ θρῆνυν πασὶν ἤκε  
προσφνέ' ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὅθ' ἐπὶ μέγα βάλλετο κῶας.  
ἦλθον δὲ δμῳαὶ λευκώλενοι ἐκ μεγάροιο.  
αἱ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν σῖτον πολὺν ἤρεον ἡδὲ τραπέζας  
καὶ δέπτα', ἐνθεν ἄρ' ἄνδρες ὑπερμενέοντες ἔπινον.

The *Ta*-tablets are also valuable in providing the longest extant Mycenaean sentences (244 = Ta714 has twenty-three consecutive words), and in throwing new light on the formation of the feminine dual (see 241 = Ta715) and of the instrumental case in the plural. The latter regularly shows -*phi* as the ending of consonant stems and of feminine -*ā*-stems; but masculine and neuter -*o*-stems merely end in -*o* in the instrumental plural, probably to be interpreted as -*ois* (see p. 85). This is clearly demonstrated in 246 = Ta722.2-3:

*elephanteiois karāa'phi lewonteiois* 'with ivory lions' heads',  
*elephanteiāphi karuphi* 'with ivory nuts (?)'.

In the Mycenaean consonant declensions the ending -*phi* is added directly to the stem, as in ὄχεσφι and ὄρεσφι (Hom. κοτυληδόνοςφι is evidently an innovation). The resulting consonant groups are reduced by assimilation, already seen in the form *qe-to-ro-fo-pi* of 31 = Ae04 (cf. Hom. κάπ φάλαρα, κάββαλε, κάππεσε):

*po-pi* = \**podphi* (cf. Vedic *padbhis*) > *popphi*,  
*re-wo-pi* = \**lewontphi* > *lewomphi*,  
but *po-ni-ki-pi* = *phoinik-phi* (a loan-word?).

The instrumental singular is already identical with the dative-locative in all declensions.



235 = Ta711

<sup>1</sup> *o-wi-de pu<sub>2</sub>?-ke-qi-ri o-te wa-na-ka te-ke \*85-ke-wa da-mo-ko-ro*

<sup>2</sup> *qe-ra-na wa-na-se-wi-ja qo-u-ka-ra ko-ki-re-ja EWER I*

*qe-ra-na a-mo-te-wi-ja ko-ro-no-we-sa* (no ideogram)

<sup>3</sup> *qe-ra-na wa-na-se-wi-ja ku-na-ja qo-u-ka-ra to-qi-de-we-sa EWER I*

Thus P. (fem.?) made inspection, on the occasion when the king appointed Sigewas(?) to be a *dāmokoros*:

One ewer of the queen's *set*, bull's head design, decorated with *sea-shells*;  
one ewer of the *harmost's set*, with a *curved handle*.

One ewer of the queen's *set*, a woman's *gift*, bull's head design, decorated  
with a *running spiral*.

*hō wide P. hote wanax thēke S. dāmokoron*: this sentence may be intended to serve as introduction to the whole *Ta*-series. The aorist *wide* also introduces 154 = Eq01: *hō wide Axotās*; it possibly refers to the checking of the transaction by the responsible official. For *thēke* 'appointed' cf. *Il.* vi, 300: τὴν γὰρ Τρῶες ἔθηκον Ἀθηναίης ἰέρειαν. \*85-ke-wa is named on 258 = Kn01.21 as an official of places contributing gold; the title *da-mo-ko-ro* (synonymous with *ko-re-te* and *basileus*?) also occurs on On01 and KN L 642, X 7922. An analogous introductory phrase is seen on some of the tablets from Alalakh, e.g. no. 355: 4 ana <sup>m</sup>Taguzi, inuma šarru ana <sup>a1</sup>Abena ašbu 'four (birds) to Taguzi, when the king went to stay in Abena'. Cf. also nos. 376, 378, 409, 411 and 414.

*qe-ra-na* 'ewer': see p. 327.

*wa-na-se-wi-ja*: apparently an adjective from ἀνασσα formed under the influence of βασιλήϊος, etc. (cf. Hom. ξεινήϊα, Ionic γυναικήϊα). Alternatively 'as a gift to the queen'?

*qo-u-ka-ra*: probably *g<sup>ou</sup>-kara* rather than *-gala*. Full-face heads of cattle (*MP*, motif no. 4, 'Bucranium') occur on the silver cup from Dendra, and on the 'Vaphio' cup illustrated on the Egyptian tomb of Senmut (*PM*, II, p. 737).

*ko-ki-re-ja* = *konkhileiā*? A descriptive adjective also applied to tables (240 = Ta713): cf. κοκάλια, κογχύλη, κογγύλιος, κοχλίας, etc. Compare *MP*, motif no. 23, 'Whorl-shell', of which ivory examples have been found at Mycenae (Wace, 1954, p. 150) together with cockle shells. Note that the bronze ewer of identical shape from the Knossos 'Chieftain's Grave' (*PM*, IV, p. 860, fig. 843) has cockle shells in metal attached to the two extremities of the handle.

*a-mo-te-wi-ja*: derived from the title *a-mo-te-wo* (gen. sing.) seen on PY Ea25.

*ko-ro-no-we-sa*: from κορώνη 'sea-bird' *Od.* v, 66 (cf. *MP*, motif no. 7, and Evans, *PM*, IV, pp. 329-39). Or from κορώνη 'curved handle', *Od.* I, 441: θύρην δ' ἐπέρυσσε κορώνη ἀργυρέη (and see p. 327).

*ku-na-ja*: apparently *gunaiā*, in Homer only in the phrase (ὄλετο) γυναιῶν εἵνεκα δώρων.

*to-qi-de-we-sa* = *torq<sup>i</sup>-idwe-sa*? Cf. *to-qi-de-ja* (237 = Ta709), *a-ja-me-no to-qi-de* (245 = Ta721). This seems to be an ornamental feature rather than a physical appendage,



and does not occur in the plural. Connected with *torqueō* and with εὐτρόσσεσθαι ἐπιστρέφασθαι (Hesych.) in the sense of 'running spiral' ornament (MP, motif no. 46); and more distantly with τρόπις, gen. τρόπιος or τρόπιδος, 'ship's keel'? The 'running spiral' is frequent on all classes of LM and Mycenaean objects, together with the other band patterns 'half-rosettes and triglyph', 'rosettes', 'ivy leaves' and 'triglyph band' (de Santerre: 'baguette à ligatures'). Ivory specimens of all five of these, from Mycenaean furniture, have been found at Mycenae and Delos. There are in all five examples of feminine adjectives in *-wessa* on the *Ta*-series (for the decorative sense, compare Hom. λέβης ἀνθεμόεις, etc.). The suffix is added directly to the word-stem, as in Indo-Iranian and Hittite (see Buck and Petersen, *Reverse Index*, p. 460); the classical ἀσπιδοίς, etc. are innovations.

236 = Ta641 (see plate III (b), facing p. 111)

- <sup>1</sup> ti-ri-po-de | ai-ke-u ke-re-si-jo we-ke 𐀓 2  
 ti-ri-po e-me po-de a-wo-we 𐀓 1  
 ti-ri-po ke-re-si-jo we-ke a-pu ke/ka-u-me-ṛo  
 'ke-re-a<sub>2</sub> ṛo-[pe-re?] TRIPOD 1]  
<sup>2</sup> ge-to WINE-JAR? 3 di-pa me-zo-{e} ge-to-ro-we 𐀓 1  
 di-pa-e me-zo-e ti-ri-o-we-e 𐀓 2  
 di-pa me-wi-jo ge-to-ro-we 𐀓 1  
<sup>3</sup> di-pa me-wi-jo ti-ri-jo-we 𐀓 1  
 di-pa me-wi-jo a-no-we 𐀓 1

Two tripod cauldrons of Cretan workmanship, of *ai-ke-u* type;

one tripod cauldron with a single handle on one foot;

one tripod cauldron of Cretan workmanship, burnt away at the legs, *useless*.

Three *wine-jars*; one larger-sized *goblet* with four handles; two larger-sized *goblets* with three handles; one smaller-sized *goblet* with four handles; one smaller-sized *goblet* with three handles; one smaller-sized *goblet* without a handle.

*ke-re-si-jo we-ke*: the first translation 'Aigeus the Cretan brings them' (Ventris, 1954a, p. 18) is certainly wrong: 'Cretan' should be Κρής, the omission of Aigeus in the third clause would be anomalous, and a verbal phrase (*we-ke* = *wekhei*, cf. Pamph. *ῥεχέτω*?) is unparalleled in the rest of the series. Palmer plausibly reads *krēsio-wergēs* 'of Cretan style or workmanship', cf. *φιᾶλαι Λυκαουργεῖς* Demosth. XLIX, 31, *κροτῆρες Κορινθίουργεῖς* Callix., etc. We should, however, expect the dual *-we-ke-e* in the first clause (or are the second numeral and the smaller word *ti-ri-po-de* added as an afterthought?). Is *ai-ke-u* (spelt *ai<sub>2</sub>-ke-u* on 237 = Ta709.3) an adjective describing the tripod, or the name of a man inserted in parenthesis? Webster suggests that the ideogram represents a handle in the form of a goat's head: compare Schliemann's Warrior Vase from Mycenae (Thomas, 1939, p. 70), where a double handle is formed



at each side by the recurving horns of a cow (?) in relief. No such double handle is shown, however, on 237 = Ta709.3.

*e-me po-de o-wo-we*: the alternation *e-me-de* / *du-wo-u-pi-de* on Eb37 / Eb40 (see p. 254), etc. shows that *e-me* is the dative of 'one' (\**semi* > *hemi* > *évi*); and the form *oiu-ōwes* 'with one handle' is suggested by the similar compounds on the rest of the tablet. The Mycenaean three legged 'incense-burners' (MP, fig. 21, nos. 315-16) show an analogous handle arrangement, evidently only suitable for a fairly small vessel. Such a design does not, however, agree with the ideogram as drawn.





*ke-re-a<sub>2</sub> = skelta*: in the accusative of respect, cf. τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένος Demosth. xviii, 67, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διεφθαρμένοι Xen. An. iv, 5, 12 (Schwyzer, *Gram.* ii, p. 85). Less probably χεῖλα 'on the rim', cf. *Od.* iv, 616. The final *pe-* may perhaps be completed as *nōphelēs*, cf. 288 = Sa790 (p. 374).

*qe-to*: see p. 327, no. 203.

*di-pa me-wi-jo a-no-we = dipas me-wi-jo anōwes*: for the vessel type, see p. 326, no. 202. The formation *-ōwes* (from \**-ōuses* 'eared, -handled') is only paralleled once in classical Greek, in Theocritus' κισσύβιον ἀμφῶς 'two-handled cup' (I, 28). The more usual *-ουατος* (\**-ousptos*) > *-ωτος* is attested for Mycenaean by the *di-pa a-no-wo-to* which on KN 232 = K 875 accompanies the same ideogram.

237 = Ta709 (+712)

<sup>1</sup> *pi-je-ra<sub>3</sub> to-qi-de-ja*  3 *pa-ko-to* [ c. 10 lost ] *ke-te-ri-ja*  1 *ko-te-ri-ja* 6  
<sup>2</sup> \*85-te 1 *pu-ra-u-to-ro* 2 *pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-to-ro* 1 *e-* [ c. 10 lost ] *ra i-to-we-sa pe-de-we-sa so-we-ne-ja* \*85-de-we-sa-qe 1  
<sup>3</sup> *ti-ri-po ke-re-si-jo we-ke ai<sub>2</sub>-ke-u* TRIPOD [1 c. 10 lost ] *-u* TRIPOD 1

Three boiling pans with *running spiral* decoration, *x* fixtures, . . . , one lamp, six hammers;

one brush, two fire-tongs, one fire-rake, . . . , one [ ] with an *upright* and *socket*, decorated with *grooves* and *pomegranates*;

one tripod cauldron of Cretan workmanship, of *ai-ke-u* type; one tripod cauldron. . .

*pi-je-ra<sub>3</sub> = phielai*: see p. 325, no. 200.

*pa-ko-to* [ ]: connected with classical πηκτός, etc.?

*ke-te-ri-ja*: a feminine noun similar in structure to βακτηρία. The ideogram appears to represent a lamp (cf. fig. 18, objects *e*, *f* and *o*): *lukūriā*, cf. λύχνος? Perhaps to be completed as *pa-ke-te-ri-ja*, as on the sealing MY Wt506.

*ko-te-ri-ja* (plur.): not καυτήριον 'branding-iron' but a word of similar structure. Possibly *kortērion*, cf. κορτέω/κροτέω, κρότημα?

\*85-te = *sistēr*? From σίζω 'hiss when put on the fire'? Or from σείω 'shake' (for the vowel, cf. Skt. *tsīṣati*)? Palmer: *sartēr* 'brush'?



*pu-ra-u-to-ro* = *puraustrō*, either dual of the feminine form πύραυστρα IG, 2<sup>2</sup>. 47. 18, or a neuter cf. πύραστρον Herodas, iv, 62 (perhaps a mis-spelling).

*pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-to-ro*: Palmer proposes σπάλαθρον (Pollux) = σκάλευθρον.

*histo-wessa* *ped-wessa*? Cf. Hom. ἱστοπέδη 'fixing for the foot of the mast'? Does *-ra* (fem.) conceal another *phia*?

*so-we-ne-ja*, adjective from *so-we-no* (245 = Ta721, etc.). Hardly ξόανον (\**qso<sup>n</sup>u<sup>m</sup>om*). Connected with σωλήν, σωλήνος 'gutter, groove, pipe, shellfish'? A kind of decorative band?

\**85-de-we-sa-ge*: adjective from \**85-de-pi* (instr. plur., 245 = Ta721). Chadwick compares σίδη 'pomegranate' (also 'water-lily'). The form of the stem ending is obscure: *-dewessa/-desphi*?

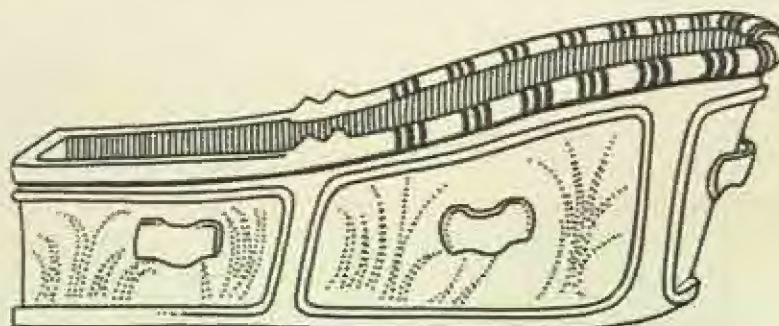


Fig. 22: MM IIIb (or LM Ia?) bathtub from the S.E. Bathroom, Knossos.

### 238 = Tn996

<sup>1</sup> [ . ]-k<sub>0</sub> a-te-re-e-te-jo re-wo-te-re-jo 𐀓 3

<sup>2</sup> u-do-ro 𐀓 3 pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra 𐀓 3

<sup>3</sup> [a-po]-re-we 𐀓 2 ka-ti 𐀓 1 a-te-we BRONZE 𐀓 7 re-[

<sup>4</sup> [...] 𐀓 3 | po-ka-ta-ma GOLD 𐀓 1 BRONZE 𐀓 3 [

Three? *drainable* tubs for bath-water, three *water jars*, three boiling pans, two amphoras, one hydria, seven bronze *jugs*, . . . , three . . .

*Additional property*: one gold bowl, three bronze pedestalled bowls. . .

*re-wo-te-re-jo* = *lewotreiōi* is evidently derived from the same noun as the female occupation *lewotrokhōwōi* 'bath-pourers' on 9 = Ab27. These are distinguished from Hom. λωετροχός by the unexpected vowel metathesis (or lack of metathesis, see p. 160). The first word, in which one would expect a generic word for 'tub', may perhaps be restored as *dakhoi* (cf. Hesychius δοχός λουτήρ). The adjective *a-te-re-e-te-jo* is probably not identical with *a-te-re-te-a* on KN 278 = So894; perhaps connected with ἀντλος 'bilge(-water)', ἀντλίον 'baler', ἀντλέω 'bale out'. The ending *-e-e-te-jo* may be equivalent to the classical -ητικός (ἀντλητικός 'suitable for irrigation', only 3 A.D.); but the double vowel is anomalous, even coming from a 'contracted' verb. Possibly 'which has to be baled out', referring to the fact that true Minoan-







*we-a-re-ja* (cf. *we-a-re-jo* on 244 = Ta714) in form exactly parallels ἑρπινός (\**west-*), but the meaning is obscure. Otherwise possibly a form of ὀάλειος 'with crystal inlay', cf. the Knossos gaming-board (*PM*, i, pp. 471 ff., also *PM*, iv, pp. 928 ff.).

*a-ja-me-na*: 'inlaid', 'veneered' or 'pegged', typically of ivory on wood, and already familiar from the Knossos chariot tablets, where the form *a-na-i-t-* probably means 'not inlaid', and suggests a reduplicated form *aiai(s)menā*. No plausible etymology.

*a<sub>2</sub>-ro-u-do-pi*: it is uncertain whether the word divides after *-ro*. Initial *a<sub>2</sub>-* is uncommon, but represents *ha-* in *a<sub>2</sub>-te-ro*: conceivably *halos hudo'phi* 'with waters of the sea', figurative name for some substance (cf. *aquamarine*, *Meerschaum*)? Compare Ἀλοσύδνη, epithet of Thetis *Il.* xx, 207.

*ku-wa-no-qe* (cf. *ku-wa-ni-jo-qe* 244 = Ta714) = Hom. κύανος, κύνεος. Wace has suggested that *kyanos* represents niello, the blue-black metallic amalgam whose decorative use is exemplified in the contemporary Enkomi bowl (Schaeffer, 1952, pp. 379 ff.) and on the dagger blades and silver cups from Mycenae, but this involves certain difficulties. Niello is applied in powdered form into incised patterns cut in silver or gold, fused under heat, and then scraped and polished level with the metal surface. One might imagine silver or gold ornaments, previously decorated with niello, being applied to furniture complete; but 244 = Ta714 describes a chair, presumably of wood, inlaid 'with gold phoenixes and with phoenixes of *kyanos*', which suggests that the material is capable of forming a decorative element on its own. The classical word κύανος is applied both to lapis-lazuli and to its synthetic imitation; and such blue glass is known both from contemporary Egyptian furnishings and from the frieze to the Great Megaron at Tiryns (cf. περὶ δὲ θριγκὸς κύναιοιο *Od.* vii, 87). A substance more like niello might admittedly be more plausible for the οἰμοὶ μέλανος κύναιοιο on Agamemnon's breastplate (*Il.* xi, 24); but compare Alalakh tablet no. 427: '18 lapis-lazuli stones, 2 shekels of pure silver and 1 shekel of gold, given to the man Takuhli for making a quiver'.

*pa-ra-ke-we* (elsewhere *pa-ra-ku-we*) might suggest the dat. sing. of βραχύς 'short' (name of an unidentified alloy?), but cf. Acol. βρόχυς. Mühlestein suggests \*φαλ-αργυς or \*παρ-αργυς, compounded with an archaic form of the word for 'silver'. Or from the Akkadian *barrāqtu*, Hebrew *bāreket* 'emerald' (from which the class. σμάραγδος was later re-borrowed *via* India)?

*e-ne-wo pe-za* = *ennewo-peza* (\**en-neuē* 'nine', cf. Arc. δέκο 'ten', Lesb. ἐνοτος 'ninth'). If we translate τράπεζαν κυανόπεζαν *Il.* xi, 629, 'with feet of *kyanos*', we should consistently read 'with nine feet' here, which seems an impossible design. Note the apparently three-legged table-top found by Blegen: do our 'nine-peza' and 'six-peza' (240 = Ta713) tables have three main supports, but triple and double extremities of some kind? Chadwick translates 'nine feet long' (cf. διπόδης, τρίπεδος, ἐκατόμπεδος); or 'with nine fields or panels', or 'nine-sided' (cf. τετράπεδος 'square'), or 'with nine-fold border' (cf. πέζα, πέζις 'border', and cf. the κύκλοι δέκα χάλκιοι of Agamemnon's shield, *Il.* xi, 33)? Wace takes τράπεζαν κυανόπεζαν to mean 'with a border of niello' rather than 'with blue glass feet', which is admittedly improbable if taken quite literally.



*me-no-e-ja*: cf. *μηνοειδής* 'semi-circular', Herodotus, I, 75? Not 'Minoan'!

*qe-qi-no-to* in line 2 is probably to be taken with *e-re-pa-te* ('inlaid with carved ivory') in contrast to the perfect *qe-qi-no-me-na* which is applied to the tables and chair-backs themselves; and similarly to be taken with *to-qi-de* in line 3, which the adjectival concord does not necessarily prove to be masculine, since *-tos* may here do duty for feminine as well (cf. *Od.* v, 422 *κλυτός* 'Ἀμφιτρίτη, and Schwyzer, *Gram.* I, p. 502). *Qe-qi-no-to* appears to represent the Homeric *δινωτός*, but its etymology and reduplication are hard to explain. *δινωτός* clearly does not mean merely 'turned on a lathe': it may perhaps originally have referred to lapidary work executed with a drill.

*ko-ru-pi-qe*: assimilated from \**koruthphi*, cf. gen. sing. *ko-ru-to* on 293 = Sh737. Compare the ivory helmets found in the Mycenae houses.

*a-pi-qo-to* = *amphigotos*, (passive) verbal adj. from Hom. *ἀμφιβαίνω* 'surround, embrace'. It may refer to a broad edging round the top. Mühlestein suggests 'which can be walked round', i.e. 'free-standing' (cf. *ἐπιβατός* 'climbable', *ἐμβατός* 'accessible'). In a compound the feminine *-tos* is of course to be expected. Palmer: 'with splayed legs'.

*popphe ekhmatei qe*: the use of the dative-instrumental without verb or preposition for comitative 'with' is foreign to classical Greek. Homeric *ἐχμα* is used of a river-bank (*Il.* XIII, 139), of buttresses to a fortification (*xii*, 260), of stones used to prop ships (*xiv*, 410).

## 240 = Ta713

<sup>1</sup> *to-pe-za ra-e-ja ku-te-se-jo e-ka-ma-pi e-re-pa-te-jo-qe a-pi-qo-to*  
*e-ne-wo-pe-za qe-qi-no-me-na to-qi-de*  
<sup>2</sup> *to-pe-za e-re-pa-te-ja po-ro-e-ke pi-ti-ro<sub>2</sub>-we-sa we-pe-za qe-qi-no-me-na*  
*to-qi-de*  
<sup>3</sup> *to-pe-za ku-te-se-ja e-re-pa-te-jo e-ka-ma-pi a-pi-qo-to e-ne-wo-pe-za*  
*ko-ki-re-ja*

One stone table with strutting of ebony and ivory, of encircled type, a nine-footer, carved with a running spiral.

One ivory table of projecting type, decorated with a feather pattern, a six-footer, carved with a running spiral.

One ebony table with ivory strutting, of encircled type, a nine-footer, decorated with sea-shells.

*ku-te-se-jo* = *kuteseiois* (instr. plur.) 'made of *ku-te-so*' (242 = Ta707.3); cf. *κύτισος* 'bastard ebony', Theophr. *HP*, I, 6, I, v, 3, I.

*po-ro-e-ke* = *proekhēs*, cf. Hom. *προέχω* 'project', Plut. *προεχής* 'three-dimensional', apparently in antithesis to *amphigotos*. Mühlestein suggests a table set against a wall.

*pi-ti-ro<sub>2</sub>-we-sa* = *philowessa*, from *πτίλον* 'soft plumage; insect's wing'; presumably a decorative feature and not *πτλωτός* 'stuffed with feathers'. It should perhaps be



noted that Tutankhamen's tomb contained batons inlaid with beetles' wing-cases (Carter, 1927, II, p. 35). Beazley compares φιάλαι ππλωτοί, *JG* 2<sup>2</sup>. 1443. 135. *we-pe-za* = < \**h<sub>2</sub>uek-peza*, cf. inscr. ἔκπους, ἔκπεδος = ἑξάπους. The assimilation \**kp* > *pp* has no exact classical parallels; cf. Lat. \**sexuiri* > *seuiri*.

241 = Ta715

- <sup>1</sup> *to-pe-za ku-te-se-ja e-re-[pa]-te-jo e-ka-ma-pi a-pi-go-to e-ne-wo pe-za*  
ko-ki-re-ja
- <sup>2</sup> *to-pe-za a-ka-ra-no e-re-pa-te-ja a-pi-go-to 1*  
to-pe-za a-ka-ra-no e-re-pa-te-ja po-ro-e-ke 1
- <sup>3</sup> *to-pe-zo mi-ra<sub>2</sub> a-pi-go-to pu-ko-so e-ke-e e-ne-wo pe-zo to-qi-de-jo*  
a-ja-me-no pa-ra-ku-we 2

One *ebony* table with ivory *strutting*, of *encircled* type, a *nine-footer*, decorated with *sea-shells*;

one 'headless' ivory table of *encircled* type;

one 'headless' ivory table of *projecting* type;

two tables of *yew*, of *encircled* type, containing *box-wood*, *nine-footers*, decorated with *running spirals*, inlaid with *silver*.

*a-ka-ra-no* = ἀκάρηνος? The ending *-o* betrays a compound. It is perhaps significant that these two entries, together with that of the *me-no-e-ja* table on 239 = Ta642.2, alone omit a *-peza* qualification.

*mi-ra<sub>2</sub>* cannot be an adjective agreeing with *torpezō*; perhaps the name of a timber in the genitive, like *ptelewās*, *helikās* on the Knossos wheel tablets. Cf. (σ)μίλας, (σ)μίλος; possibly for μελίη 'ash', though Schulz postulated \*μελίαια.

*pu-ko-so e-ke-e*: probably not the infinitive *ekheen* 'to have' (cf. 140 = Eb35), but the dual of an adjective in *-h<sub>2</sub>s*, originally restricted to compounds: *puxo-ekhēs*? Not *puxo-enkhēs*? Cf. also Nuzi tablet SMN 1422 (Lacheman, 1939, p. 536): '1 table of boxwood with its feet inlaid with silver, etc.'

The endings in line 3 are clear evidence for a feminine dual in *-ō*, which we had already suspected from 135 = Ep704.7, 266 = Sd0401 and L 758. This Mycenaean form evidently dates from the time when the original *IE* \**-ai* had already become ineffective due to the change of the feminine plural from \**-ās* to *-ai*, but when *-ā* had not yet been introduced on the analogy of the masculine *-oi/-ō*. The analogy of δούω and αἰφω (both masc. and fem.) must have played an important part in the history of the Mycenaean form.

242 = Ta707

- <sup>1</sup> *to-no 'ku-te-ta-jo'* (sic) *ku-ru-sa-pi o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi o-ni-ti-ja-pi*  
ta-ra-nu-ge a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo \*85-de-pi
- <sup>2</sup> *to-no ku-te-se-jo e-re-pa-te-ja-pi o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-i*  
ge-qi-no-me-na a-di-ri-ja-te-ge po-ti-pi-ge
- <sup>3</sup> *ta-ra-nu ku-te-so a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo \*85-de-pi*



One *ebony* chair with golden *back* decorated with birds; and a footstool inlaid with ivory *pomegranates*.

One *ebony* chair with ivory *back* carved with a pair of *finials* and with a man's figure and heifers; one footstool, *ebony* inlaid with ivory *pomegranates*.

*to-no* is probably for *thornos*, cf. Cypr. θόρνᾱξ· ὑποπόδιον Hesych. A spelling *to-no* = *thro-nos* would do violence to the spelling rules (but cf. *to-ro-no-wo-ko* = *throno-worgos*? on 39 = As1517). The similarity of the furniture found in the tomb of Tutankhamen extends to the phraseology of Carter's captions, e.g.:

Pl. LIX (vol. 1): 'A small chair carved of ebony and inlaid with ivory; it has antelope and floral devices of embossed gold on the panels of the arms'.

Pl. LXII: 'A magnificent chair of wood overlaid with sheet gold and richly adorned with polychrome faience, glass and stone inlay'.

Pl. LXXIVb: 'An ebony stool richly inlaid with ivory and embellished with heavy gold mountings'.

Compare also the furniture listed by Thothmes III among the loot from Megiddo (Breasted, II, p. 436): '6 chairs of the enemy, of ivory, ebony and carob wood, wrought with gold; 6 footstools belonging to them; 6 large tables of ivory and carob wood'.

Also such tablets from Nuzi as SMN 1250 (Lacheman, 1939, p. 537): '1 chair of wood, 1 box (*quppu*) inlaid with gold; 1 chair inlaid with ivory and silver, with its box'.

*ku-nu-sa-pi*: instr. plur. fem. At this date χρυσός, like the Hebrew and Ugaritic *harus* from which it is borrowed, means indifferently 'gold' (n.) or 'golden' (adj.). The Mycenaean form of the adjective may possibly be reflected in the numerous Homeric passages where the χρύσεος of the text must be scanned as a disyllable, e.g. *Il.* 1, 15 χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, etc.

*o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi*, instr. plur. fem.: cf. Hesych. ἀμφικείμενός 'hanging evenly on both shoulders', ἀμφικείμενον = ἀμφιβαρές, or 'chair carried by two men'. The root meaning of \**kelemn-* is hard to deduce: 'shoulder'? 'carrying-yoke'? Or 'carrying-pole' to a palanquin rather than a normal chair? An alternative suggestion is *opikēmnīāphī* from κρημνός 'an overhanging lip': in either case the meaning would appear to refer to the edges of the back or arms, which the Tutankhamen parallels suggest as the most favoured place for decorative treatment.

*se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-i* is probably a compound of *kāpa* 'head'. The form *-ka-ra-a-pi* (243 = Ta708) is instr. plur., presumably for *-k(a)rāā'phī*, cf. Hom. gen. sing. καρῆατος, κράατος. The variant on this tablet is perhaps a dual in *-oiin*. Cf. [*go*]-*u-ka-ra-o-i* on 244 = Ta714. *Se-re-mo-* from σέλας 'plank, deck, bench, seat' (cf. O.H.G. *swelli* 'beam')? If the 'half-rosettes and triglyph' motif is derived from the architectural pattern of a row of decorated beam-ends, could that be the meaning of this term? Otherwise a projection of the uprights of the back (for the form cf. κιά-κράνον 'capital')?

*ge-qi-no-me-na* in line 2 evidently agrees in sense with *opikelemnīāphī* (similarly on



243 = Ta708.2), but the ending *-phi* has been suppressed from the participle in order to make clearer the relation to its own subordinate instrumentals.  
*andriantei q'e portiphi q'e*: πόρτις 'heifer', *Il.* v, 162. Evidently not *taurokathapsia* but a bucolic scene like the bull-snaring on the Vaphio cups. Probably not πορτις 'merchant-ship', *Od.* v, 250.

## 243 = Ta708

<sup>1</sup> *to-no ku-te-se-jo a-ja-me-no o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja e-re-pa-te*

<sup>2</sup> *to-no ku-te-se-jo | e-re-pa-te-ja-pi o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi*  
*qe-qi-no-me-na a-di-ri-ja-pi-qe*

<sup>3</sup> *ta-ra-nu ku-te-se-jo a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo a-di-ri-ja-pi re-wo-pi-qe.*

One *ebony* chair inlaid with ivory on the *back*.

One *ebony* chair with ivory *back* carved with *finials* and with figures of men;  
 one *ebony* footstool inlaid with figures of men and lions in ivory.

*o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja* (fem. acc. plur. *-ans*) in line 1 is in the accusative of respect, as on 244 = Ta714.1 and *skelea* on 236 = Ta641.1, *q.v.*

*andriamphi leuomphi q'e*: compare the lion-hunting scene on the inlaid dagger from Tomb IV at Mycenae (*PM*, III, fig. 70).

## 244 = Ta714

<sup>1</sup> *to-no we-a<sub>2</sub>-re-jo a-ja-me-no ku-wa-no pa-ra-ku-we-qe ku-ru-so-qe*  
*o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja*

<sup>2</sup> *a-ja-me-na ku-ru-so a-di-ri-ja-pi se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-i-qe ku-ru-so*  
 [ *·u-ka-ra-q-i* ] *ku-ru-so-qe po-ni-ki-pi*

<sup>3</sup> *ku-wa-ni-jo-qe po-ni-ki-pi ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no ku-wa-no pa-ra-ku-we-qe*  
*ku-ru-so-qe ku-ru-sa-pi-qe ko-no-ni-pi*

One chair of *spring* type, inlaid with *kyanos* and *silver* and gold on the *back*,  
 (which is) inlaid with men's figures in gold, and with a pair of gold *finials*,  
 and with *golden griffins* and with *griffins* of *kyanos*.

One footstool inlaid with *kyanos* and *silver* and gold, and with golden *bars*.

The deleted word in line 2 can be restored as *qo-u-ka-ra-o-i* 'bulls' heads'; cf. 235 = Ta711.

*po-ni-ki-pi* = *phoinik-phi* (masc.). It has been suggested that the name of the fabulous bird φοινίξ (Hesiod, *Frg.* 171.4) was first applied to the 'griffins' and sphinxes so prominent in Mycenaean art, particularly on the ivories from Mycenae, Delos and Enkomi (they are often confronted heraldically in pairs). The more directly-attested meaning φοινίξ = 'palm-tree' finds an equally good analogy in Motif no. 15 (*MP*, p. 278); but on 246 = Ta722 line 1 it is perhaps more natural to find living creatures as the subject of all four elements in the design.

*ko-no-ni-pi*: see 229 = K 434 (p. 329).



1	ta-ra-nu	a-ia-me-no	e-re-pa-te-jo	*85-de-pi	to-qi-de-ge	
					ka-ru-we-ge	FOOTSTOOL 1
2	ta-ra-nu-we	a-ia-me-no	e-re-pa-te-jo	*85-de-pi	so-we-no-ge	
					to-qi-de-ge	FOOTSTOOL 3
3, 4	ta-ra-nu	a-ja-me-no	e-re-pa-te-jo	*85-de-pi	so-we-no-ge	FOOTSTOOL 1
5	ta-ra-nu	a-ia-me-no	e-re-pa-te-jo	*85-de-pi		FOOTSTOOL 1

One footstool inlaid with ivory *pomegranates*.

*ka-ru-we* (instr. sing.): cf. *ka-ru-pi* (instr. plur.) on the next tablet. γῆρυς 'voice' fits spelling, declension and feminine gender, but is nonsensical. A form of κάρυον 'nut' (cf. σίκυς/σίκυος)? Cf. φιάλη κορυωτή 'cup adorned with a nut-shaped boss' *IG*, II (2), 161 B 30. Or for χέλυς (fem.) 'tortoise, lyre'?

<sup>1</sup> ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no | e-re-pa-te-jo | a-to-ro-qo i-go-qe po-ru-po-de-qe  
po-ni-ke-qe FOOTSTOOL !  
<sup>2</sup> ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo ka-ra-a-pi re-wo-te-jo  
so-wé-no-qe FOOTSTOOL !  
<sup>3</sup> ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-ja-pi ka-ru-pi  
ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-ja-pi ka-ru-pi  
FOOTSTOOL !

One footstool inlaid with ivory *nuts* (twice).

345



labelled 'cuttlefish'—a quite distinct species—as motif no. 21, *MP*, p. 302) is of course extremely common in all fields of LM and Mycenaean decoration. Compare the floor-squares in the Pylos throne room and in the Great Megaron at Tiryns.

*Elephanteiois karāa'phi lewanteiois*: decoration with lions' heads is less common on Mycenaean objects than men's or bulls' heads, but compare the ivory pommel from Mycenae, Karo, *Schachtgräber*, Pl. LXXVII. λέων 'lion' is already a stem in *-nt-* in spite of \**lewanja* > λέαινα. An ultimate Semitic origin was suggested by Curtius (cf. Canaanite-Ugaritic *labi'u*, fem. *labi'tu*); if so, it has somewhere picked up an extension *-nt-*, betraying possible Anatolian mediation, which is also to be seen in *elephant-* (cf. Hebrew 'elef, Ugaritic and Akkadian *alpu* 'ox?').

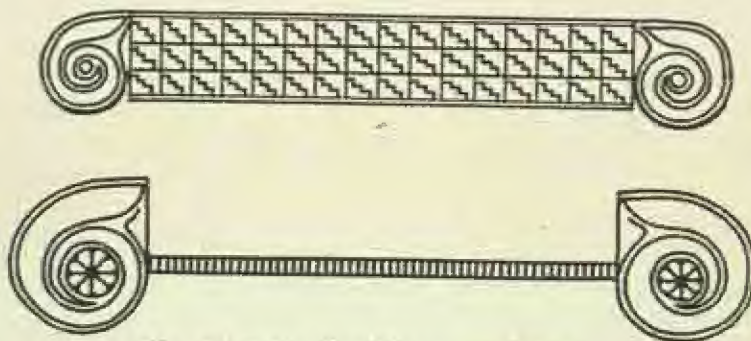


Fig. 23. Ivories from Mycenae and Dendra.

Stubblings has suggested to us that the two similar sets of ivory decoration with volute ends found *in situ* in Tomb 518 at Mycenae (Wace, 1932, p. 84, fig. 30) and in Tomb 8 at Dendra (Persson, 1952, Pl. II) may be from the fronts of footstools: both sets measure 36 cm. (14 in.) overall.

## 247 = Ta716

<sup>1</sup> *pa-sa-ro ku-ru-so a-pi to-ni-jo 2 wa-o — 2 2*

<sup>2</sup> *qi-si-pe-t X 2*

Two *swords* (two gold studs on either side of the *hilt*; two . . .-s).

The ideogram in the second line unfortunately coincides with a crack in the clay, but it appears to be the representation of a sword or dagger rather than the symbol *ZE* indicating a pair, since the row of small strokes normally found to the right of that sign is missing. Swords are unlikely to be counted in pairs, and 'two pairs' would lead us to expect a plural *qi-si-pe-a<sub>2</sub>* (but see p. 370 below for inconsistencies in such uses of the dual).

Owing to its smaller writing the top line is probably a specification of *parts* of these swords rather than a list of separate objects. The Homeric πάσσαλος is only used of a 'peg' to hang things on, but the derivation from πήγνυμι and the Attic πατταλεύω 'fasten with pegs or rivets' show the basic constructional sense. It is normally only



the heads of the rivets on the hilt of Late Minoan and Mycenaean swords and daggers which are covered with gold; and it is not clear whether the two bosses of a single rivet, or the heads of two separate sets of rivets, are here referred to; nor is the position indicated by the word *to-mi-jo* clear. τόμος, τομίον 'peg, tenon, socket for peg' or στόμιον 'aperture, bit' can hardly be reconciled with the spelling. A single word *amphitornios*, cf. Eur. ἀμφίτορνος 'well-rounded'? The typical construction of the hilt of a LM II sword is shown in fig. 24 (cf. Hood, 1952, p. 273; Evans, *PM*, iv, pp. 845-67): variations in outline between the 'cruciform' and 'horned' varieties, etc. are here disregarded. The 'hilt-plate', shown as *A*, is fixed by two rivets and frequently supplied as a separate piece from the covering of the hand-grip *B* and

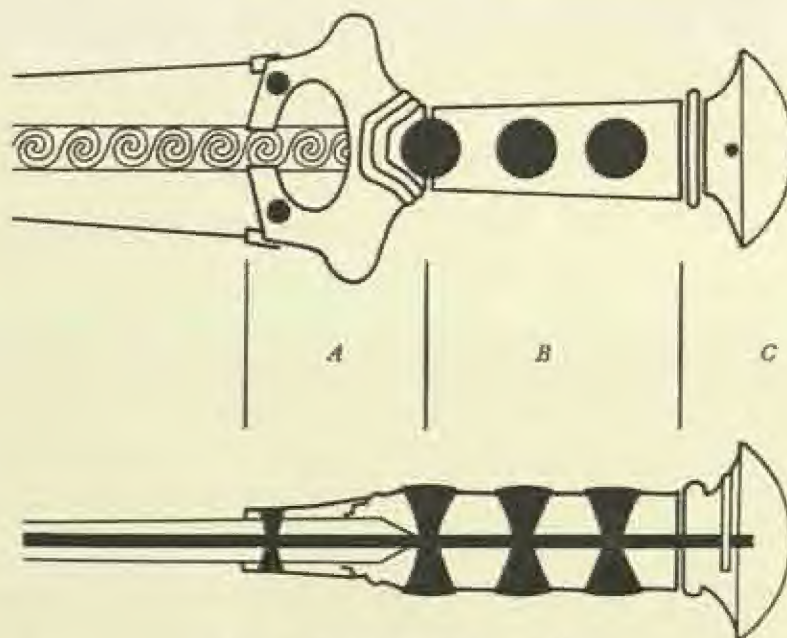


Fig. 24. Typical LM II sword hilt.

pommel *C*; it may be not only of gold plating but also of crystal, faience and ivory, and presumably also of cheaper materials. The number of rivets to *B* is almost always three.

The word *wa-o* and its ideogram are puzzling. ἄορ 'sword' is excluded by its etymology (\**awor* or \**nsor*?) and by the lack of a dual ending. The ideogram is probably not a double axe (improbable in the context, and small votive double axes are not of this rectangular shape) but possibly a rivet seen in sectional view; an anomalous spelling of *wālō* or *wālō* = ἡλῶ, cf. ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον *Il. II*, 45? Are the hilts of these weapons perhaps fastened with two large gold-capped pegs and two smaller plain rivets (compare those on the dagger from a Knossos warrior grave, Hood, 1952, p. 270, fig. 12)?



The use of *q-s-* for *x-* in ξίφος is surprising and unparalleled; and the entry hardly fits into the context of the other tablets in the *Ta-* series, unless the weapons are intended as gifts. Is the ideogram conceivably intended for a 'falchion' (sickle-shaped knife, admittedly not yet found in a Mycenaean context) for which the Egyptian name *hepes* might supply an etymology for ξίφος?

## 8. PYLOS LISTS OF MISCELLANEOUS CONTENT

We will close this chapter with five tablets on which no ideograms appear (Bennett's classification *V-*) and whose context and translation are for the most part uncertain. The commentary will be kept to the minimum; see the Vocabulary (p. 385) for further notes.

248 = Va01 [15]

<sup>1</sup> *pu-ro o-[da]-a<sub>2</sub> o-[.] -ke e-je o-u-ge e-to ai<sub>3</sub>?-ka-te-re* 2

<sup>2</sup> *[pe]-re-ku-wa-na-ka [.] -ke e-te pu-ro e-ke-ge a-po-te-ro-te*

'[.] -ra-ka-te-ra' 1

edge: *pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka pu-ro e-ti-wa-jo | ai<sub>3</sub>?-ka-te-re 'a-mo-i-je-to'*

Pylos: now thus. . ., and two *ai<sub>3</sub>?-ka-tēre* are not (present); Presguanax has arrived at Pylos from thence, and has one *chit* from each of them.

(Presguanax, Pylos. . .: the two *ai<sub>3</sub>?-ka-tēre* are being sent *presently*.)

*ai<sub>3</sub>?-ka-te-re* (dual): cf. dat. plur. *ai<sub>2</sub>?-ke-te-si* 169 = Es646, etc.? Andrews has suggested restoring *[a]-ra-ka-te-ra* in line 2, which he regards as an alternative spelling of the same word in the accusative singular. It would be surprising to find such a variation on the same tablet, and it may be preferable to read *[χα]ρακτηρα* 'engraving, symbol, token' ('clay sealing, tablet?'), but Chadwick reports that the traces do not favour the reading *ka-*. *a-po-te-ro-te* = ἀποτέρωθεν.

*a-mo-i-je-to* = ἀμοιῖσθον? Or λέτω/λέσθω 'let them be sent'? Or ἄμῳς 'somehow'?

249 = Va02 [482]

*ge-qi-no-me-no*

*e-re-pa a-no-po a-ko-so-ta ZE e-wi-so-zu?-ko † ro-i-ko* 3

Ivory. . . Axotas<sup>m</sup>, pairs: four *evenly-matched*, turned, three crooked.

250 = Vn01 [20] (cf. 42 = An17)

<sup>1</sup> *o-a<sub>2</sub> e-pi-de-da-to*

<sup>2</sup> *pa-ra-we-wo wo-no*

<sup>3</sup> *pi-\*82-de* 50

<sup>4</sup> *me-ta-pa-de* 50

Thus the wine of *Pa-ra-we-*  
has been distributed:

50 to *Pi-\*82*,

50 to *Metapa*,



<sup>5</sup> <i>pe-to-no-de</i> 100	100 to <i>Pe-to-no</i> ,
<sup>6</sup> <i>pa-ki-ja-na-de</i> 35	35 to <i>Pa-ki-ja-ne</i> ,
<sup>7</sup> <i>a-pu<sub>2</sub>-de</i> 35	35 to ? <i>Aipy</i> ,
<sup>8</sup> <i>a-ke-re-wa-de</i> 30	30 to <i>A-ke-re-wa</i> ,
<sup>9</sup> <i>e-ra-to-de</i> 50	50 to <i>E-ra-to</i> ,
<sup>10</sup> <i>ka-ra-do-ro-de</i> 40	40 to <i>Kharadros</i> ,
<sup>11</sup> <i>ri-jo-de</i> 20	20 to <i>Rhion</i> .

## 251 = Vn02 [46]

- <sup>1</sup> *pi-te-* [ ]
- <sup>2</sup> *ka-pi-ni-ja* / *po-ti-ja* [ ]
- <sup>3</sup> *ka-pi-ni-ja* / *e-ru-mi-ni-ja* [ ]
- <sup>4</sup> *ka-pi-ni-ja* / *ta-ra-nu-we* 11 [ ]
- <sup>5</sup> *ai<sub>3</sub>-ki-no-o* 80 *o-pi-te-te-re* 50 +
- <sup>6</sup> *e-to-ki-ja* 13 [? *pa*]-*ke-te-re* 140
- <sup>7</sup> *pi-wo-ta-o* / *ta-ra-nu-we* 6
- <sup>8</sup> *qe-re-ti-ri-jo* 2 *me-ta-se-we* 10
- <sup>9</sup> *ε-po-wo-ke* / *pu-to-ro* 16
- <sup>10</sup> *ai<sub>3</sub>-ki-no-o* / *pu-to-ro* 100
- <sup>11</sup> *ta-to-mo a-ro-wo e-pi-\*65-ko*
- <sup>12</sup> *ε-[ru-mi]-ni-ja* 2 *ki-wo-qe* 1

Only a few of the entries can be understood: *po-ti-ja* = φορτία?; *ka-pi-ni-ja* = κάπνη, καπνία 'smoke-stack'; *e-ru-mi-ni-ja* = ἐλύμναι ('roof beams', Hesychius); *ta-ra-nu-we* = θρήνυες (here equivalent to θράνος 'beam'?); *ki-wo-qe* κίων 'column'?; *o-pi-te-te-re* from \*ὀπιτίζημι? These seem to show that the tablet deals with carpentry items for building construction. *ai-ki-no-o* is apparently part of a chariot or its decoration on Knossos 276 = Sc1006.

The list is continued on the even more difficult Vn879, which records eight *a-ti-[ja?]* *pe-\*65-ka*, twenty-four *ko-ni-ti-ja-ja pe-\*65-ka*, ten *e-to-ki-ja pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-de-ro* and eighty-six *pa-ke-te-re pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-de-ro*. Perhaps *e-to-ki-ja* represents ἐντοίχιος 'on a wall' ('wall-plates?') and *paktēres* 'dowels' or 'fixing-pieces' (cf. πῆγμα).

Vn851 apparently records a distribution of *de-mi-ni-ja* (=Hom. δέμνια 'beds') to both men and women in the dative case.

## 252 = Vn06 [10]

- <sup>1</sup> *o-di-do-si du-ru-to-mo*
- <sup>2</sup> *a-mo-te-jo-na-de e-pi-pu-ta* 50
- <sup>3</sup> *a-ko-so-ne* [100] 50
- <sup>4</sup> *to-sa-de ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro a-ko-so-ne*
- <sup>5</sup> 100 *to-sa-de e-pi-pu-ta* 100



Thus the woodcutters contribute to the *chariot* workshop:

50 *saplings*, 50 axles.

And the 'fields of Lousos' (cf. Un04) (contribute) so many:

100 axles, and so many *saplings*: 100.

*a-mo-to-jo-na-de*: allative in *-de* of a workshop noun in *-eōn* (cf. Hom. χαλκεών 'smithy') formed from the word *a-mo-ta* seen on the WHEEL tablets, see p. 371.




In line 4 the form *to-sa-de* is anomalous with the masculine ἄξονες, and may either refer to δένδρεα, ξύλα, etc., or be an anticipation of *e-pi-pu-ta* which had come first in lines 1-3. In a consistent syntax we should also expect the accusative *\*a-ko-so-na*. These 'saplings' (?) were presumably used for the bent-wood parts of the chariot assembly, like the νέους ὀρπηκός of *Il.* xxi, 38 (cf. Theoc. xxv, 247).



## CHAPTER XI

# METALS AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT

THE identity of the first metal ideogram is proved by its totalling *to-so-de ka-ko* = τοσσόσδε χαλκός on the Pylos *Jn*-tablets, to which the form with an extra crossbar is almost entirely confined. It is also used as an adjunct to metal vessels and other objects (Knossos 230 = K 740 and Pylos 238 = Tn996) including an INGOT (Oa734); and is written under a WHEELED CHARIOT on Sc223, where it perhaps refers to the wheels (cf. 278 = So894). These uses make it safe to translate the symbol generally by 'bronze' rather than 'copper' (like χαλκός in Homer, with the possible exception of χαλκός ἐρυθρός, *Il.* ix, 365); the unalloyed metal possibly had no separate symbol. On 222 = J 693 small weights of BRONZE are introduced by λίνον λεπτόν 'fine linen', and appear to be an indication of value.

140		BRONZE
WE		Silver?
141		GOLD

The Pylos ideogram here translated as GOLD is confined to tablets 258 = Kn01 (listing weights of c. 62–250 grams) and 172 = Kn02 and 238 = Tn996, where it is an adjunct qualifying valuable vessels. Bennett (1950, p. 218) wrote that 'the unusually small quantities with this ideogram in Kn01 would indicate a material of considerable intrinsic value'.

Although the use of adjuncts to indicate the material of vessels and equipment is the exception rather than the rule, one should expect to find somewhere a third ideogram to indicate 'silver' (whose full spelling *a-ku-ro* is confined to 290 = Sa03). This is possibly to be identified in the WE which is used as an adjunct to the 'Vaphio cup' on 231 = K 872 (only a part of this is recorded by the text as being of gold), and which is written over the INGOT ideogram on Oa734*bis*; its presence may also be suspected on KN J 58, although Bennett read WE as the last syllable of *pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-o-we*. Note also the similar ideogram on Pylos La630 (reverse), quoted on p. 323. This use of WE is to be distinguished from that on C 411, 96 = Un02, etc., where it clearly describes a kind of sheep; and from the reversed S with cross-bar and dots which probably represents  $\frac{1}{1440}$  of a talent. Silver is relatively uncommon both in Homer and in the archaeological record.



## 1. METALS AT PYLOS

Twenty-seven tablets of the *Jn*-series (excluding 257 = *Jn*09 and *Jn*881) evidently belong to a single set and conform to a rigid pattern. Each is introduced by a place-name and the phrase *khalkēwes talasiān ekhontes* 'smiths having a *talasia*', followed by a number of men's names with an amount of BRONZE each. The second paragraph, introduced by *tossoide khalkēwes atalasioi* 'so many smiths without a *talasia*', consists of an enumeration of further men's names without any BRONZE entries at all.

Chadwick and Björck simultaneously recognized that the classical *τολασία* (= *τολασιουργία* 'wool-spinning') is here used in the more general sense 'an amount allocated by weight for processing': it is evidently derived more immediately from *τάλαντον* 'weight' than from the cognate *τάλας* 'long-suffering' (so Boisacq, *s.v.*). The Latin *pensum* still shows both stages of an identical semantic development.

The same context is shown by some Third Dynasty tablets from Ur (Legrain, 1947; c. 2100 B.C.). No. 324 lists 'copper to work into dagger blades, issued by the treasurer's office'; no. 354, 'beaten copper, from the office located at the chariot shed, delivered to the smiths at  $16\frac{1}{2}$  manehs 2 shekels (= 8.25 kg.) per head'; no. 357, the same at 10 manehs (= 5 kg.). The more nearly contemporary Alalakh tablet no. 402 (Wiseman, 1953, p. 105) lists '4 half-talents (= 60 kg.) of copper for the smiths of the town Berašena, 4000 shekels (= 33.5 kg.) of copper for arrow-heads, and 600 shekels (= 5 kg.) of copper for doors'.

From the fact that a number of the smiths' names recur on other series of tablets (for instance among the names of shepherds), Webster has suggested that their work may have been on a part-time basis, like the seasonal iron-smelting by Hittite peasants referred to by Gurney (1952, p. 83). Compare also *Il.* xxiii, 832–5, where Achilles says of the ingot of pig-iron offered as a prize: 'Even if the winner's fertile farm is at a remote spot, he will be able to go on using it for five revolving years: his shepherd or ploughman will not have to go to the town through lack of iron, but will have it at hand.' This conclusion is very uncertain, since the names which recur are among the commonest Mycenaean stock, and may equally well be found at Knossos or Mycenae (e.g. Xanthos on Pylos *Jn*06 and 50 = *An*18, Mycenae *Go*610 and Knossos *C* 912). There is no guarantee that the Pylos doublets refer to the same individuals, quite apart from the different place-names with which they are associated.

The most elaborate example of the standard lay-out is shown by 253 = *Jn*01,



where a third paragraph lists the slaves of both 'active' and 'inactive' smiths. These slaves are not named or numbered, but we may perhaps allow one to each smith whose name is written in the genitive (the corresponding nominatives elsewhere on the tablet are identified by capitals in our transcription). A 'slave of *Qe-*' occurs among the 'inactive smiths' on Jn03; similarly a 'slave of Dektos' on Jn07, a 'slave of Euctor' on Jn750. A separate list of slaves, one to each smith (their names lost), forms the reverse of Jn706; the end of Jn03 lists large groups of men (five, ten, thirty-one) belonging to certain individuals not apparently smiths, since their names do not recur on the tablet.

On three tablets (Jn02, Jn03, Jn845) the first paragraph ends with the entry 'So-and-so the *basileus*', perhaps the name of the local chieftain who supervised the distribution. On Jn725 the division of the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  talents of bronze among the twenty-seven smiths is not individually measured.

## 253 = Jn01 [310]

<sup>1</sup> <i>a-ke-re-wa</i>	<i>ka-ke-we</i>	<i>ta-ra-si-ja</i>	<i>e-ko-te</i>		
<sup>2</sup> <i>ti-pa<sub>2</sub>-jo</i>	BRONZE	£ 1	# 2	<i>qe-ta-wo</i>	BRONZE £ 1 # 2
<sup>3</sup> <i>ai-so-ni-jo</i>	BRONZE	£ 1	# 2	<i>ta-mi-je-u</i>	BRONZE £ 1 # 2
<sup>4</sup> <i>e-u-ru-wo-la</i>	BRONZE	£ 1	# 2	<i>e-u-do-no</i>	BRONZE £ 1 # 2
<sup>5</sup> PO-RO-U-TE-U	BRONZE	£ 1	# 2	<i>wi-du-wa-ko</i>	BRONZE £ 1 # 2

vacat

<sup>7</sup> <i>to-so-de</i>	<i>a-ta-ra-si-jo</i>	<i>ka-ke-we</i>		
<sup>8</sup> PA-QO-SI-JO	KE-WE-TO	<i>wa-[di?]-re-u</i>		
<sup>9</sup> <i>pe-ta-ro</i>				

vacat

<sup>11</sup> <i>to-so-de</i>	<i>do-e-ro</i>	<i>ke-we-to-jo</i>	<i>i-wa-ka-o</i>	
<sup>12</sup> <i>pa-qo-si-jo-jo</i>	<i>po-ro-u-te-wo</i>			

vacat

<sup>14</sup> <i>po-ti-ni-ja-wi-jo</i>	<i>ka-ke-we</i>	<i>ta-ra-si-ja</i>	<i>e-ko-te</i>	
<sup>15</sup> <i>i-ma-di-jo</i>	BRONZE	£ 2	<i>tu-ke-ne-u</i>	BRONZE £ 3
<sup>16</sup> [            ]	BRONZE	£ 3	I-WA-KA	BRONZE £ 3
<sup>17</sup> [            a ]	<i>ta-ra-si-jo</i>	<i>pu<sub>2</sub>?-[.]-ja-ko</i>		

§ 1. Smiths at *A-ke-re-wa* having an allocation:

Thisbaïos: 1.5 kg. bronze; Q<sup>u</sup>hestāwōn: 1.5 kg. bronze; etc.

And so many smiths without an allocation:

Pang<sup>u</sup>ōsios, *Ke-we-to*, Wādileus, Petalos.

And so many slaves: (those) of *Ke-we-to*, Iwakhās, Pang<sup>u</sup>ōsios, Plouteus.



§ 2. Smiths of the mistress (at *A-ke-re-wa*) having an allocation:  
etc.

*po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*: the smiths distinguished by this enigmatic adjective evidently belong equally to the place A., since Iwakhas' slave is included in the third paragraph. The same division of the smiths occurs in the two sections of Jn03 (cut apart after writing) introduced by:

*A-pe-ke-i-jo ka-ke-we...* (adjective)

*A-pe-ke-e ka-ke-we po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* (locative?)

It occurs as a description of tradesmen on Pylos 148 = Ep04 and Un09, and in the feminine on Knossos 90 = G 820. Its function on the Knossos *Dl*-series is obscure (a man's name, title, or adjective applied to sheep?). Despite the *-we*, a derivation from *πότνια* 'mistress' seems probable: a class of persons specially subservient to Athena? Or to the queen rather than to the king?

254 = Jn04 [389]

<sup>1</sup> *a-ka-si-jo-ne ka-ke-we ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te*

<sup>2</sup> *pi-ṛa-me-no BRONZE £ 3 ma-u-ti-jo BRONZE £ 3 e-do-mo-ne-u*

BRONZE £ 3

<sup>3</sup> *ka-ra-wi-ko BRONZE £ 1 # 2 pi-we-ri-ja-ta BRONZE £ 1 # 2*

<sup>4</sup> *sa-mu?-ta-jo BRONZE £ 1 # 2 wa-u-do-no BRONZE £ 1 # 2*

<sup>5</sup> *ka-ra-pa-so BRONZE £ 1 # 2 pi-ta-ke-u BRONZE £ 1 # 2*

<sup>6</sup> *mo-re-u BRONZE £ 1 # 2 ti-ta-[ . ]-wo BRONZE £ [ ]*

<sup>7</sup> *to-so-de e-pi-da-to ka-ko pa-ṣi BRONZE £ 6*

vacat

<sup>9</sup> *to-so-de ka-ko BRONZE £ 27*

vacat

<sup>11</sup> *to-so-de a-ta-ra-si-jo ka-ke-we*

<sup>12</sup> *te-te-re-u pa-pa-jo pi-ro-we-ko a<sub>2</sub>-nu-me-no*

<sup>13</sup> *ko-so-u-to*

Smiths at *A-ka-si-jo* having an allocation:

Philamenos: 3 kg. bronze; etc.

And so much bronze is shared out among them all: 6 kg.

So much bronze (in all): 27 kg.

And so many smiths without an allocation: etc.

*e-pi-da-to* recurs at the end of the first paragraph of Jn02. It is either an incomplete spelling of the *epidedastoi* of 250 = Vn01, or possibly some other tense of the same verb.

*Pi-ro-we-ko* = Φιλοῦργος: cf. *ma-na-si-we-ko* Jn03.2 = Μνησίεργος 'mindful of his work'.

It is perhaps significant that the smiths seem to have a higher proportion of unmistakably Greek names than appear on most of the other lists.



The damaged set of numerals in line 6 needs to be restored as £ 1 # 2 in order to justify the total (cf. Bennett, 1950, p. 215).

## 255 = Jn658

<sup>1</sup>	<i>ka-ke-we</i>	<i>ta-ra-si-jo</i>	[ <i>e</i> ]- <i>ko-si</i>	
<sup>2</sup>	<i>e-ni-pa-te-we</i>	<i>we-we-si-jo</i>	1	BRONZE £ 5
<sup>3</sup>	<i>ma-ka-wo</i>	1	BRONZE £ 5	<i>pi-ro-ne-ta</i> 1 BRONZE £ 5
<sup>4</sup>	<i>pa-qo-ta</i>	1	BRONZE £ 5	*85- <i>ta-mo</i> 1 BRONZE £ 5
<sup>5</sup>	<i>po-ro-u-jo</i>	1	BRONZE £ 5	<i>o-na-se-u</i> 1 BRONZE £ 5
<sup>6</sup>	[.]- <i>ko</i>	1	BRONZE £ 5	<i>re-u-ka-ta</i> 1 BRONZE £ 5
<sup>7</sup>	<i>wa-ka-ta</i>	1	BRONZE £ 5	<i>o-lu-wo-we</i> 1 BRONZE £ 5
<sup>8</sup>	<i>wo-wi-ja-ta</i>	1	BRONZE £ 5	<i>pe-re-ta</i> 1 BRONZE £ 5
<sup>9</sup>	<i>po-ru-e-ro</i>	1	BRONZE £ 5	<i>o-pe-ra-no</i> 1 BRONZE £ 5
<sup>10</sup>	<i>a-tu-ko</i>	1	BRONZE £ 5	[[ <i>ko</i> - ]]
<sup>11</sup>	<i>to-[so-de]</i>	<i>ka-ko</i>	BRONZE 𐀀𐀁 3	£ 20
<sup>12</sup>	<i>[to-so]-de</i>	<i>a-ta-ra-si-jo</i>		
			vacat	

*e-ko-si* = *ekhonsi* 'they have', instead of the present participle *ekhontes*: this variation is shared by Jn706, where the total is introduced by *to-so-de ka-ko e-ko-si*. On Jn832 the description *talasian ekhontes* is replaced by *a-ke-te-re* (= ἀσκητοὶ 'those who practise their trade'?, cf. Hom. ἀσκέω in sense 'work raw materials'); on Jn650 it has in addition the word *pa-ra-ke-te-e-we* (= Hom. πρηκτῆρες?). The total on Jn658 seems to be a scribal error for 𐀀𐀁 2 £ 20.

The following table gives a synopsis of the surviving tablets of this series. Of the fourteen different place-names, nine are not found on any other tablet, suggesting that some of the smiths may have lived in small communities of their own without other agricultural or maritime importance. Note the apparent progression shown by the entries 25½/26/27—54/56—78/80—108, which may correspond to a bronze ingot weighing rather less than a talent. Compare Knossos Oa730, which lists sixty ingots at a total weight of 52½ talents, or £ 26½ each.

Tablet	Place	Active smiths	Inactive smiths	Bronze (kg.)
Jn01	<i>A-ke-re-wa</i>	12	5	23
Jn02	<i>Po-wi-te-ja</i>	15	6?	108?
Jn03	<i>A-pe-ke-i-jo</i>	10	15	54
	<i>A-pe-ke-e p.</i>	6	9	27
Jn04	<i>A-ka-si-jo-ne</i>	11	5	27
Jn05	<i>Wi-ja-we-ra</i>	7	1	26
Jn06	<i>O-re-mo-a-ke-re-u</i>	12	8?	56
Jn08	<i>Ru-ko-a<sub>2</sub>-[.]-re-u-te</i>	7	5	34



Tablet	Place	Active smiths	Inactive smiths	Bronze (kg.)
Jn605	<i>A-pi-no-e-wi-[jo]</i>		(fragmentary)	
Jn658	<i>E-ni-pa-te-we</i>	16	0	80
Jn692	<i>Na-i-se-wi-jo</i>	2	6	12
Jn693	<i>A-ke-re-wa</i>	3	0	16
	<i>A-pu<sub>2</sub>?-we</i>	7	2	26
Jn706	<i>Pa-to-do-te</i>	10	4	50?
Jn725	<i>E-ni-pa-te-we</i>	27	0	78
	<i>[.] -nu-we-jo</i>	5	0	18
	<i>Na-i-se-wi-jo</i>		(erased)	
	<i>A-ke-re-wa</i>	4	0	12
Jn750	<i>A-ni-ja-ti-ja</i>	17	4	25½
Jn832	<i>Ro-u-so</i>	3	4	(no entry)
Jn845	[ ]	8	7	12
Jn937	[ ] -me-no	11?	0	16½
Jn07, Jn927, Jn942, Jn944, etc.: place-name lost, and fragmentary.				
Total		193	81	801

The frequencies of the individual allotments of bronze to smiths are as follows:

1 kg.	1½ kg.	2 kg.	3 kg.	4 kg.	4½ kg.	5 kg.	6 kg.	7 kg.	8 kg.	12? kg.
1	41	1	17	19	1	43	9	2	9	1

The thin bronze arrow-heads (or 'arrow-plates', Evans, *PM*, iv, figs. 816, 818) of the type found in the Knossos 'Armoury', and common at both Cretan and Mainland sites (including Pylos), weigh up to about 1.5 g. each. Sword blades, on the other hand, and long spear-heads (such as those from the LM II warrior graves near Knossos, Hood, 1952, fig. 12) might scale up to 350 g. Hood (*ibid.* p. 256) gives the weight of his LM II bronze helmet as 695 g.: this includes the cheek-pieces, but 10 per cent should perhaps be added to allow for parts that are missing.

The smaller of the two most common allotments at Pylos (that of 1½ kg.) would be sufficient for making 1000 arrow-heads, the larger (5 kg.) enough for at least fourteen swords or spears. The total weight of bronze which can be totalled on all the surviving tablets (801 kg.) would make something like 534,000 arrow-heads, or 2300 swords or spears, or 1000 bronze helmets. It is tempting to regard the following tablet as a total of the complete series, from which approximately a quarter of the entries must then be assumed to be missing.

256 = Ja749

*to-so-pa* 34 26

So much (bronze?) in all: 1046 kg., or just over a ton.



257 = Jn09 [+829]

<sup>1</sup> jo-do-so-si ko-re-te-re du-ma-te-ge			
<sup>2</sup> po-ro-ko-re-te-re-ge ka-ra-wi-po-ro-ge o-pi-su-ko-ge o-pi-ka-pe-'e-we-ge'			
<sup>3</sup> ka-ko na-wi-jo pa-ta-jo-i-ge e-ke-si-ge ai-ka-sa-ma			
<sup>4</sup> pi-*82 ko-re-te BRONZE # 2 po-ro-ko-re-te BRONZE # 3			
<sup>5</sup> me-ta-pa ko-re-te	BRONZE # 2	po-ro-ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3
<sup>6</sup> pe-to-no ko-re-te	BRONZE # 2	po-ro-ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3
<sup>7</sup> pa-ki-ja-pi ko-re-te	BRONZE # 2	po-ro-ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3
<sup>8</sup> a-pu <sub>2</sub> ?-we ko-re-te	BRONZE # 2	po-ro-ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3
<sup>9</sup> [a]-ke-re-wa ko-re-te	BRONZE # 2	po-ro-ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3
<sup>10</sup> ro-u-so ko-re-te	BRONZE # 2	po-ro-ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3
<sup>11</sup> [ka]-ra-do-ro ko-re-te	BRONZE # 2	po-ro-ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3
<sup>12</sup> [re]-jo ko-re-te	BRONZE # 2	po-ro-ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3
<sup>13</sup> [ti]-ni-to a-ke-e ko-re-te	BRONZE # 2	po-ro-ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3
<sup>14</sup> [ra]-wa-ra-ta <sub>2</sub> ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3 # 3	po-ro-ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3
<sup>15</sup> [sa]-ma-ra ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3 # 3	po-ro-ko-re-te	# 3
<sup>16</sup> [a]-si-ja-ti-ja ko-re-te	BRONZE # 2	po-ro-ko-re-te	# 3
<sup>17</sup> e-ra-te-re-wa-pi ko-re-te	BRONZE # 2	po-ro-ko-re-te	# 3
<sup>18</sup> za-ma-e-wi-ja ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3 # 3	po-ro-ko-re-te	# 3
<sup>19</sup> e-re-i ko-re-te	BRONZE # 3 # 3	po-ro-ko-re-te	# 3

Thus the *mayors* and their *wives*, and the *vice-mayors* and *key-bearers* and *supervisors of figs* and *hoeing*, will contribute bronze for *ships* and the points for arrows and spears:

Pi-\*82, the *mayor*: 2 kg. bronze; the *vice-mayor*: 750 g. bronze, etc.

(Total: *mayors*: 39 kg.; *vice-mayors*: 12 kg.)

*ko-re-te-re*: the *ko-re-te* appears to be the 'mayor' or local chief responsible for each village (cf. 43 = Sn01, On01, 258 = Kn01), and the *po-ro-ko-re-te* is probably his deputy; the two also occur together on KN V 865. For the problematical description *-da-ma/-du-ma* (formally = δάμαρ?) see Vocabulary. The *klāwiphoros* occurs as a kind of priestess on 135 = Ep704, etc. The *o-pi-su-ko* are named with the *o-pi-ko-wo* (= *e-pi-ko-wo* 'guards'?) and *ke-ro-te* = *gerontes* on Jn881: 'guardians of fig trees'?? *o-pi-ka-pe-e-we* is reminiscent of Hesychius ἐπισκαπεύς 'one who harrows in the seed', ἐπισκαπεῖον 'mattock, hoe'; but cf. also Ζεὺς Ἐπικάρπιος 'guardian of fruit'. It is not clear whether these are predominantly civil or religious officials, but in the subsequent entries their contributions seem to be lumped together with those of the *po-ro-ko-re-te-re*.

*ka-ko na-wi-jo*: compare δόρυ νήϊον 'ship's timbers', *Od.* ix, 384. Nails and other fastenings? It is difficult to see why these miscellaneous officials, rather than the *khalkēas* of the other Jn- tablets, should be contributing such specialized items of bronzework; unless the tablet in fact only records scrap bronze which is intended



for melting down and re-using for these purposes (and hence the lack of any subdivision between the different objects in the subsequent entries?). Chadwick suggests that *na-wi-jo* is from νάος: 'the bronze that is in the temples'. Compare the Hittite 'Instructions for temple officials', § 8: 'Furthermore, whatever silver, gold, garments or bronze implements of the gods you hold, you are merely their caretakers. You have no right to them, and none whatever to the things that are in the gods' houses.' ?*paltaioti q'e ankhesi q'e aixmans*: that the first represent arrow-heads is proved by Knossos 264 = Ws1704, q.v. Webster points to the small amounts of bronze from each village (2.75 kg.), enough for about 1800 arrow-heads or 8 spear-heads, compared with the amounts on the other *Ja*-tablets (e.g. 47 kg. on the three tablets for *A-ke-re-wa*). He suggests that the arrow- and spear-heads may represent an offering or dedication rather than a regular war supply; or accumulations of votive offerings which are being confiscated as a desperate defence measure?

Chadwick reads *ro-u-so* in line 10, where we should expect *e-ra-te-i* in the standard order.

## 258 = Kn01 [Jo438]

<sup>1</sup> [ ]-te	
<sup>2</sup> te-[ ]	GOLD 2 1
<sup>3</sup> e-re-[e?]	GOLD] # 1
<sup>4</sup> po-ro-ko-re-[te]	GOLD] # 1
<sup>5</sup> do-ri-ka-o ma-[ro-pa <sub>2</sub>	GOLD] # 1
<sup>6</sup> ru-ro ma-ro-pa <sub>2</sub>	GOLD [ ] i
<sup>7</sup> ne-da-wa-ta	GOLD [ ]
<sup>8</sup> e-ke-me-de	GOLD # [ ]
<sup>9</sup> [RO]-U-SO ko-re-te	GOLD 2 [ ]
<sup>10</sup> PA-KI-JA-NI-[JO? ko]-re-[te]	GOLD 2 5 x
<sup>11</sup> A-PU <sub>2</sub> ?-JA ko-re-[te]	GOLD 2 5
<sup>12</sup> KA-RA-DO-RO ko-re-te	GOLD 2 5 x
<sup>13</sup> [ ] ko-re-te	GOLD 2 5 x
<sup>14</sup> [ ]	GOLD # 1
<sup>15</sup> [ ]-ma	GOLD 2 6 x
<sup>16</sup> wo-no-[ ]-ma	GOLD # [ ]
<sup>17</sup> qo-wo-[ ] mo-[ro-pa <sub>2</sub> ?]	GOLD # 1
<sup>18</sup> a-ka-wq	GOLD 2 3 x
<sup>19</sup> E-RE-E po-ro-ko-re-te	GOLD 2 3 x
<sup>20</sup> a-ke-ro pa <sub>2</sub> -si-re-u	GOLD 2 3 x
<sup>21</sup> te-po-se-u TI-NWA-SI-JO ko-re-te	GOLD # 1
<sup>22</sup> po-ki-ro-qo	GOLD # 1
<sup>23</sup> *85-ke-wa	GOLD # 1



24	TI-MI-TI-JA	<i>ko-re-te</i>	GOLD	2	6	
25	I-TE-RE-WA		GOLD	2	6	x
26	PI-*82		GOLD	2	6	x
27	E-RA-TE-RE-WA-O	<i>ko-re-te</i>	GOLD	2	6	
28	A-KE-RE-WA	<i>ko-re-te</i>	GOLD	2	5	x
	left edge: <i>po-so-ri-jo</i> -[ ]- <i>ma</i>		GOLD	2	[ ]- <i>jo a-to-mo</i>	GOLD 2 3 x

This tablet probably represents a tribute of gold from the chieftains (*basileus*, *ko-re-te*, *mo-ro-pa<sub>2</sub>*) of surrounding villages. The recognizable place-names have been printed in capitals for easier reference: they correspond, though not in precise order, with those of 257 = Jn09 and of On01. Some of the personalities are common to 43 = Sn01, § 1, which suggests the restoration of a similar introduction *basilewantes* here. Apart from line 2, the amounts of gold show the following distribution:

2	3	2	5	2	6	#	1 (=250 g.)
	4		5		5		10?

An amount of 2 7 occurs on La630 (rev.) and of 2 9 and Og7434 on KN Np859; Bennett (1950, p. 217) concludes that 2 probably represents  $\frac{1}{12}$  of #, or  $\frac{1}{1440}$  of a talent (i.e. approximately  $\frac{30,000}{1440} = 20.9$  g.). It is significant that the plain gold rings and coils of gold wire from the Mycenae Acropolis treasure, in which Schliemann and Ridgeway long ago proposed to recognize standard units of value, centre on weights of 21-2 g. and 41-3 g. (as re-weighed for Thomas, 1939, pp. 72-4).

Whether there is in fact a direct connexion between this tablet and 172 = Kn02 (with its offerings of gold vessels) is uncertain. Webster has pointed out that the contributed amounts of gold fall within the range of weights shown by cups from the Mycenae shaft graves, and might be designed for such; but one would expect a considerable interval of time for the craftsmen to convert the raw materials into the finished vessels.

## 2. METALS AT KNOSSOS

259 = Og1527

1	[	]	<i>mo-ri-wo-do</i>	2	3
2	[	]	2 <i>mo-ri-wo-do</i>	2	3
3	[	]	# 2 <i>mo-ri-wo-do</i>	2	3
uncertain number of lines missing.					

*mo-ri-wo-do*: probably *molivdos* = μόλυβδος 'lead' (see Vocabulary, p. 400); similarly Georgiev, 1954, p. 83. The preceding entries are probably for another metal (copper or tin?), part of a list of parallel allocations to smiths. Lead, used in the composition of bronze, is listed together with it on some Nuzi tablets (Lacheman, 1939, p. 538).

The only other Knossos tablets recording weights of metal are 222 = J 693, already discussed in another context, and J 58 and J 58 bis. The following



tablet from the 'Armoury deposit' may conveniently be included here, even though the identity of the weighed material is concealed by the loss of the final part of the introduction.

260 = Og0467 (P xviii)

<sup>1</sup> *jo-a-mi-ni-so-de di-do-[si*

<sup>2</sup> *ku-pe-se-ro £ 30 me-to-re £ [nn*

<sup>3</sup> *ne-ri-wa-to £ 15 pi-do-[*

Thus they contribute [...] to Amnisos:

Kupselos: 30 kg.; etc.

### 3. SWORDS, SPEARS AND ARROWS AT KNOSSOS

The twenty-two tablets classified by Bennett as *Ra-* were found in a corridor at the S.W. corner of the 'Domestic Quarter' (*M* on fig. 13, p. 115), into which they had fallen, together with their wooden chests, from a store-room on the floor above (Evans, *PM*, iv, pp. 853 ff.); fragments of swords were found in the same corridor. It is not certain whether the second variant of the sword ideogram represents a different type from the 'cruciform' (see drawing on p. 347, above), as Evans thought, or merely a more schematic form of the symbol. The characteristic vocabulary term for both variants is *pa-ka-na* = Hom. *πάσγανα*.

233  SWORD

230  SPEAR

231  ARROW

261 = Ra1540 (M xc)

*to-sa / pa-ka-na SWORDS 50[*

So many swords (in all): fifty.

262 = Ra1548 (M xc)

*de-so-mo*

*ku-ka-ro / pi-ri-je-te pa-ka-na a-ra-ru-wo-a SWORDS 3*

Kukalos, the cutler: three swords fitted with bindings.

*pi-ri-je-te* (cf. dual *pi-ri-je-te-re* on 52 = An26, *q.v.*): also on Ra1547, Ra1549; on seven other tablets its place is taken by another occupational description *ka-si-ko-no* (cf. Pylos An31): see Vocabulary, p. 404.

*a-ra-ru-wo-a* = Hom. *ἀρηρότα*, cf. fem. *a-ra-ru-ja* on 265 = Sd0403, etc. Fitted with what? A scabbard (Hom. *κολέον*) seems the most likely. The word *de-so-mo* = *δεσμοίς* is perhaps not to be taken with *ararwoa*, in view of its position here and on Ra1543 (where there would have been room for it on the bottom line). It might therefore



be an additional item, perhaps equivalent to the Homeric τελαμών or ἀορτήρ 'sword-belt'. But in favour of a translation 'fitted with their hand-grips' (*B* in the drawing on p. 347) compare the scholiast on φάσγαντα μελάνδετα *Il.* xv, 713: σιδηρόδετα. . . οἱ δὲ μελαίνας λαβὰς ἔχοντα· τὴν δὲ λαβὴν δεσμών καλεῖ ὁ Σιμωνίδης. οἱ δὲ ἐπιμελῶς ἐνδεδεμένα πρὸς τὴν λαβὴν.

263 = R 0481 *his* (P)

[*e*]-*ke-a* / *ka-ka-re-a* SPEARS 42

Forty-two spears with bronze points.

*enkhea khalkārea*: cf. χαλκήρεϊ δουρί *Il.* v, 145, etc.; this suggestion has also been made by Furumark and Sittig. Something was undoubtedly written between *ka-ka* and *re-a*, taken by Evans and Bennett's *Index* as a divider; it is perhaps intended to be deleted. The last sign is very doubtful and was read as *ne*.

264 = Ws1704 (P)

Sealing: (*a*): *o-pa* (*b*): *pa-ta-ja* (*c*): ARROW

This sealing, with Ws1702 and Ws1705, were found in the 'Armoury' attached to the charred remains of two wooden boxes containing carbonized arrow-shafts and arrow-heads of the type shown on p. 356 (*PM*, iv, pp. 617, 836-40): the meaning of the word *pa-ta-ja* (neuter plural, cf. 257 = Jn09.3) is thereby assured. The word *o-pa* recurs on the CHARIOT and WHEEL tablets and on 29 = As821, *q.v.* From the same building comes R 0482, on which the ARROW ideogram is followed by the high numbers 5010 and 2630 (which would require about 13 kg. of bronze).

#### 4. CHARIOTS WITHOUT WHEELS AT KNOSSOS

Of the tablets found in the 'Armoury' building by Evans in 1904, thirty of the longest deal with chariots; the form of the vehicles has been discussed by Evans (*PM*, iv, pp. 785-825) and their descriptions, which include the longest extant Knossos sentences, by us in *Evidence*, p. 100 and by Furumark (1954, pp. 54-9). Unlike the single chariots listed on the tablets found in the palace itself (see below, 297 = Sc222, etc.), those from the Armoury are shown without wheels; a large number of other tablets from the same building list the wheels separately. Homer makes it clear that it was normally the practice to remove the wheels when not in use (*Il.* v, 722), and to place the chariots on stands and cover them with cloths (viii, 441).

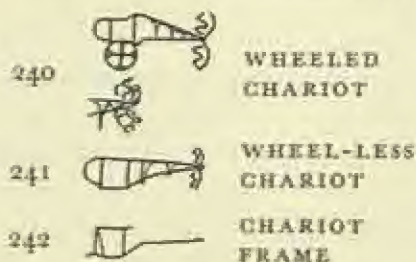




Fig. 25 shows the approximate appearance of the type of chariot listed, supplementing the evidence of the ideogram from Mycenaean vase-paintings, from the Tiryns fresco, and from the analogy of contemporary Egyptian chariot harness. The WHEEL-LESS CHARIOTS listed in the *Sd*-tablets are described as *a-ra-ra-mo-le-me-na*, apparently equivalent to the classical ῥημοσμέναι 'put together', and their ideogram shows a vehicle which is ready for use except



Fig. 25. The Mycenaean chariot, and Egyptian yoke arrangements.

for the fixing of the wheels and the harnessing of the horses. The simpler ideogram of the *Sf*-tablets (CHARIOT-FRAME) is qualified as *a-na-mo-to* (=ἀνάμωστοι 'not put together') and represents the bare outline of the chassis structure, before the addition of the side-extensions (*A*), pole-stay (*D*) and yoke (*F*).

The body (*B*) was framed in bent-wood and covered with either ox-hide or wickerwork, to judge from the indications of the vase-paintings; the cross-bracing (only seen in the WHEELED CHARIOT ideogram) was presumably a feature not actually visible on the exterior of the vehicle, except in lines of



stitching. The 'spur' (*G*) seen on the ideogram of Sc219 and Sc238, on the Tiryns fresco and on vases, is apparently a step formed by extending the rear framing member of the floor, which in all probability consisted of interwoven leather straps. The side-extensions (*A*), which perhaps afforded extra lateral defence for the warrior when mounting, appear generally to have been covered in with the same material as the body; but their method of attachment is not clear. One would expect the top members of *A* and of *B* to be formed of a continuous piece of wood, but the vase-paintings invariably show them as meeting at an oblique angle, and the CHARIOT-FRAME ideogram proves that the side-extensions do not form an integral part of the chassis. Perhaps, like the wheels, they were particularly liable to damage and in need of periodical replacement; and their removal would reduce the amount of storage room needed by each chariot.

The other characteristic feature of the Mycenaean chariot is the pole-stay (*D*) which runs from the middle of the rail to the forward end of the pole (ῥυμός). This is taken by Evans to be a thong or cord, although on the Tiryns fresco at least it appears to be a solid wooden bar, effective in compression as well as tension. From it a number of appendages hang down: Evans argued that they are of a purely decorative nature, and that their ends are not attached to the pole.

The pole (*E*) does not have the up-curving end seen on Geometric chariots, and a peg or hole may have been needed to anchor in position the ζυγόδεσμον with which the yoke was lashed on.

In the absence of explicit illustrations, the chief obscurity concerns the actual harnessing of the horses to the yoke. Contemporary Egyptian chariots had harness-saddles in the form of an inverted Y which were lashed to the yoke; they were applied over a wider saddle-pad, and had holes or hooks to take the combined ends of the breast-strap (*G*) and girth (*H*). Fig. 25 (1) shows the yoke arrangement of an unharnessed chariot shown on a painting for Rameses II; (2) that of the chariots found in the tomb of Tutankhamen (Carter, 1927, II, p. 63), where the harness-saddles are of leather-covered wood with calcite reels on top and gold decoration on the outward-facing legs. Some such attachment with saddles, rather than the direct lashing of the breast-strap to the yoke, is perhaps indicated by the W-shaped attachments visible behind the yoke on most forms of the Knossos *Sc*- and *Sd*- ideograms.

Our difficulties begin when we try to interpret the detailed terminology of the Knossos tablets in the light of this picture. Their syntax and the meaning of the *adjectives* describing colour and material are clear enough; but not only do the *nouns* which describe the parts of a chariot fail to agree with the



nomenclature found in Homer, but their identification is equally open to controversy. Before going on to discuss them in detail, it is worth stating some of the basic principles which might reasonably be expected, *a priori*, to govern the scribe's choice of descriptive matter; they are trite enough, but fundamental to all similar specifications of objects on the Mycenaean tablets, where the need to distinguish one from another is the prime function of the inventory.

(1) Where the same noun occurs in every specification, but with different adjectives, it must refer to some prominent feature whose alternative methods of construction form the easiest way of telling one chariot from another. In the absence of the word *ararwōs* 'fitted with' or the conjunction *-qe* 'and', we might expect the feature to be located somewhere on the ideogram as drawn, if only we knew where to look for it.

(2) Where a noun and adjective occur exceptionally (e.g. *do-we-jo i-go-e-qe* on 268 = Sd0413) it may conceivably describe an item not found at all on the other chariots; but more probably it draws attention to a normal item made of an unusual *material or shape*.

(3) Where an item is described as absent (e.g. *o-u-qe pte-no* on 270 = Sd0402), it must be one which one would normally expect to find on all the other chariots; but we cannot necessarily assume that its absence makes the chariot unserviceable. Whether the feature will also be absent from the ideogram depends on the conscientiousness of the scribe.

*a-ni-ja* (instr. *a-ni-ja-pi*) = classical ἄντια, Homeric ἄντια 'reins'. These form a partial exception to rule 3: although three tablets have the note *ouqe hāniāi posi(censi)* 'and there are no reins attached', five others add *araruiaī hāniāphi* 'provided with reins'; so that it is uncertain whether the reins, which are certainly not indicated on the ideogram as drawn, are to be assumed as present or absent when the chariot specification does not mention them at all (but see further under *o-po-go*).

*i-go-e-qe*, where it occurs, is named first of the items, and on 268 = Sd0413 even before *po-ni-ki* 'crimson', which is possibly to be taken with it rather than with 'CHARIOT'. The word is evidently compounded with *hiqqe* 'horse', but the meaning and number of the ending are uncertain: Palmer proposes a derivative of *\*heqomai* 'follow'. Its adjective *doraeias* (= δούρειος, 'made of a δόρυ, wooden pole or plank') suggests the possibility that it refers to the pole-stay (*D*), probably normally of leather, but on the Tiryns fresco at least consisting of a wooden bar.

*o-po-go*: always described as *wi-ri-ni-jo/-ne-jo/-ne-o* (Palmer: 'of ἑρινός, leather') with the exception of *e-re-pa-te-jo* 'of ivory' on 265 = Sd0403, where the chariot is itself 'inlaid with ivory'. Palmer suggests *op-āqon* 'cheek-strap, cheek-piece' (cf. παρώπια 'blinkers'), comparing the ivory variety with *Il. iv. 141-2*:

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις τ' ἑλέφαντα γυνή φοίνικι μῆτην  
Μηονὺς ἢ Κείρα, παρήϊον ἔμμεναι ἱππῶν.



Against this identification it may be objected that such decoration of the bridle is not explicitly shown on any of the surviving paintings, and that under rule 1 one would expect the *o-po-go* to be part of the structure shown in the ideogram. But the strong point in its favour is the fact that the only chariots which have no *o-po-go* formula are those in which the bridles are expressly stated to be absent (Sd0402, 271 = Sd0422, Sd0416?); perhaps the *o-po-go* formula is not to be taken as an autonomous annotation to the chariots themselves, but as an instrumental reading on from *a-ni-ja* (even where this is itself omitted), e.g. . . . *araruiaî hâniâphi wrineois opôq<sup>u</sup>ois* . . . , etc.

*o-pi-i-ja-pi* (instr. plur. fem.): presumably another part of the *a-ni-ja* (or, if the lack of *-q<sup>u</sup>e* is significant, a part of the *o-po-go* itself); made of horn except on 267 = Sd0409, where it is of bronze. Horn was used for bits (classical χαλινός, στόμιον) in the contemporary Danubian cultures and in the *terremare* (Lorimer, 1950, p. 308; Childe, 1947, p. 113); one bronze bit was found at Mycenae, two more at Miletus. Such a meaning would suit the context, though Evans (*PM*, iv, p. 830) believed that the bridle still consisted only of a 'nose-band' (which is incidentally the original meaning of *hânia*, cf. Skt. *nâsya*). The plural instead of dual (in *\*-oiin*?) may be justified by assuming that each 'bit' is regarded as a pair. The vocalization of the compound *o-pi-i-ja-pi*, which is perhaps an *-a-* stem in *-âphi*, rather than *-amphi* etc., is unknown: possibly from the root *\*si-* in *ιμάς* 'strap', Skt. *syāti* 'tie', Av. *hitam* 'harnessing'? Note also the word *o-pi-i-ta-ja-* on X 537, apparently a textiles tablet. An alternative suggestion is to derive the second part of the compound from *\*iα* = Vedic *iṣā-* 'pole of a car', Hittite *hiššai* (same meaning); the same stem occurs in Greek with ablaut in *οἰήιον*, *οἰάξ* (Homeric *οἰηξες* 'rings of the yoke'). In this case it might mean the pegs used to anchor in position the *ζυγόδεσμον* (see above). Palmer (1955*b*, p. 36) translates 'bit', but compares Hom. *ἰλλάξ*.

*i-qi-ja*: the name of the chariot itself is clearly the adjective *hiqq<sup>u</sup>iā* = *ἵππια* (cf. *i-go-jo* = *ἵπποιο* on 277 = Se1028). The feminine gender requires that we understand some word like *ἄμαξα*; cf. Eurip. *ὄχημα ἵππειον* 'horse-drawn carriage', *ἵππειον ζυγόν* 'chariot yoke', *Il.* v, 799.

The total numbers of chariots recorded at Knossos are more than 120 with wheels on the *Sc-* tablets, some 41 without wheels on the *Sd-* and *Se-* tablets, and at least 237 in a 'not assembled' state on the *Sf-* series, giving a total of 400+. What deductions can be made from these figures as to the total Knossos chariot force and as to its tactical use we leave it to others to decide, but it was evidently immeasurably smaller than the bodies of chariotry deployed by the Egyptians and Hittites on the more open battlefields of Syria.

265 = Sd0403 (P xiv)

<sup>2</sup> [*i*]-*qi-ja* / *a-ja-me-na e-re-pa-te a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-ḥa a-ra-ru-ja* [*a-ni-ja-pi*]

<sup>1</sup> *e-re-pa-te-jo o-po-go ke-ra-ja-pi o-pi-i-ja-pi 'ko-ki-da o-pa'*

WHEEL-LESS CHARIOTS 3



Three horse-(chariots without wheels) inlaid with ivory, (fully) assembled, equipped with bridles with *cheek-straps* (decorated with) ivory (and) horn bits. The *feudal contribution* (of) Kolkhidas.

An examination of these tablets shows that the upper line on the original is in fact written after the lower line (see p. 112).

*a-ja-me-na e-re-pa-te*, ?*aiai(s)menai elephantei*: cf. 239 = Ta642. The position of this decoration must be somewhere on the body or pole itself (perhaps round the rail), since even the CHARIOT-FRAME is described as *a-ja-me-na* on 272 = Sf0421, etc. None of our chariots is as elaborate as the gold-plated state chariots found in Tutankhamen's tomb (Carter, 1927, II, Pls. XVII-XXI), encrusted with semi-precious stones, glass and faience; or as the 'chariots inlaid with gold' of the Nuzi tablets (Lacheman, 1939, p. 538).

*o-pa*: see 29 = As821, and compare 264 = Ws1704 and 296 = Sh736.

266 = Sd0401 (P xiv)

<sup>2</sup> *i-qi-jo* / *a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-no po-ni-[ki-jo]*

<sup>1</sup> *a-ra-ru-ja a-ni-ja-pi wi-ri-ni-jo o-po-qo ke-ra-ja-pi o-pi-i-ja-pi*

WHEEL-LESS CHARIOTS [2]

[Two] horse-(chariots without wheels) inlaid with ivory, (fully) assembled, painted crimson, equipped with bridles with leather *cheek-straps* (and) horn bits.

*i-qi-jo*: probably dual (cf. 241 = Ta715, *q.v.*); the only other occurrence of this variant on Sd0415 has the numeral 2, though *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* inconsistently preserves the plural ending. On Sd0401, *i-qi-jo* has been corrected from *i-qi-ja*.

*po-ni-ki-jo* = φοινίκιος, Hom. φοινικόεις 'crimson', recurs on eight other CHARIOT tablets and is probably synonymous (or nearly so) with the *mi-to-we-sa* = *miltowessa* which takes its place on four others. This represents class. μίλτειος, μίλτινος, μίλτηλιφής 'painted with red ochre'. Compare the alternative Homeric epithets for ships φοινικοπάρης and μίλοπάρης.

267 = Sd0409 + 0481 (P)

<sup>2</sup> *i-qi-ja* / *po-ni-ki-ja a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na a-ja-[me]-na*

<sup>1</sup> *wi-ri-ne-o o-[po]-qo ka-ke-ja-pi o-pi-[i-ja-pi]* WHEEL-LESS CHARIOT !

One horse-(chariot without wheels) painted crimson, (fully) assembled, inlaid; with leather *cheek-straps* (and) bronze bits.

268 = Sd0413 (P xiv)

<sup>2</sup> *[i-qi]-ja* / *pa-i-to a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na do-we-jo i-qo-e-qe po-ni-ki-[*

<sup>1</sup> *[a-ra-ru]-ja a-ni-ja-pi wi-ri-ni-jo o-po-qo ke-ra-ja-pi o-pi-i-ja-pi*

WHEEL-LESS CHARIOT [nn]



[One?] horse-(chariot without wheels) (fully) assembled, *from* (?) Phaistos, its *pole-stay* of wood, painted crimson, equipped with bridles with leather *cheek-straps* (and) horn *bits*.

269 = Sd0404 (P xiv)

<sup>2</sup> [i]-qi-ja | ku-do-mi-ja mi-to-we-sa-e a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na

<sup>1</sup> [do-we]-jo i-qa-e-qa wi-ri-ni-jo o-po-qa ke-ra-[ja-pi o]-pi-i-ja-pi

WHEEL-LESS CHARIOT [nn]

[Three?] horse-(chariots without wheels) *from* (?) Kydonia, painted red, (fully) assembled, their *pole-stay* of wood, with leather *cheek-straps* (and) horn *bits*.

mi-to-we-sa-e: apparently an unusual spelling of -ssai; cf. e-qa-ta-e 29 = As821, we-ka-ta-e X 1044.

270 = Sd0402 (P xiv; see plate II (c), facing p. 110)

<sup>2</sup> [i]-qi-ja | a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na po-ni-ki-ja o-u-qa a-ni-ja po-si

<sup>1</sup> a-u-qa a-re-ta-to o-u-qa pte-no o-u-qa \*85-ro o-u-qa 'pe-pa<sub>2</sub>-to'

WHEEL-LESS CHARIOT [nn]

[One?] horse-(chariot without wheels) (fully) assembled, painted crimson; and there are no bridles attached, *nor a . . .*, *nor heels*, *nor streamers*, *nor . . .*

a-u-qa a-re-ta-to: a-u-qa is probably an error for o-u-qa rather than αὐτε 'furthermore'.

The vocalization of the second word is unknown, but might suggest -στρατος.

pte-no: probably dual of πτέρνα 'heel', possibly making up the 'spur' (C on fig. 25, p. 362). Or 'chocks' to go under the wheels?

\*85-ro: Furumark (1954, p. 57) connects this with σάρον 'brush' and with the 'streamers' which normally hang from the pole-strap, and which are absent from the ideogram here and on Sd0407. Possibly fem. dual = σείρω 'traces'.

pe-pa<sub>2</sub>-to: see the next tablet.

271 = Sd0422 (P xv)

<sup>2</sup> i-qi-ja | a-ro-mo-te-me-na (sic) o-u-qa a-ni-ja po-si-e-e-si

<sup>1</sup> o-u-qa pe-pa<sub>2</sub>-to u-po '[ ] o-pa' WHEEL-LESS CHARIOT [nn]

[One?] horse-(chariot without wheels) (fully) assembled, and there are no bridles attached, *nor any . . . underneath*. The *feudal contribution* of So-and-so.

po-si-e-e-si = πρόσσι (cf. Arc. πρόσσι < πρόσσεσι, SIG, cccvi, 12) 'they are attached to' or 'they are present in addition'. On 0402 and 0416 *posi* is used absolutely: ouq<sup>e</sup> hániai *posi*. Compare Sd0412: ouq<sup>e</sup> *posi* elephants 'and there is no ivory attached'.

pe-pa<sub>2</sub>-to evidently refers in some way to the underpart of the chariot or harness.

Furumark compares πείρω: ouq<sup>e</sup> *pepartoi hupo* 'and it is not pierced (studded?)



underneath', cf. *Il.* 1, 246, ἀκῆπτρον χρυσεῖσις ἤλοισι πεπαρμένον? More probably a noun, possibly compounded with *per-* = *περι-*; or beginning *pherb-* (cf. φορβειά)? Palmer: \*βεβατον 'floor? step?' from root βα-.

272 = Sf0421 (P xv)

*i-qi-ja* / *a-na-mo-to* *a-ja-me-na* CHARIOT-FRAMES 27

Twenty-seven horse-(chariots) not (fully) assembled, inlaid.

273 = Sf0420 (P xv)


*i-qi-ja* / *a-na-ta* *a-na-mo-to* 'a-re-ki-si-to-jo o-pa' CHARIOT-FRAMES 80

Eighty horse-(chariots) not inlaid, not (fully) assembled. The *feudal contribution* of Alexinthos.

*a-na-ta* (cf. *a-na-i-ta* on Sf0419, *a-na-to* Sf0423, Sf0425) alternates with *a-ja-me-na* on the Sf- tablets, beside the common denominator *a-na-mo-to* (=fem. ἀνάμμοστοι). In spite of the inconsistency in the feminine ending, it probably represents the negative form *an-ai(s)toi*, which thus bears the same relationship to *a-ja-me-na* as *a-na-mo-to* does to *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na*. This was independently recognized by Chantraine.

274 = Sf0428 (P xv)

<sup>2</sup> [*i*]-*qi-ja* / *po-ni-ki-ja* *me-ta-ke-ku-me-na*

<sup>1</sup> *wi-ri-ne-o* *o-po-go* *ke-ra-ja-pi* *o-pi-i-ja-pi*  1

One horse-(chariot), painted crimson, *dismantled*; with leather *cheek-straps* (and) horn *bits*.

The presence of the *o-po-go* formula on this tablet looks at first sight like a flagrant breach of rule 1 (p. 364), in that a 'cheek-strap' is hardly to be expected on a chariot whose framing is so incomplete that even the rail is missing from the ideogram. The explanation probably lies, however, in the exceptional word *me-ta-ke-ku-me-na*, where the prefix *μετα-* suggests some form of dismantling or rebuilding, during which its original harness was not separated from it; cf. class. μεταποιέω, μετασκευάζω, etc., 'remodel'; μεταχέω only means 'pour from one vessel into another', but compare χέω in the sense 'be dissolved, scattered, dropped' and χέω 'cast' (cf. English 're-cast').

Unlike the others, the fourteen CHARIOT tablets classified as *Se-* were found in the North Entrance Passage (*K* on fig. 13, p. 115); though showing the same ideogram as the *Sd-* tablets, their phraseology is markedly different, even if fragmentary; the references to ivory may suggest more highly decorated state chariots.



275 = Sc879 (K lxvi)

*ai-ki-no-o**pte-re-wa* / *pa-ra-ja e-te-re-ta po-ro-ti-ri* WHEEL-LESS CHARIOT [nn][One?] old chariot of elm-wood . . . -ed three times with *ai-ki-no-o*.

*e-te-re-ta*: probably a verbal adjective, and apparently a variant of *e-ka-te-re-ta* on the next tablet. From ἐξορθέω 'dislocate'? Or cf. ἑκτρημα, ἑκτρησις 'trepanning hole'? Or *en-trēta*, cf. *Il.* iii, 448, ἐν τρητοῖσι λεχέουσιν ('inlaid'? 'morticed'? 'holed'?)? Another adjective describing these chariots is *wo-ra-we-sa* on Sc880, probably *wōla-wessa* from Hom. οὐλή 'scar'.

*po-ro-ti-ri* appears to contain \**trins* (acc.) 'three' or *tris* 'thrice', on the analogy of the numeral 2 on the next tablet. Cf. πρότρητα 'on three successive days', Hom. καθάπαξ 'once and for all', σύντρηεις 'by threes'.

*ai-ki-no-o*: meaning unknown, cf. Pylos 251 = Vn02. 'Goat tendons' (cf. Skt. *snāyuh* 'tendon, strap')?? Cf. Hom. νεῦρα βόεια.

276 = Se1006 + 1042 (K)

*e-re-pa-te-jo-pi o-mo-pi* [[? *pte-re*]-*wa* / *e-ka-te-re-ta ai-ki-no-o 2 e-re-pa-te-jo-pi* [[? One chariot of elm-wood] . . . -ed with two *ai-ki-no-o*, with ivory . . . with bands of ivory . . .

*o-mo-pi* (instr. plur.) probably from οἶμος 'decorative band' (*Il.* xi, 24) rather than from ὄρμος 'chain', ὄμμα 'eye' or ὤμος 'shoulder'. Like *e-re-pa-te-jo-pi*, this word apparently forms an exception to the rule at Pylos that -*pi* is not added to -*o*- stems.

Se1007 uses the term *e-wi-su-zo-ko*, which recurs in an ivory context on PY 249 = Va02.

277 = Se1028 (K)

*e-re-pa-te-*[[? *i*]-*go-jo* / *zo-wa* [ or *zo-ja*?

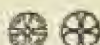


This tablet shows a deceptive resemblance to 163 = X 984 (*q.v.*), in spite of the apparent *ke-ke-me-na* of the latter and its publication in *SM II* cheek by jowl with tablets of the 'land ownership' series.

## 5. CHARIOT WHEELS AT KNOSSOS

Apart from 278 = So894, all the two dozen Knossos WHEEL tablets were found in the 'Armoury' building (see Evans, *PM*, iv, pp. 793-6). Like the vase-paintings and frescoes, they show a four-spoked design. Those from the tombs of Amenhotep III and Tutankhamen (Carter, 1927, ii, pp. 57-9) have under



their gold casing a structure of ash, the hubs bound with rawhide, and have leather tyres; Egyptian wall paintings also show bindings (some at least presumably of metal) at intervals round the spokes, at the junctions of spokes and felloe, and round the felloe. The chariot of the Tiryns fresco has similar markings on the spokes, and apparently has a separate tyre, which is divided by wider and narrower dark cross-lines which Evans suggests 'may have been wire and metal bands'.

243		WHEEL
MO		Single
ZE		Pair

The majority of the wheels are qualified by one or other of two names of timbers (*ptelewā* 'elm' and *helikā* 'willow') and by one or other of two puzzling adjectives describing their construction, *te-mi*-\*71-*ta* and *o-da-ku-we-ta* (variously spelt). Both may well be adjectives in *-wenta*, and ]-*mi-we-te* on Sg890 *bis* appears to be a variant spelling of the first; Ventris suggests, however, that \*71 may be a monogram for *ne+ka*, i.e. *termin ekhonta* 'having a *te-mi*-'. It is tempting to see in *te-mi-we/te-mi*-\*71 (cf. Hom. *τερμίοεις*) an adjective meaning 'provided with a (leather) tyre'; even though Johannson's proposed connexion of the Homeric adjective with Skt. *cárma* 'leather' would demand the spelling *qe-* here, and is in any case not generally accepted. Some kind of decorative or functional edging seems likely, at any rate.

The alternative specification, which implies a noun-stem *o-da-k-*, is equally uncertain (note its application to textiles on 220 = L. 870). Connected with *δδαξ* 'biting' ('serrated edge?'), or with *οἰδαξ* 'unripe fig' (a kind of studding?)?

The ZE and MO which precede the numerals do not, as Evans thought, refer to a carpenter's saw and the charioteer's whip, but are abbreviations of *ζεῦγος* 'pair' and *μόνφος* 'single' (see p. 54). When the number of wheels is 'three pairs' or more, the descriptive adjectives are in the plural, as we might expect; but there is some inconsistency both at Knossos and at Pylos in the case of lower numbers. Both 'one pair' and 'two pairs' generally involve dual adjectives (the first presumably being read as 'two wheels'), but one(?) pair takes the singular on 278 = So894, and one and a half pairs ('three wheels') the plural on 284 = Sa01.

The classical use of the dual, already very inconsistent in Homer, is confined to two main functions: first, reference to 'natural pairs' (e.g. ears, eyes, draught-horses); second, the counting of 'accidental pairs'—but only where the words *δύω* or *ζεῦγος* are expressly added (so in Attic temple inventories of the 5th–4th centuries B.C., e.g. *φύλλα χρυσᾶ* 11, etc.). Schwyzler (*Gram.* II, p. 48) suggests that such 'accidental pairs' must originally have taken plural



concord; but examples such as *to-pe-zo* 'two tables' (241 = Ta715) and *di-pa-e* 'two goblets' (236 = Ta641) show that our Mycenaean dialect is at the intermediate stage where an explicit *δύω* requires the dual in all classes of noun and adjective, as in Indo-Iranian and in Old Slavonic.

The neuter adjectives of the WHEEL tablets might naturally be taken as applying to the heteroclitic κύκλα 'wheels', literally 'circles'; but there is a probability that the real term to be understood is *a-mo-la*, and a possibility that this is not ἀρμοστά 'well-fitted' but *harmōta*, ancestor of ἄρματα 'chariot' (which evidently does not have this Homeric meaning at Knossos in view of *i-gi-ja*). This term is evidently connected with ἄρμος 'fastening', ἄρμόζω 'put together', in allusion to the fact that the chariot must be assembled from a number of loose parts before use; and in the Mycenaean arsenals the word may have been applied specifically to the wheels. Cf. ἄρματοπηγός 'wheelwright', *Il.* iv, 485, and *a-mo-te-jo-na-de* (*harmōteïōna-de?*) as the destination of axles and ἐπίφυτα (pliant branches for felloes?) on 252 = Vn06.

The total number of wheels separately listed on the Knossos tablets appears to be over a thousand pairs, but of these the 462½ (?) pairs of *o-da-ke-we-ta* on So0446 may perhaps represent a repetitive total (note the *o-pe-ro* of sixteen pairs 'missing' in line 2).

278 = So894 (K lxi)

<sup>1</sup> *a-te-re-te-a* / *pe-te-re-wa* 'te-mi-\*71' WHEEL ZE [1?]

<sup>2</sup> *ka-ki-jo* WHEEL ZE 1 *ka-ko-de-ta* WHEEL ZE [3+]

<sup>3</sup> *ki-da-pa* / *te-mi-\*71-ta* WHEEL ZE 41 [MO 1?]

<sup>4</sup> *o-da-tu-we-ta* / *e-ri-ka* WHEEL ZE 40[+]

∴ one (?) pair of wheels of elm-wood, with *tyres*;  
one pair of bronze wheels;  
three+ pairs of bronze-bound wheels;  
forty-one and a half (?) pairs of wheels of *ki-da-pa* wood, with *tyres*;  
forty+ pairs of wheels of willow-wood, with *studs*.

*a-te-re-te-a*: perhaps the neuter plural of an adjective in -ής with *a-* privative; not a verbal adjective in -τέα (-\*tewa).

*ka-ki-jo* = *khalkiō* (dual): possibly only the tyre was of solid bronze, although a wheel entirely of metal is perhaps not excluded, especially as only one pair is listed.

*ka-ko-de-ta* = χαλκόδετα, cf. *khalkōi dedemenō* and *argurōi dedemenō* at Pylos (see below).

As a tyre of solid silver is unlikely, these adjectives probably refer to metal bindings at intervals round the felloe or spokes, like those detected by Evans on the Tiryns fresco.

*ki-da-pa* (not *ki-da-ro*, Bennett, *Index*, p. 63): possibly a kind of timber, cf. σκινδαφός, σκινδάλαμος, σκινδαφή?



279 = So0437 joined (P xvii)

*a-mo-ta* / *pte-re-wa* *a-ro<sub>2</sub>-jo* *te-mi-\*71-te* WHEEL ZE 5

Five pairs of wheels of elm-wood, of *better class*, with *tyres*.

*a-ro<sub>2</sub>-jo*: apparently dual of *a-ro<sub>2</sub>-a* on 214 = Ld571, 282 = So0430. A mis-spelling for *a-ro<sub>2</sub>-e*? These duals do not agree with *a-mo-ta* and with the recorded number of wheels.

280 = So0439 (P xvii)

*a-mo-ta* / *e-ri-ka* *te-mi-\*71-ta* WHEEL ZE 3 MO WHEEL [1]

Three and a half pairs of wheels of willow-wood, with *tyres*.

281 = So0440 (P xvii)

*a-mo-ta* / *pte-re-wa* / *o-da-\*87-ta* 'de-do-me-na' WHEEL ZE [nn]

*x* pairs of wheels of elm-wood with *studs*, which have been contributed.

*o-da-\*87-ta*: the sign \*87 is confined to this word, as \*71 to the other wheel adjective; it appears to have the value *kue*.

*de-do-me-na* = δεδομένα: in contrast to *worzomena* ('manufactured?') on So0438, etc.?

Or does that also mean 'contributed' (cf. *worzei* at Pylos, p. 254)?

282 = So0430 (P xv)

*ko-ki-da* *o-pa* *ne-wa*

*e-ri-ka* / *o-da-\*87-ta* *a-ro<sub>2</sub>-a* WHEEL ZE 22 MO WHEEL 1

Twenty-two and a half pairs of new wheels of willow-wood, with *studs*, of *better quality*. The *feudal contribution* (of) Kolkhidas.

283 = So0442 (P xvii)

*o-pe-ro*

[ ]-ja / *a-mo-te* *pe-ru-si-nwa* / *ta-ra-si-ja* WHEEL ZE 1

One pair of . . . wheels owing from last year's allocation.

The word-order and syntax are not very clear. Possibly *harmōte* (dual) *ophēlo(menō)* *perusinwās talasiās*; *a-mo-te* could also be ἀμωσθη (aor. pass.) or the nom. sing. of the occupational name *a-mo-te-re* (X 770 and X 6026); but it cannot be any part of ἀμωστρός. In support of a Myc. form *harmō* 'wheel' one may add the possible reading *a-mo* as nominative singular on KN So7485.3; the classical meaning of ἀμω is paralleled by the fact that both in Sanskrit (*rātha-*) and in Tocharian A (*kukāl*) the term for 'chariot' is derived from an *IE* word for 'wheel'.



## 6. CHARIOT WHEELS AT PYLOS

The vocabulary and arrangement of the Pylos WHEEL tablets, 200 years later, are very like those of the Knossos series; and their adjectives show similar sequences of neuter duals or plurals according to the number of pairs listed. Pylos has, however, developed a variant of the WHEEL with surcharged TE, which (to judge from 287 = Sa793) probably stands for the qualification *te-mi*-\*71-*ta*.

243 ⊕ WHEEL

⊕ TE WHEEL+TE

284 = Sa01 [488]

*ku-pa-ri-se-ja* WHEEL+TE ZE I MO IOne and a half pairs of wheels of cypress wood, with *tyres*.

*ku-pa-ri-se-ja*; not to be confused with the place-name adjective *Ku-pa-ri-si-jo* on 56 = An657. The Homeric equivalent κυπαρίσσινος is only used once, of a door-post in *Od.* xvii, 340.

285 = Sa02 [487]

*ke-ro-ke-re-we-o* / *wo-ka we-je-ke-e* WHEEL+TE ZE IOne pair of wheels with *tyres*, fit for driving, belonging to Khêroklewēs.

This tablet is typical of a set of thirteen, all introduced by a man's name in the genitive.

Three of them have two pairs of wheels, the rest one pair each; all the descriptions are in the dual, as here. The remaining names are: *Pa<sub>2</sub>-sa-re-o*, *Tu-ri-si-jo-jo*, *E-ke-i-jo-jo*, *Wo-ro-ko-jo*, *Wa-de-o*, *A-pa-si-jo-jo*, *Pe-ge-ro-jo*, *E-te-wa-jo-jo*, *Mo-qo-so-jo*, *Po-ru-we-wo*, *A-te-wo-jo*, *A-me-ja-to*.

*wo-ka we-je-ke-e* (dual): though its vocalization is very uncertain, it is likely that this description is the opposite of *no-pe-re-e* 'unfit for service' (see below), and hence means something like 'fit for use on this charioteer's vehicle'. It is tempting to connect the second word with the Homeric ἀ-εικής, ἐπι-εικής. *we-je-* could be an abnormal spelling or represent a disyllabic grade of the root; but there is a more serious objection that adjectives in -ής seem originally to have been all compounds (Schwyzer, *Gram.* 1, p. 513). Must we postulate a compound (with -εκής) of the same prefix *we-j-* which reappears in the adjective *we-ja-re-pe*, etc. (possibly 'suitable for anointing', cf. δι-ηλιφής, νε-ηλιφής, etc.?) applied to OIL on the Pylos tablets of 1955? *wo-ka* cannot be the Homeric δχα 'pre-eminently', since this is certainly from ἔχω, and probably a shortened form of ἔξοχα; but it might be a somewhat similar adverbial formation from \*φέχω 'ride, take, in a chariot' (cf. δχα 'chariot' and *Il.* x, 403: ἵπποι ἀλγαινοὶ ὀχέσθαι 'difficult to use in a chariot'). For the ending cf. κρύφα, μίγα, σίγα, etc. Alternatively *wo-ka* may be a noun from the same stem, to be taken closely with the preceding genitive.



## 286 = Sa787

to-sa pa-ra-ja we-je-ke-a<sub>2</sub> WHEEL ZE 30 MO I

e-qe-si-ja pa-ra-wa WHEEL ZE 12 za-ku-si-ja WHEEL ZE 32

So many (in all): thirty and a half pairs of old wheels, *fit for driving*;  
 twelve pairs of *old* wheels for Followers (?),  
 thirty-two pairs of wheels of *Zakynthian* type.

e-qe-si-ja pa-ra-wa: the second line is written near the edge of the tablet, and all three final signs look at first sight like -wa. e-qe-si-ja is also applied to 'cloaks' on 214 = Ld571, *q.v.*; if, as seems likely from 56 = An657, the *heq<sup>o</sup>etās* is a military officer, it is perhaps reasonable that the design of both his uniform and his chariot should be in some way distinctive.

za-ku-si-ja: compare the [Za]-ku-si-jo which should probably be restored as an ethnic or place-name on 54 = An19, but which also occurs on Mycenae Oe122 (as a man's name?). The assibilation of the ending -vθios is also seen in Att. Προβαλίστιος, Τρικρούστιος and in Pylos Ko-ri-si-jo, O-ru-ma-si-ja-jo.

## 287 = Sa793

e-re-pa-to | te-mi-\*71-ta pa-ra-ja ta-na-wa WHEEL+TE ZE 11

Eleven pairs of old *spindly* wheels with *te-mi-* of ivory.

e-re-pa-to: Ventris is inclined to analyse this phrase as: *elephantos termin-ekhonta* 'having a *terminis* of ivory'; but this would indicate that the *terminis* here represents some kind of decorative band rather than the actual running surface or 'tyre'.

ta-na-wa: Hom. ταναός, see Vocabulary, p. 408.

## 288 = Sa790

[ka-ko] a-mo-ta e-qe-si-ja | no-pe-re-a<sub>2</sub> WHEEL+TE ZE 6

Six pairs of wheels for Followers (?), unfit for service.

no-pe-re-a<sub>2</sub> = Att. ἀνωφελη; cf. Hom. ἀνώλυμος/νώνυμος, etc.

## 289 = Sa682

te-tu-ko-wo-a<sub>2</sub> no-pe-re-a<sub>2</sub> WHEEL ZE 6

Six pairs of *heavily-built* wheels, unfit for service.

te-tu-ko-wo-a<sub>2</sub> (cf. 216 = Ld871) = Hom. τετυγμένα; see Vocabulary, p. 409.

## 290 = Sa03 [287]

a-ku-ro | de-de-me-no WHEEL ZE 1

One pair of wheels bound with silver.

a-ku-ro: this is the only occurrence of the word ἄργυρος on the tablets,



291 = Sa794

*ka-ko de-de-me-no no-pe-re-e* WHEEL ZE I

One pair of wheels bound with bronze, unfit for service.

## 7. CORSLETS AND HELMETS AT PYLOS

Twelve tablets found in 1952 (classification *Sh*.) list the CORSLET ideogram. This resembles the Knossos CORSLET (see below, p. 380) in its tapering sides and in the varying number of horizontal cross-lines; but instead of vertical shoulder loops it shows lateral projections which may represent short sleeves, and above the neck it adds a



construction which must probably be taken as a form of headgear. The identification of this Pylos ideogram as a set consisting of corslet and helmet is confirmed by the terminology *to-ra-ke* = *θώρακες* and *ko-ru-to* (gen. sing.) = *κόρυθος*; and thus supplies new material for the discussion of the traditional picture of Heroic armour in Homer and its relation to the archaeological evidence (see Evans, *PM*, iv, pp. 688–90, 803–6; Lorimer, 1950, pp. 196–245; Hood, 1952, pp. 256–61; Gray, 1954, etc.).

Hood suggests that certain bronze plates found in the 'Tombe dei Nobili' at Phaistos are part of armoured belts or corslets; but the absence of metal scales from all other Minoan and Mycenaean sites, and in particular from warrior graves, makes the direct archaeological evidence for a bronze corslet very slight. Mycenaean vase-paintings show only doubtful indications of body-armour, though the white dots on the tunics and helmets of the Mycenae 'Warrior Vase' (Lorimer, 1950, Pl. III) have been taken by some to represent metal disks. Two ivories from Enkomi in Cyprus do, however, depict a 'lobster' corslet similar to that worn by the 'Peoples of the Sea', divided into ribbed bands in inverted-V formation: there is general agreement that these were of metal.

Evans (*PM*, iv, p. 688; *SM II*, p. 57) regarded the Knossos CORSLET ideogram as representing 'a form of body-armour consisting of horizontal plates of metal, presumably backed by leather or linen, and suspended from shoulder-pieces of a similar fashion'. He compared them with the horizontally banded corslets worn by some of the soldiers of Rameses II and by his Shardana mercenaries; but from their white colour and apparent rows of stitching Bonnet has argued that these were not of metal but of thickly wadded linen. Gray (p. 6) refers to a fragment of cloth fourteen layers thick from a Mycenaean burial, which is thought to be part of such a padded corslet. There seems to be no reason, however, why metal plates should not have been sewn into



wadding of this kind, and thus not appear as separately identifiable plates on the exterior.

Lorimer is inclined to regard all Homeric references to a metal θώραξ, with the possible exception of the Achaean epithet χαλκοχιτώνες, as late accretions to the traditional picture; but in view of the scale corslets evidenced by finds at Ugarit and Nuzi (and listed on the Nuzi tablets, see below) and faithfully depicted on the monuments of Amenhotep II, Thothmes IV and Rameses III, Gray and Hood find it hard to believe that similar metal body-armour was unknown in the Aegean. Although the word χάλκειος is not found on the Mycenaean CORSLET tablets, the object *qe-ro<sub>2</sub>* (which appears to be part of a corslet, see 299 = V 789) is once qualified by the BRONZE ideogram; and on some 'charioteer' tablets the corslet is erased and replaced by an ingot, as Evans pointed out. Such body armour may have been restricted almost entirely to charioteers, for whom the absence of a shield made it a necessity; which would help to explain its absence from chieftains' graves.

The Pylos corslets are listed or identified by the varying number of *o-pa-wo-ta* which they comprise: of the twenty listed, sixteen have 'twenty large *o-pa-wo-ta* and ten small', the remainder 'twenty-two large ones and twelve small'. It is tempting to identify these with the horizontal bands shown on the ideogram, but it is not clear how they are to be distributed. Do the small ones make up the collar and sleeves? Or the upper part above the level of the armpits? Or a more flexible section below the waist? And are those of the back counted separately from those of the front? One might expect the corslets to undo into two halves by fastenings along the side, but the references to 'pairs' are probably to be taken as the issue of two corslets to one chariot (cf. 297 = Sc222) rather than the division of each into two γύαλοι.

*o-pa-wo-ta* apparently represents *op-aworta* 'things hung or attached around', from ἀφείρω (cf. Hom. συνήορος 'joined with', ἀορτήρ 'strap'; and ἀρτάω 'attach', if from \*ἀφερτάω). Another inconclusive indication of its meaning is the fact that four *o-pa-wo-ta* (abbreviated *o*) are regularly applied to the κόρυς or 'helmet' in these sets; but note that the classification *o* does not include the two *pa-ra-wa-jo*, in which Bennett has recognized the equivalent of the \*παράρjα in Hom. κόρυθος διὰ χαλκοπαρήου 'helmet with cheek-pieces of bronze', *Od.* xxiv, 523 (see Vocabulary, p. 403).

'It is clear (as Hood points out, 1952, p. 258) that there was an extraordinary variety of helmet fashions in the Aegean at this period.' Fig. 26 shows a representative selection. Helmets made entirely of relatively thin bronze, and showing holes for the stitching of a padded under-cap, have been found in a LM II warrior grave near Knossos (A: Hood, 1952, Pl. 50) and at Dendra



(*B*: Persson, 1952, pp. 119–129), and are shown on the Agia Triada 'Boxer Rhyton' (*C*); a single bronze cheek-piece from Ialysos is in the British Museum.

A very characteristic type is the conical boar's tusk helmet (*D*), with or without fanciful horns and plumes above; the number of concentric rows of plates is most often four. Owing to the relative scarcity of the raw material, this helmet was probably confined to kings and chieftains. A simpler form of

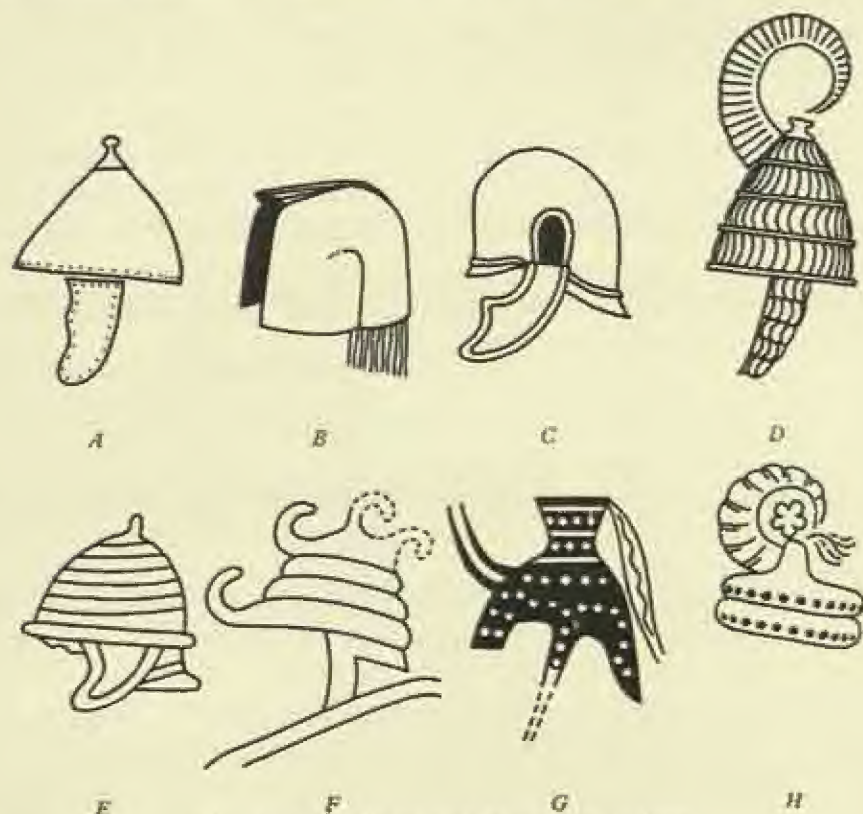


Fig. 26. Late Minoan and Mycenaean helmets

conical headgear is shown on the vase from Tomb 5 at Isopata (*E*): it has six concentric bands (excluding the bottom rim and terminal knob) which Lorimer regards as strips of leather, Hood as thick padding sewn together at intervals. A similar helmet, whose sections have a more pronounced bulge, is shown on the fragments of a faience relief from Shaft-Grave III at Mycenae (*F*): it has four 'rolls', and four 'horns'; a helmet with seven 'rolls' is seen on a LM Ia polychrome goblet from the Tomb of the Double Axes at Knossos (*PM*, III, p. 310, fig. 198), with four 'rolls' on a clay seal-impression (*ibid.* p. 313, fig. 205). More fanciful and unique types are shown on the late



'Warrior Vase' from Mycenae (G), where the spots are regarded as metal disks; and on a gold plaque-bead from Shaft-Grave III (H), whose two thick 'rolls' are surmounted by a composite knob and by a horn.

The head-gear shown full-face in the Pylos ideograms bears no unmistakable resemblance to any of these eight types, and it is not altogether clear whether the cap is to be taken as a simple cone and the lines below the cone as the cheek-pieces and neck of the corslet; or whether these lines indicate a wide bottom 'roll' (surmounted by small horns as on F?), above which a relatively narrow cone sticks up. In either case the disposition of the four *o-pa-wo-ta* is difficult to reconstruct. If they are in fact concentric as on D, E and F, their width would be about 5 cm.; and if the bands of the corslet were of the same width, about fifteen of them would be needed between neck and thigh. The scale corslets of Rameses III have thirteen bands (Lorimer, 1950, p. 198, fig. 17).

Very similar phraseology is seen in the Nuzi tablets which list coats of mail for charioteers and horses (Lacheman, 1939, p. 541), e.g.:

Bel-Ahi received from the palace one coat of mail that fits the body made of 400 large scales, 280 very small scales, the sides and decoration of which are of copper; one *kurpisu* (helmet) of copper made of 190 scales....

400 scales of the side, 200 (small?) scales of the side, 200 scales of the *kurpisu* Ninki-Tešup has received.

But a complete identity of context can only be argued if we assume that our much smaller numbers of *o-pa-wo-ta* are not separate plates but *rows* of scales, perhaps sewn into separate belts before application to the corslet.

The Semitic prince shown on the chariot of Thothmes IV (Lorimer, p. 198, fig. 16) has a helmet covered with approximately two dozen narrow bronze plates sewn radially between the crown and lower rim; an arrangement of four such petal-shaped plates, which avoids the difficulty of beating out a solid cone of bronze, may perhaps be argued for the Pylos helmets. The number of *o-pa-wo-ta* to the Pylos helmets also recalls the Homeric terms τρυφάλεια and κόρυς τετράφαλος (Il. xxii, 315, also ἀμφίφαλος v, 743); κυνέη τετραφάλῃρος (xi, 41); but if these φάλοι and φάληρα are explained as 'horns' or 'bosses', then they evidently have no relevance to the meaning of *o-pa-wo-ta* as applied to corslets.

292=Sh740

pa-ra-jo    CORSLET ZE 5    wi-so-wo-pa-na    o-pa-wo-ta    me-zo-a<sub>2</sub>    O 20  
me-u-jo-a<sub>2</sub>    O 10    ko-ru-to    O 4    PA 2



Five pairs of old corslets: twenty larger-sized *plates* of equal...;  
 ten smaller-sized *plates*;  
 Four *plates* of the helmet, two cheek-pieces.

*wi-so-wo-pa-nq*: probably an adjective compounded with ἴσος (Cretan, Arc. ἴσιος) 'equal'. One might have expected ἰσοβαρέα, ἰσοπαλέα, ἰσοπαχέα, ἰσοπλατιά, ἰσοφανέα, etc.; possibly from πῆνος (= ὕψοςμα Hesych.): 'with an equal number of thicknesses of cloth'?

The use of *o* as an abbreviation is here quite distinct from its usual meaning 'amount owing or missing'.

293 = Sh737

CORSLET 1 *o-pa-wo-ta* | *me-zo-a<sub>2</sub>* O 20 *me-u-jo-a<sub>2</sub>* O 10  
*ko-ru-to* O 4 *pa-ra-wa-jo* 2

One corslet: twenty larger-sized *plates*, ten smaller-sized *plates*,  
 four *plates* of the helmet, two cheek-pieces.

294 = Sh733 (four other tablets are identical)

CORSLET 1 *me-zo-a<sub>2</sub>* O 20 *me-u-jo-a<sub>2</sub>* O 10 *ko-ru-to* O 4 PA 2

295 = Sh734 (three other tablets are identical)

CORSLET 1 *me-zo-a<sub>2</sub>* O 22 *me-u-jo-a<sub>2</sub>* O 12 KO O 4 PA 2

The reverse of this tablet and of Sh739 have erased and illegible entries also apparently dealing with corslets.

296 = Sh736

*to-ra-ke a-me-ja-to o-pa me-za-na wo-ke ne.* CORSLET 5

Five *new* corslets, the *feudal* contribution of *A-me-ja*...

*a-me-ja-to*: genitive of a man's name as on Sa834, not ἀμικαντος 'unstained'. The last two words, of which *wo-ke* appears verbal (ἔργ- 'work' or φεχ- 'convey'?), are incomprehensible; *me-za-na* recurs in 76 = Cn22, *q.v.*

## 8. CHARIOTS AND CORSLETS AT KNOSSOS

The 140 Knossos *Se*-tablets were apparently all found together in a small archive room in the West Wing of the palace (*B* on fig. 13, p. 115), Evans' 'Chariot Tablet Deposit' (*PM*, iv, pp. 786-9, 803-7). Each is introduced by a man's name, and itemizes CORSLETS, WHEELED CHARIOTS (see p. 361) and HORSES, generally in that order.

The extant tablets show eight cases of 'one corslet' and fourteen of 'two



corslets'; in the majority of cases the relevant numbers have been lost. On nine tablets the corslet has been erased and an ingot apparently inserted at the end of the line or on the reverse; on three the ingot has been drawn in over the erasure itself. Evans regarded this as the record of an alternative issue of bronze sufficient to make a pair of corslets (these might then each contain about 13 kg. of metal). The number of chariots is never larger than one, and on two tablets they are absent altogether. There are eleven (?) entries with 'a single horse' (MO), at least twenty-five with 'a pair of horses' (ZE).

162		CORSLET
106		HORSE
165		INGOT

The tablets probably record the issue of equipment to charioteers: note that the man *Me-nu-wa* of Sc238 recurs on V 60 after an introductory word which Bennett read *a-ni-wo-ko*, Sittig *a-ni-o-ko* (Chadwick *a-ni-o-ko*), and which is evidently the Homeric ἡνίοχος.

On four tablets the corslet has a surcharged circle with dots (=QE) instead of the usual horizontal lines, and on Sc266 this version of the ideogram is followed by QE alone with the numerals 'one pair': it is difficult to guess the meaning.

297 = Sc222 (B xxvii)

*me-za-wo* CORSLET 2 HORSE ZE 1

Mezāwōn: two corslets, one pair of horses.

298 = Sc226 (B xxvii)

*ti-ri-jo-pa<sub>2</sub>* WHEELED CHARIOT 1 CORSLET 1 HORSE 1 *e-ko* 1

Triopās: one chariot, one corslet, one horse—(already) having one.

*e-ko*: we had previously taken this as ἔγχος 'one spear', but Furumark suggests ἔχων, which is rather more plausible and may help to explain the other tablets where the chariot is accompanied by only one horse. Note that the usual MO is here omitted, as if phrasing and context made confusion impossible.

The vocabulary of the Pylos CORSLET tablets enables us to fit the following two Knossos fragments into their rightful context:

299 = V 789 (J lii)

*qe-ro<sub>2</sub>* 2 *e-po-mi*-[

] *ra* *e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo* 2 *pa-ra-wa-jo* [

*qe-ro<sub>2</sub>*: we have already met this word on 230 = K 740, where it describes an object whose outline is reminiscent of the CORSLET ideogram and has the adjunct BRONZE.



It possibly represents some kind of foundation or framing to a metal-reinforced corslet. Perhaps from στέλλω (\*sq<sup>u</sup>eljō), cf. Hesych. στέλλα· ζῶσμα, σπολάς 'leather jerkin', σπέληξ· γυναικείον ἱμάτιον (Suidas), στόλος etc. Palmer (1955*b*, p. 38) suggests \*q<sup>u</sup>helioi 'coats of mail'; cf. φάλον· τὸ στερεὸν κύκλωμα τοῦ στέρνου, Hesych., φάλαρα, τετράφαλος, etc.

*e-po-ni-[jo]*: 'shoulder pieces'? Cf. ἐπώμιος (Euripides), ἐπωμῖς.

*e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo*: evidently the adjectival equivalent (dual) of the description *koruthos* 'of the helmet' on the Pylos tablets; to what noun does it refer?

300 = G? 5670

<sup>1</sup> ] qe-ro<sub>2</sub> 2 [

<sup>2</sup> ko]-ru  1 o-pa-wo-ta [

The identity of the HELMET ideogram (cf. fig. 26, *A*, p. 377) only became apparent on further cleaning of this fragment by Ventris in August 1955. Dr Platon has placed it on exhibition with other selected tablets on the ground floor of the Iraklion Museum.







PART III

APPENDICES







## APPENDIX I

# MYCENAEAN VOCABULARY

THIS glossary is not restricted only to words occurring in the 300 texts printed above, but includes all the sign-groups other than apparent proper names which we have been able to extract from the Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae tablets excavated up to 1955.

When forms which are merely inflectional or spelling variants are discounted, the 990 entries are reduced to no more than 630 lexical units or separate 'words'. This is a poor yield from some 3500 tablets (many of which are admittedly fragmentary or contain only proper names), and compares unfavourably with the situation at Ugarit, where only 194 published alphabetic tablets in 1947 gave Gordon a vocabulary of some 2000 words. Of the Mycenaean texts, only the small number of Knossos 'chariot' tablets (265-277) and the Pylos 'land tenure' and 'furniture' series (108-154, 235-247) contain sentences of reasonable length and variety.

Of these 630 words, some 252 (or 40 per cent) have forms which can, allowing for historical evolution, be directly equated with Homeric or classical forms, and have corresponding meanings which fit the context of the tablets with virtual certainty. These words, distinguished here by ‡ (e.g. *ti-ri-po* = *tripos*), are a valuable addition to Greek lexicography, and represent, together with Hittite vocabulary, the earliest detailed evidence of Indo-European speech.

The remaining 60 per cent include compounds without later equivalents; spellings where the context does not allow a conclusive choice to be made between alternative identifications, within the range of the 'spelling rules' (see pp. 42-8); and finally forms which cannot yet be explained etymologically, though their approximate meaning and function may be apparent from the context.

The words are arranged in the normal alphabetical order of the transcription letters, but inflectional forms of nouns, adjectives and verbs have received subsidiary grouping after their nominatives, masculines or indicatives, where these are known. Forms with prefixed *o-* *jo-* *o-u-* will be found in two cross-referenced positions, both with and without. The enclitic conjunction *-qe* has everywhere been omitted from the listed forms where its function is certain.

Tablet references are grouped under KN (Knossos), PY (Pylos) and MY (Mycenae). Normally only one tablet will be quoted within each of Bennett's classifications (indicated by the prefixes *Aa-*, *Ab-*, etc.), for preference one of the tablets printed in Part II of this book. If the spelling also occurs on other tablets of the same prefix, this will be indicated by the addition of the *plus* sign (+). 1939 Pylos tablets are referred to by their numbers as published in *PT I* (1951: for a concordance with the numeration of *PT II* (1955) see pp. 449-52.

Where identifications have been suggested by other scholars (or are disputed between



Chadwick and Ventris) this is credited; but account is not necessarily taken of independent agreement by other scholars on possibilities already recorded by us in our draft glossaries of July 1952 and October 1953, or in our preliminary notes on the 1952-3 Pylos texts.

Homeric parallels to the linguistic forms are added in square brackets; failing these, the earliest classical use of the word. The sign + indicates that the word continues in use by later authors; the century of a less known author may be indicated by '5 B.C.', etc. Notes on the etymology, whether traditional or controversial, are added in some cases where they are necessary to the understanding of the Mycenaean form proposed.

Finally, page references will be given for words whose form and meaning receive their main discussion in the commentary to chs. VI-XI.

*a-de-te*, PY Eo887. Nom. sing.: (?) *-tēr*, an agent noun describing a man's trade. *An-detēr* 'binder'?

*a-de-te-re*, PY 52 = An26. Nom. dual, qualifying 'two men': (?) *-tērē*.

*ā-di-ri-ja-te*, PY 242 = Ta707. Instr. sing. masc.: *andriantei* 'inlaid' with the figure of a man'. [*ἀνδριᾶς* Pindar 5 B.C. +.]

*a-di-ri-ja-pi*, PY 243 = Ta708+. Instr. plur.: \**andriant-phi* > *andriantphi*.

*ai-ka-na-jo*, PY Un1189. Possibly the name of a liquid, also abbreviated *ai*.

*āi-ka-sa-ma*, PY 257 = Jn09. Acc. plur.: *αικανα* 'points (for arrows and spears)'. [*ἄκανα* Il. xvi, 315+, \**aiksmā*, cf. OPruss. *aymis* 'javelin'.]

*ai-ka-te-re*, PY 248 = Va01. Dual in *-tērē*; see p. 348. Related to the next word?

*ai-ke-te-ai*, PY 169 = Es646+. Dat. plur. in *-tērē*: a kind of person or divinity receiving offerings. See p. 279.

*āi-ki-a-ri-jo*, PY 91 = Fn02+. Nom. plur. masc. (or dat. sing.): *aiyalioi*, description of a class of men 'frequenting the seashore'? [*αἰγιαλῖος* Ath. Med. I A.D., *Alyialēs* Herodotus, *αἰγιαλός* Il. iv, 422+. Etymology uncertain: may contain \**hai*- 'sea'.]

*ai-ki-no-o*, KN 275 = Se879+. Part of a chariot? See p. 369.

*ai-ki-no-o*, PY 251 = Vn02. Alternative spelling of the preceding.

*ai-ki-pa-ta*, KN Fh346, PY 32 = Ae05+. Nom. sing.: *aigipa(x)ta* 'goatherd'. [Homer only *αἰπόλος* Od. xx, 173+ (\**aig-ōlois*), *αἰγίβοτος* Iliad Od. iv, 606. For \**pa(x)ta*, cf. *πατταίνω*.]

*ai-mi-re-we*, KN 81 = Dm1180+. Nom. plur. masc.: class of rams, distinguished from *e-ka-ra-e-we* q.v. [Connected with *αιμῖλος* 'wheeling', Hesiod +, *αιμῖλα* \**imilja* 'conflict', Pindar +?] See p. 210.

*ai-ke-te*, PY 44 = An29. Nom. sing. of the next word?

*ai-te-re*, KN 48 = B 101. Nom. plur. masc.: name of a man's trade, (?) *-tērē*, 'inlayers', connected with the succeeding word? Chadwick: *ai-te-re*?

*a-ja-me-na*, KN 266 = Sd0401+, PY 242 = Ta707+. Nom. sing. and plur. masc.: *alai(s)monas-oi*. Nom. dual fem.: *alai(s)monē*. Reduplicated perf. part. pass., probably 'inlaid (with ivory, etc.)'. Cf. *a-na-to* 'not inlaid'. [Etymology obscure; probably not related to *αιαντή*, *αιανέω*, Georgiev, 1954, compares Hittite *aja-* 'make'.] See p. 334.

*a-ja-me-na*, KN 265 = Sd0403+, 272 = Sd0421+, PY 239 = Ta642. Nom. sing. fem.: *aiiai(s)menē*.

*a-ja-me*, KN Sd0415. Defective spelling of the preceding.

*a-ka-ra-na*, PY 241 = Ta715. Nom. sing. fem., adjective describing a table, probably *ἀ-*privative: *ἀκαράνας* 'headless'? [*ἀκαρήνος* Anth. Pl.] See p. 342.

*a-ke*, PY 172 = Kn02. Probably part of *ἀγος* 'lead', see p. 285.

*a-ke-a-ri*, PY Vn04. Nom. plur. neuter: *angos* 'wine-jars'? Or the same word as *a-ke*?

[*ἀγγος* n. Od. xvi, 13+.]

*a-ke-e*, PY Cn14, Ma12, Na03. Palmer: *agri* 'in the precinct (of Themis)'. [*ἀγρεα* *τηλέα* Hesych.] Cf. also *ἀργος* 'plain (near the sea)', Strabo viii, 372.

*ā-ke-re*, PY 63 = Ce660. 3rd sing. pres.: *agrei* 'he collects (sheep)'. [*ἀγρίπιο* Il. iv, 377+.]

*a-ke-ra-te*, PY Vn03. Nom. plur. masc., aor. part.: *agrianas* 'who collected (*e-pō*)'. [*ἀγριμῶθεν* *ἀγριτα*... *ἀγρίπας* Od. xix, 197.] Or possibly *agrianas*.

*a-ke-re-mo*, KN Uf838. Nom. sing., a class or trade: *agremōn*. [*ἀγριμῶν* 'hunter', *Etyim. Mag.*]

*a-ke-re-mo-no*, KN V 865. Probably gen. sing.: *agremōnos*.

*ā-ke-re-se*, PY 43 = Sn01. 3rd sing. aor. (or fut.?): *agreis* 'captured, took'. [Homer only *ἐγρεῖ* 'come on!': *ἀγρίπας* 'take' is Aeolic. From *ἀγρη* Od. xii, 330+ 'chase'.]



- a-ke-re-se*, *ibid.* *hū agrēte* 'thus he took'; less likely for *ou-* 'not', cf. *ouq̄* in the other entries; see p. 176.
- ‡*a-ke-ro*, PY Ea03, Vn03. Nom. sing. and plur.: *angelos-oi* 'messenger'. [*ἀγγελος* *Il.* ii, 26+.]
- a-ke-te-re*, PY Ja832. Nom. plur. masc.: *askētes*, of smiths 'who practice their trade', equivalent to *talasian ekhantes*? [*ἀσκητής* Aristoph., *ἀσκέω* 'work raw materials' *Il.* xxiii, 743+; etymology obscure.]
- a<sub>2</sub>-ke-te-re*, KN V 118. Probably an alternative spelling of the preceding.
- a-ke-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>*, PY Aa16+. Nom. plur. fem., a woman's trade: *askētriai* 'craftswoman' or similar. [*ἀσκητρια* late, only in sense 'female ascetic', but cf. Hom. *ἀσκέω*.] Or *akētriai*? [*ἀκαστρια* 'sempstress', Sophr. 5 a.c., *ἀκαστρίς* 'midwife', Hippocr. 5 a.c.] Or, best, *agētriai* [*Tarent. ἀγέτρια* 'midwife' Hesych.] 'nurse, foster-mother, midwife'—Furumark. See p. 158.
- a-ke-ti-ri-ja*, KN 17=Ai739, PY Aa08. Alternative spelling.
- a-ze-ti-ri-ja*, KN 25=Ap694, 89=E 777 rev., M 683, X 657. Alternative spelling, with *z-* for *k-* (see p. 44)?
- a-ke-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>-o*, PY Ad04+. Gen. plur.: *agētriāda*, etc.
- a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i*, PY Fn01, Un11, MY 93=Fa0101. Dat. plur.: *agētriāi*, etc.
- ‡*a-ki-ti-to*, PY 197=Na69+ [153=Er02.4?]. Acc. sing. neuter?: *aktiton* 'untilled'. [*ἀκτιτος* *h. Hom.*]
- ‡*a-ko-ra*, KN Dx969, PY 62=Cn655+. Nom. sing.: *agorā*, noun corresponding to the verb *a-ke-re*, '(So-and-so's) responsibility for) collection (of sheep)' or 'collecting-place'. [Hom. *ἀγορή* only 'assembly of people', 'place of assembly', later 'market', now *agorā*; from *ἀγείρω*. *ἀγέλη* is derived from *ἀγῶ* and only used of horses or cattle (now *agēlōda*='cow') which makes a form \**agold* 'flock' unlikely.]
- ‡*a-ko-ra-jo*, KN 86=Co907. Nom. plur. masc.?: *agoraios*, 'belonging to the *a-ko-ra*', of mixed livestock. [*ἀγοραῖος* Aesch., only 'of the market or assembly'. But cf. *βοῦν ἀγελαῖον* 'member of a herd', *Il.* xi, 729.]
- a-ko-ra-ja*, KN Co903+. Nom. plur. neuter?: *agoraiā*.
- ‡*a-ko-ro*, KN D1932, PY [Un04], 252=Vn06. *agroi* or *agroī*, 'fields, lands (of Lousos?)'. [*ἀγροί* *Il.* xxiii, 832+.]
- a-ko-ro-we*, PY 77=Cn23. Nom. sing. masc., describing an ox or bull: *alēphēda* 'colourless, pale' or 'of uniform colour' (*ā-*). [*ἀχρῶς* 'pale', Hippocr. 5 a.c., cf. *ἐχρῶς* = *ἐχρῶς* *Od.* xiv, 24; *ἐχρῶς* 'likeness in colour', Hesych.]
- a-ko-ro-we-e*, *ibid.* Nom. dual: *akhrōwee*.
- a-ko-ro-we-i*, KN X 7100. Dat. sing.
- ‡*a-ko-so-ne*, PY 252=Vn06. Nom. plur.: *axones* 'axles'. [*ἄξων* masc., *Il.* xvi, 378+.]
- a-ko-to-no*, PY 44=An29. Probably *aktinōi* 'not possessing a plot'.
- a-ko-wa*, PY 55=An724. See p. 188.
- ‡*a-ku-ro*, PY 290=Sa03. Instr. sing.: *arguadi* '(bound) with silver'. [*ἀργυρος* *Il.* ii, 857+; cf. Lat. *argentum*, Arm. *argath*, etc.]
- a-ma*, KN E 845+, 95=F 852+. Nom. sing.: *amā* 'harvest'? or 'bucket'? or verbal form from *āmāō*? [*āmāō* *Il.* xviii, 551+; *ἀμη* 'bucket' Plut.]
- a-mo-i-je-to*, PY 248=Va01 rev. Two words (cf. *i-je-to*)? *harmoi hieithon* 'the two are just being sent'. [*ἀρμοί* Aesch. +.]
- a-mo-ra-ma*, KN 34=Am601+. Nom. sing.: *harmolāma* 'food levy'? [Cf. *ἀρμολιά* 'ration' Hesiod +, *ἀρμολιά* P. Teb. 2 a.c.; *ἡρμολώσατο συνέλαβεν* 'collected together, laid hold of', Hesych.; cf. Arc. *ἀρμολα*, *ἀρμολα*: *ἀρτύματα* *ibid.*; cf. also Hesych. *ἀρμολήμα* 'loss of benefit'.] See p. 170.
- a-mo-ta*, KN 279=So0437+, PY 288=Sa790. Nom. plur. neuter: noun (?) applied to sets of wheels. See pp. 371–2.
- a-mo-te*, KN 283=So0442. Possibly dual *harmote*; or not. pass. *harmotē* 'was fitted'? Ventris reads *a-mo* 'one wheel' on So7485.
- a-mo-te-jo-na-de*, PY 252=Vn06. Allat. acc.: *harmotēinade* (*ἀρματα*) 'to the chariot department', or *harmotēinade* (*ἀρμόζω*) 'to the joinery shop'. [Cf. *χαλκεῖον* 'smithy', *Od.* viii, 273, etc.] See p. 350.
- a-mo-te-re*, KN X 770, X 6026. Dat. sing. (or nom. plur.): *harmotērei* 'fitter'? [*ἀρμοστήρ* 'governor' Xenophon +.]
- a-mo-te-wo*, PY Ea25+. Gen. sing.: *harmotēteos*, title of an official. [Cf. *ἀρμοστής* 'har-most' Thuc. +.]
- a-mo-te-wi-ja*, 235=Ta711. Nom. sing. fem., adj. describing ewes: *harmotēwā* 'of the har-most's service'? See p. 335.
- ‡*a-na-ke-e*, PY 44=An29. Pres. inf.: *anagere* 'to bring, contribute'. [Hom. *ἀνάγω*.]
- ‡*a-na-mo-to*, KN 273=Sf0420+, Nom. fem.: *anharmotatos-ai* 'not fitted up', of the 'incomplete chariot' ideogram. [*ἀνάρμοστος* 'not fitting' Xenophon +; derived meanings Herodotus, Thuc.]
- a-na-mo-ta*, KN E(?)0465. Nom. plur. neuter: *anharmotata*; the ideogram is not WHEAT.
- a-na-to*, KN Sg888+. Nom. fem.: *anai(i)los-tai* 'not inlaid', alternating with *a-ja-ma-na* q.v.
- a-na-i-ta*, KN Sf0419+. Nom. plur. fem.: *anai(i)tai*, form incorrect in a compound.
- a-na-ta*, KN 273=Sf0420. Shorter spelling of the preceding.
- ‡*a-ne-mo*, KN 200=Fp1+. Gen. plur.: *anemōs hērēis* '(priestess) of the winds'. [*ἀνεμοί* *Il.* xiii, 795+.]



- a-ne-ta-de*, PY 175=Ma10. Pass. part., nom. plur. neuter: *aneta de*, 'but let off, remitted', of tribute. [*ánetai* 'let go', Homer +; *ánetos* 'set free', *ánetos* 'remission of taxes'.]
- \**a-ni-ja*, KN 270=Sd0402+. Nom. plur. fem.: (*h*)*ániai* 'reins, harness'. [Homer only *hyla metri gratia*; *ániai* Pindar, Att. *hýlai*; \**hnia*, Skt. *nāyā* 'nose-rein'.]
- a-ni-ja-pi*, KN 266=Sd0401+. Instr. plur.: *ataruiai* (*h*)*ániāphi* 'fitted' with harness'.]
- a-ni-p-ko*, KN V 60. Nom. sing. or plur.: (*h*)*áni-akhos* 'chariot-driver'. Cf. the name *Me-nu-ia* recurring on Sc238. [*hýlochos* Il. viii, 89+.]
- a-no-no*, PY Ea801 131=Ep01, Eb818. Nom. plur. fem.: *anōnoi* '(lands) not subject to *a-na-to*' (lease?). Similarly Carratelli, 1954, p. 107.
- a-no-pa-ti-ja*, PY Ea805. Gen. sing. after *a-ne-ka*: apparently an action noun corresponding to classical *-basia* or the like.
- \**a-no-wo-to*, KN 232=K 875. Nom. sing. neuter. Sittig: *dipos anoudon* 'goblet' without handles', lit. 'without ears'. [*ánoudatos* Theocr. 3 n.c., *ánōtos* Philetas 4 n.c.; \**ausgias*, with 'Achaean' *-s* for *-g*.]
- a-no-we*, PY 236=Ta641. Nom. sing. neuter. Blegen: *dipos anōikos*, variant form of the preceding. [*-ōikos* as in Theocr. *anōikos* 'two-handled'; \**-dusis*.]
- a-nu-wi-ko*, KN 38=Aa1516 (Ventris' reading). Perhaps *an wiko* (or *wikō*) 'each time, at a time'. [Acc. or gen. of substantive found in *τηνικά* (Schwyzer, *Gram.* i, 629); cf. Lat. *innicem*.]
- a-pe-e-ke*, PY 55=An724 (An32). An impersonal verb? See p. 187.
- \**a-pe-e-[si]*, PY An33. 3rd plur. pres.: *ap-senai* 'they are absent, away'. [*ápeia* Homer +; for the form, see *e-e-si*.]
- a-pe-i-si*, KN Od666. Alternative spelling of the preceding?
- a-pe-o*, KN [V 117?], PY 51=An20. Nom. sing. masc.: *apēn* 'absent'.
- a-pe-o-te*, KN 37=B 823, PY 55=An724 (An32). Nom. plur. masc.: *apeontes*.
- a-pe-a-sa*, KN Ap633 (joined). Nom. plur. fem.: *ap-eassai* 'absent'. [*-eassa* from \**-esija*, as Arc. *ἔασα*, Cret. *ἔασα*; Skt. *salī* from \**esija*.]
- a-pe-ti-ra*, KN 207=V 280. See p. 311.
- \**a-pi*, KN 90=G 820, PY 247=Ta716. Prep. with dat.: *amphi* 'on both sides of'. [*ápe* Il. xxiv, 163+.]
- a-pi-e-ke*, PY 97=Un03. 3rd sing. pres.: *amphi-akiri* 'encloses' ('keeps in safety?'), Carratelli: 'collects'. [*ápitēxō* Od. vi, 225+.] See p. 221.
- \**a-pi-po-re-we*, KN 233=Uc160 rev. Nom. plur., describing AMPHORA ideogram: *amphi-plurēnos* 'amphoras'. [*ámpiporeus* Od. ii, 290+.]
- a-po-re-we*, PY [238=Tn996?], MY 234=Ue611 rev. Nom. dual: *amphureos*. [*ámpiporeus* Herodotus +, shorter form unsuited to epic metre.]
- \**a-pi-qa-ro*, PY Aa804 11=Ad690. Nom. and gen. plur. fem.: *amphi-qlān karwōi*, '(sons) of the waiting-women'. [*ámpitōlos* Od. i, 331+; \**amphi-qlōlos*, cf. Skt. *abhi-carah*, Lat. *unculus*.]
- a-pi-qa-to*, PY 240=Ta713+. Nom. sing. and dual fem., adj. describing tables: *amphi-qlōlos -to* 'encircled'; Chadwick: 'with a broad edging'; Mühlestein: 'which can be walked round, free-standing'. [*ámpitōlōn* Od. xii, 74+; *-qlōlos* from \**qlōlos*, class. *-βαντος*.] See p. 341.
- a-pi-te*[-], KN U 876. Nom., probably the name of some artefact, possibly *amphithema*, *amphithetēr*. [Cf. *πεπλήμα*, *-θημα*, and *ἐπιθήρα* 'lid', Il. xxiv, 228+. Cf. *a-pi-te-te-re*.]
- \**a-po-te-ro-te*, PY 248=Va01. Adverb: *amphoterithen* 'from both of them'. [*ámpotērōthen* 'from both sides/ends', Il. v, 726+.]
- \**a-pu*, KN 90=G 820. Prep.: *apu* 'from'. [*ápō*, Aeol., Arc., Cypr. *ápū*, now *apo*, *ap*.]
- \**a-pu-do-ke*, KN X 681, PY [Un01?]. 3rd sing. aor.: *apudake* 'rendered, paid'. [*ápodōdōmi* Il. iv, 478+, Thes. *ápodōdōmenai*.]
- a-pe-do-ke*, PY Gn1184 (see p. 217). Rare example of aorist with augment: *apedōke*.
- \**a-pu-do-si*, KN 92=Fb349+, G 461+, Ga318+, 100=Og424+, L 728+, PY 173=Ma06+, Wr01. Nom. sing.: *apudasis* 'payment', 'actual delivery'. [*ápodōsis* Thuc. +.]
- a-pu-do-so*[-mo?], KN Fh0494. See *do-so-mo*.
- \**a-pu-ke-ka-u-me-no*, PY 236=Ta641. Nom. sing. masc.: *apakekamenos* 'charred away', of the legs of a tripod cauldron. [*ápokekōō* Xenophon +; of intense cold, Il. xxi, 336+.]
- a-pu-ko-wo-ko*, PY Ab03+. Nom. and gen. plur. fem., a class of women: *amphukouorgoi* 'head-band-makers'? [*ápuvō* Il. xxi, 469+.]
- a-ra-ka-te-ja*, KN Lc542, PY Aa03+. Nom. plur. fem., a class of women: *alakatriai* 'spinning women'. [*h*laxátrē 'distaff', Od. iv, 135+, Aeol. *álaxátrē* Theocr.; cf. *Ἡλακάτεια*, festival at Sparta. Perhaps from \**a-lakata*, cf. Lith. *lankti* 'reel'.]
- a-ra-ka-te-ja-o*, PY Ad677. Gen. plur. fem.: *alakatriān*.
- a-ra-te-ja-o*, PY Ad09. Probably a defective spelling of the preceding.
- \**a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na*, KN 270=Sd0402+. Nom. sing. and plur. fem., perf. part. pass. applied to 'complete' *CHAKIOTS*: *hararomēnēnē -ai* 'fitted together' (i.e. the joinery work of the superstructure), the opposite of *a-na-mo-to*. [*áromōzō* Od. v, 247+, Att. *áromōtēs*, part. *h*romōsēnē. Formation of two verbs in *-ōzō* is obscure: *áromōzō* cf. *áromōtēs*, but *áromōzō*



- cf. *δέσμων*-. 'Attic' reduplication as in *ἀλπέω ἀπαίρηκα*, etc.]
- a-ra-ro-mo-to-me-na*, KN Sd0416. Incorrect spelling of the preceding.
- a-ro-mo-te-me-na*, KN 271=Sd0422. Incomplete, or unreduplicated, spelling of the preceding.
- a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-no*, KN 266=Sd0401. Probably fem. dual, see p. 342.
- ‡*a-ra-ru-ja*, KN 266=Sd0401+. Nom. sing. and plur. fem.: *ararua -ai* (*h)āniāphi* 'fitted (with reins)'. [*ἀραρυία* *Il.* xv, 737+. Perfect active part. with 'passive' sense, see p. 89, and cf. Schwyzler, *Gram.* i, 768.]
- a-ra-ru-wo-a*, KN 262=Ra1548+. Nom. plur. neuter: *ararawa* 'swords' fitted (with *da-woi*)'. [*\*-wasa*, cf. *Skt.* -*vas*-.; class. -*ōta*.]
- a-ra-ru-wo-ja*, KN Sd0408. Incorrect fem., contaminated by the neuter plur.; but cf. Ionic *ἐωβάτα*, etc.]
- ‡*a-re-pa-te*, PY 103=Un08. Dat. sing.: *aleiphatri* 'anointing-oil'. [*ἀλειφαρ* *Il.* xxiii, 170+.]
- a-re-pa-zo-o*, PY 103=Un08+. Nom. and dat. sing.: *aleipha-zois -ōi* 'unguent-boiler' = class. *μυρ-εφός*. [*ζέω* intrans. *Il.* xviii, 349+, trans. Aristoph. +.]
- a-re-po-zo-o*, PY Ea812+, Fg02. Alternative spelling of the preceding. [Connecting vowel as in *ἀλειφός-βιος* Aristoph. +.]
- a-re-ro*, PY 171=Un718. The name of a commodity with monogram A+RE+PA. See p. 284.
- a-re-sa-ni-e*, PY 55=An724 (An32). Pres. infinitive? See p. 187.
- a-re-ta-to*, KN 270=Sd0402. Part of a chariot, see p. 367.
- a-re-te-re*, KN As5557. Nom. plur.: *aleitēri* 'corn-grinders'? [*ἀλείτης* Gortyn 5 B.C.]
- a<sub>2</sub>-ri-e*, PY 55=An724 (An32). Pres. infinitive? See p. 187.
- a<sub>2</sub>-ri-sa*, PY 154=Eq01. Aor. participle: *arisaui* 'counting'? [*ἐρί-θμός*, Hom. *νήπιρος* 'innumerable'.] See p. 269.
- a-ro*[-], MY 105=Ge602. Acc. plur. Palmer: *arō[mata]* 'aromatic herbs and spices'. [*ἀρωμα* Hippocr. 5 B.C. +.]
- ‡*a-ro-pa*, PY 1225+(1955). Bennett: *aleiphi* 'unguent'. [*ἀλοιφή* *Od.* vi, 220+.]
- a-ro-po*, PY An01, *aleiphoi* 'anointers'?
- a<sub>1</sub>-ro-u-do-ji*, PY 239=Ta642. Instr. plur., a material used to inlay furniture. See p. 340.
- ‡*a-ro-u-sa*, PY 154=Eq01. Acc. plur.: *arourans* 'corn-lands'. [*ἀρουραι πυροφόροι* *Il.* xiv, 122+; -*ou* = diphthong, Cypri. *a-ro-u-sa-i*; cf. Lat. *arvom*.]
- a-ro-wo*, PY 251=Vn02. Chadwick: gen. sing. *halōwos* 'of the threshing-floor'; but possibly a place-name. [*ἄλιος* Hippocr. 5 B.C. +. Att. gen. usually -*ω*; Homeric form *ἀλιω*.]
- a-ro<sub>2</sub>-a*, KN 214=Ld571+, L 5920, 282=
- So0430. Nom. plur. neuter, adj. applied to textiles and wheels: *arisa* 'better'? [Shorter form of *ἀριων*? Unlike *ἀριστος*, *ἀριων* not of things in Homer.]
- a-ro<sub>2</sub>-e*, KN L 735. Nom. plur. 'fem.' of the preceding: *arises*?
- a-ro<sub>2</sub>-jo*, KN 279=So0437. Apparently dual: form difficult to explain.
- (*jo*)-*a-se-so-si*, PY 75=Cn02. 3rd plur. fut.: 'thus they shall do something (to fat swine)'. Palmer suggests a derivative of *ἀω* *ἄσαι* 'give someone his fill', *Il.* v, 289+. See p. 205.
- a-si-to-po-go*, PY [Eb28], 148=Epl04.6. Nom. sing., a trade or office. Suggestion *silo-pog<sub>2</sub>os* 'cook' (*Evidence*) is invalidated by initial sign apparently present on tablet. A confusion with *a-to-po-go*?
- a-ta-ra*, MY 234=Ue611 rev., sealing Wc501. Nom. plur. neuter or fem., a kind of vessel (no ideogram): *antla*? [Cf. *ἀντλος* 'ship's hold', *Od.* xii, 411, etc., *ἀντλον* Poll. 2 A.D.; *ἀντλητήρ*; *ἀντλιν* 'bucket', Aristoph. +; *ἀντλία* *καδίσκος* Hesych.]
- ‡*a-ta-ra-si-jo*, PY 253=Jn01+. Nom. plur. masc. Björck and Chadwick: *atalanoi* 'smiths' who have not received an issue (of bronze)'. See *ta-ra-si-ja*.
- a-te-re-e-te-jo*, PY 238=Tn996. Nom. plur. (?) masc., adj. describing *WATH*: *antlētēri* 'which can be emptied'? [*ἀντλέω* 'bale out, drain dry', *Ale.* 7 B.C. +; *ἀντλητήριος*, etc.] See p. 338.
- a-te-re-te-a*, KN 278=So894. Unless a man's name, probably nom. plur. neuter, apparently *a-* privative with a stem in -*ta*. See p. 371.
- ‡*a<sub>2</sub>-te-ro*, PY 178=Ma13. Acc. sing. neuter: *hateron iektor* 'the following (year)', cf. Att. *θατέρα* 'on the morrow'. [*ἕτερος* 'one or other; another' Homer +; *ἕτερος* (but *ἄτερος* in crasia) is confined to Att.-Ionic; Common Gk. *ἄτερος* from *\*am-teros*.]
- a-te-we*, PY 238=Tn996. Nom. plur.: name of a kind of ewer or jug.
- a-ti-ja*[-], MY X 1 (1950). 3rd sing. pres.: [*?A*] *thūnā antīā* 'Athena accepts, receives'? [Cf. *ἤλθε δ'* 'Ἀθήνη ἱρὸν ἀντίωσα *Od.* iii, 436.]
- a-to-mo*, KN V 56, PY 258=Kn01, 43=Sn01. In groups *e-go(a)-o a-to-mo*, *i-go-a-to-mo*, apparently names of groups of men. [Cf. *ἀρθμός* 'fellowship' *h.Hom.* +? Not *ἀρταμος* 'butcher', Soph. +?]
- ‡*a-to-po-go*, PY 49=An07+, 91=Fn02, MY 46=Au102, Oe117. Nom. plur. *artopogoi* 'bakers'. [*ἀρτοκόπος* Herodotus +, *-πόπος* Poll. +; *\*-pogoi*, Schwyzler, *Gram.* i, 298.]
- ‡*a-to-ro-go*, PY 246=Ta722. Probably instr. sing.: *anthrōgōi* 'with a man, human being'. [*ἀνθρώπος* Homer +; possibly derived from *\*andr-hōgos* (Brugmann), cf. Hesych. *δρώψ*.]



*a-u-ge*, KN 270=Sc0402. Probably an error for *ouge* 'and not' rather than *oure* 'furthermore, on the contrary', Homer+.

*u-35-ka*, KNLc786+. A description of textiles.

*da-i-ja-ke-re-u*, PY 44=An29. *dai-agreus* 'divider of lands'? Or an ethnic?

†*da-ko-ro*, PY 49=An07+. Nom. dual and plur.: *dakora-oi*. [*δακρός* 'temple attendant', probably orig. 'floor-sweeper'; \**du-ko-ros*, Schwyzler, *Gram.* 1, 330.]

*da-ko-ro-i*, PY Un11. Dat. plur.: *dakoro-i*.

*da-mo-te*, PY 114=En02. Feminine term used in counting an area of land, possibly *δαμότηρ* (accepted by Webster, Furumark, 1954). See p. 242. Carratelli: *δαμάρες* 'families, households'?

†*da-mi-fo*, PY Ea803. Acc. sing.: *dāmion*, a kind of agricultural holding, perhaps equivalent to an *onaton paro dāmōi*. [*δαμιός* 'public', *Od.* xx, 264+.] Cf. *δαμιος* *palmer*, 1954b, p. 44.

†*da-mo*, KN C 59+, E 845, PY Ea03+, 133=Eb08+, 131=Ep01+, 147=Eq03. 171=Un718. Usually dat. sing.: *paro dāmōi* 'from the village', i.e. from the administration of the common land. [*δαμιός* 'agricultural component in a territory' Homer+, later 'free people; commune'. Probably orig. 'land divided at first settlement', cf. *δαμοός*, and *δαμόσαρ* *ἀρούρας* *Od.* vi, 10.]

*da-mo-de-mi*, PY 135=Ep704. Ventris: *dāmos de min phōi* 'but the village says that she...'. See p. 254. Similarly Georgiev.

*da-mo-ko-ro*, KN [I. 642?], X 7922, PY On01, 235=Ta711. Acc. sing., nom. plur.: *dāmōkoron-oi*? Title of a village functionary, perhaps equivalent to *ka-re-te*, q.v. Cf. *da-ko-ro*?

†*de-do-me-no*, PY 290=Sa03+. Nom. dual neuter: *dedomenā*, of wheels 'bound (with silver or bronze)'; cf. *ka-ko-de-ta*. [*δέδωμαι* perf. pass. *Od.* xxiv, 248+.]

*de-di-ku-ja*, KN 18=Ak611; abbreviated *de* on Ak620? Incorrect spelling of *dedidakhuiat*, perf. part. of *δέδακχα* (Homer+, perf. Xen.+). 'having completed their training'? See p. 163.

†*de-ka-sa-to*, KN 213=L 641. 3rd sing. aor. mid.: *dekatō* 'received'. [*δέκατο* *Il.* xviii, 238, etc., also *δέκτο* (from *δέκτο* Schwyzler, *Gram.* 1, 260) *Il.* xv, 88, etc.] Cf. *de-ko-to*, L 642, in same sense.

*o-de-ka-sa-to*, PY Pn01. *hō dekatō* 'thus he received'.

*de-ma-si*, KN Fh353. Describing oil ideogram. Loc. plur.: *dermasi* 'in leather bottles, skim'? [*δέμασιον* *ἐν μινωταί* *Od.* ii, 291+.]

†*de-me-o-te*, PY 41=An14. Nom. plur. masc., fut. part.: *dēmontes* 'who are to do building work'. [*δέμας* *Il.* vii, 436+; future not recorded, but cf. *μαῖα*, *καμύματα*, *τελέμα*, etc.]

†*de-mi-ai-ja*, PY Vn851. Nom. plur. neuter: *dēmnia* 'bedsteads'. [*δέμνια* pl. *Il.* xxiv, 644+.]

†*de-so-mo*, KN 262=Ra1548+. Instr. plur. masc.: *dēmōi* 'swords fitted' with belts? hilts? [*δέσους* Homer+.] Equivalent to Hom. *δοπτήρ*, *τελαμών* 'sword belt'? See p. 361.

†*di-da-ka-re*, KN 22=Ak781+. Description of children. Archaic loc. sing. (cf. *δία*): *didaskalei* 'at the school-teacher's'? [*διδάσκαλος* (fern.) *h. Hom.*+, later masc. Now *daskala*.]

†*di-do-si*, KN [260=Og0467], PY 178=Ma13. 3rd plur. pres.: *didosi* (or *didōsi* from *-giti*, cf. Schwyzler, *Gram.* 1, 686?) 'they give, contribute, deliver'. [*δίδωμι* Homer+; the Hom. form *δίδωσι* is an Ionic innovation.]

*o-di-do-si*, PY 252=Vn06. *hō didōsi* 'thus they deliver'.

*o-u-di-do-si*, PY 175=Ma10+, 195=Na67+. *ou-didosi* 'they do not contribute'.

*o-u-di-do-to*, PY 199=Ng01+. 3rd plur. pres. pass.: *ou-didontoi* (or *didōntoi*?) 'they are not delivered, contributed'. For *-toi*, see p. 87.

*do-se*, PY 171=Un718. 3rd sing. fut.: *dōsei* 'he will give'. [Homer uses both *δέδω* (*Skt.* *dāya-*) and *διδώστω*; now *tha-dāto*.]

*jo-do-so-si*, PY 257=Ja09. 3rd plur. fut.: *hō dōsōsi* 'thus they will contribute, deliver'.

*o-do-ke*, PY 103=Un08. 3rd sing. aor.: *hō dōke* 'thus he gave'. [(*δέκω* Homer+, an innovation compared with inherited \**dekō* (Schwyzler, *Gram.* 1, 741)?]

*do-ke*, KN Ws1707, X 7711. Simple form of the preceding.

*de-do-me-na*, KN Sc0440+. Nom. plur. neuter: *dedomena* 'delivered'.

†*di-pa*, KN 232=K 873+, PY 236=Ta641. Blegen, Sittig: *dipau*, nom. sing. neuter, 'goblet?'; illustrated by ideogram, see p. 326. [*δίπας* n. *Il.* xi, 632+; Homeric *δίπα* 'is for *δίπα* (α), and no analogy to apparent plur. *dī-pa* on K 740. No etymology.]

*di-pa-e*, PY 236=Ta641. Num. dual: *dipoe* 'two goblets'.

*di-pte-ra-po-ro*, PY 91=Fn02, (Ea814), Un11. Nom. sing. and plur.: a class of persons: *diphtheraphoroi* 'wearers of leather jerkins'? Or *-pōloi* 'sellers'? Or by metathesis for (Hesych.) Cypre, *διπτερὰλοιφος* 'schoolmaster' (cf. Herodotus v, 58)? [*διπτέρα* for \**διπτήρα*, cf. *δίπρω*] Carratelli (1954, p. 111): 'scribes'?

†*di-wi-ja*, PY 28=An42. Epithet applied to female slaves. [Hom. *διος* 'heavenly'; also 'excellent', *διος* *εὐροβόλος* *Od.* xvi, 20, etc.] Chadwick: *Diwja* of the goddess *Diwja*, cf. 172=Kn02.

†*do-e-ro*, KN B 822, C 911+, X 5877+, PY 33=Ac07, 28=An42, Eb24+, 114=En02+, 168=Es644+, 118=Ec01+, 148=Ep04+,



- 253=Jn01+. Nom. sing. and plur. masc.: *doelos* -oi 'bondman, slave, servant', particularly in the expression *theios doelos*, see p. 236. [δωλος Aesch. +. Doric δωλος shows that the class. forms are probably the result of contraction, not from \**wo-*. Pisani, Bailey: cf. Khotanese *dahā* 'man', Skt. *dāsa*.]
- do-e-ro-jo*, KN C 912. Gen. sing.: *doelōio*.
- do-e-ro-i*, PY 91=Fo02+. Dat. plur.: *doeloi* 'i'.
- \**do-e-ra*, KN 20=Ak824, Ap628, Gg713, X1036+, PY 27=Ae08, 28=An42, 137=Eb30+, Ec07, 114=En02+, 118=Eo01+, 148=Ep04+. Nom. sing. and plur. fem.: *doelā* -ai 'maid-servant, bondwoman, slave'. [δούλη II. iii, 409+.]
- [*do*]-*e-ra-o*, KN Ak7024. Gen. plur.
- do-ge-ja*, PY 28=An42. Nom. sing. and plur. fem.: ? *doq-riū* -ai, a class of girl slave. [Cf. δόρπον 'evening meal', Homer + (Schulze \**doq-*, cf. Alb. *darka*)?] Chadwick: 'reaper', from δόρπω; see p. 167.
- \**do-ra*, PY 172=Kn02. Nom. or acc. plur.: *dōra* 'gifts' (gold vessels offered to divinities). [δῶρον II. vi, 293+; now *dōro*.]
- \**do-so-mo*, PY 168=Es644+, 171=Un718. Nom. and acc. sing.: *dosmos* -on 'a kind of gift, contribution'. [Cf. Arc. ἀνυδοσμός 'sale', Orchom. IG, v (2), 343, 28 (4 B.C.). Probably equivalent to δόσις II. x, 213+.]
- do-si-mi-ja*, PY 182=Ma18, MY [Ge606?]. Nom. plur. neuter: *dosmia* 'which are to be given as a *dosmos*'. [Cf. Arc. ἀνυδοσμός Tegea, IG, v (2), 3 (4 B.C.), 'saleable'.]
- do-si-mi-jo*, PY Wa730. Neuter sing. of the preceding?
- do-wa*, KN V 5113. [Cf. EM: δωρά· δοκός (Cretan)?]
- \**do-we-jo*, KN 269=Sd0404+. Nom. sing.? masc.? : description of part of a *CHARIOT*: *doxerios* 'made of wood, wooden planks'. [=δούρειος Eurip. +, δουράτιος Od. viii, 493+; \**doxw-*, cf. Lith. *derė* 'pine-wood'.]
- du-ma*, KN Np1039, X 1030, PY An16. Nom. sing.: apparently the name of a class of men. On01.6 is to be emended to [*du-ma-ū*, apparently the dative singular.
- du-ma-te*, PY 257=Jn09. Nom. plur. of the preceding. [Cf. δούρα II. iii, 122+ 'wife'? \**du-ori* (perhaps orig. neuter) 'who manages the house', Schwyzler, *Gram.* i, 519.]
- po-ro-du-ma-te*, PY 91=Fo02. Dat. sing. or nom. plur.: ? *pro-d'martes*, a class of men, with *pro-* as in *po-ro-ko-ro-te* q.v.
- po-ru-da-ma-te*, PY 50=An18. Variant spelling of the preceding, or *pois* 'much, many'?
- me-ri-da-ma-te*, PY 50=An18+. Nom. plur.: a further subdivision of this class: *melli-* 'to-be' as in *μῆλιστα*, *μῆλεσσις*, etc.?
- me-ri-du-ma-te*, KN [X 1043], PY 49=An07+. Nom. plur.: alternative spelling: *melli-d'martes*?
- me-ri-du-te*, PY 91=Fo02. Defective spelling of the preceding.
- \**du-ru-to-mo*, PY 252=Vn06. Nom. plur.: *drutamai* 'wood-cutters'. [δρυτόμος II. xi, 86+.]
- \**du-wo-u-pi*, PY 148=Ep04+. Instr. of numeral 'two'. [The *-u-* is problematic, unless directly inherited from IE \**dwu-*. Or for *duwis(n)phi*, with the vocalism shown by Arc. διδωριον (Schwyzler, *Gram.* i, 557)? Cf. Skt. loc. *didyāi* < \**dwuyous*, Lith. *dujau*; classical *duōin*, *duōin* is perhaps from \**duōin*.]
- du-wo-u-pi-de*, PY Eb37. The preceding, with *-de* 'but'.
- \**e-e-si*, KN 24=Ai63, 271=Sd0422, PY Na1179. 3rd plur. pres.: *essai* 'they are', cf. *e-ne-e-si*, *a-pe-e-si*. [Att., Lesb. *eloi*, Dor. *luri* for \**essai*. Homeric *lōsi* either for \**essai*, or derived from the Myc. form under analogy of *lōtōsi*, *qāsi* (cf. Schwyzler, *Gram.* i, 665); *essai* < \**essai* shows generalization of \**es-*; cf. Hitt. *assai*, O Norse *eru*, O Eng. *earon*/*sindon*.]
- e-to*, PY 248=Va01. 3rd dual pres.: *eston* 'there are two'. [ἐστών Thuc. iii, 112.]
- e-to*, PY 28=An42. 3rd plur. imper.?: *estō(n)* or *entō(n)* 'let them be'. [Same relation to *essai* as Hom. *ἐστων*, Arg. *ἐντω*, Cret. *ἐντων*, Boeot. *ἐντω* to *eloi*, *luri*. Arc. (and Dor.) *ἐντω(v)* may continue Myc. form under influence of pres. part. (cf. Att. *ἐντων*).] Or imperi. *ento*? See p. 168.
- e-so-to*, KN 34=Am601+. For *estō* 'let there be'? Or 3rd plur. fut. *essantoi* 'they will be'? See p. 170.
- e-o*, PY 45=An830, 148=Ep04. Nom. sing. masc. or neuter: *eōn*, *eon* 'being'. [Hom., Ion., Acol., Arc., Dor. *ēōn*, Cyp. *lōn*, Att. *ōn*, Cf. *a-pe-o*, *a-pe-a-si*.]
- \**e-ka-ma-te*, PY 239=Ta642. Instr. sing., part of a table: *ekhamatei* 'support, strutting'? [ἔχμα II. xiv, 410+; cf. also ἔχμα· ὀχύρωμα, στήλος Hesych.] See p. 341.
- e-ka-ma-pi*, PY 240=Ta713+. Instr. plur.: *ekhmatephi*.
- e-ka-ra-e-we*, KN 81=Dm1180+. Nom. plur., term describing rams, as opposed to *ni-mi-ra-we*, see p. 210. Carratelli: dat. sing. *ekhamateci* 'to the hearth (sacrificer)'?
- e-ka-te-re-ta*, KN 276=Se1006. Adj. (or noun?) describing an artefact? See p. 369.
- \**e-ke*, KN D147, 157=Uf835+, Ap5077, X 5661, PY 109=Ea782+, 138=Eb10+, 114=En02+, 118=Eo01+, 131=Ep01+, 147=Eq03+, 153=Er02, 194=Na58+, 248=Va01: 3rd sing. pres.: *ekhei* 'he/she has, holds'. [ἔχῃ, etc. Homer +, now *ekhi*, etc.] For appended *-es* see p. 246; Palmer reads *e-ke-je* = fut. *ēxēi*.
- jo-e-ke-to-qo*, KN 164=Gv863. Word division uncertain: *hō ekhei toqōs* 'thus the place



- has...? [τόπος 'place, region' Aesch. +. Osthoff \*top-, Walde, Bezzengerberger \*top-].
- e-ke-de-mi*, PY 196=Na70, *ekhei de min* 'but he has it'? Cf. *de-mo-de-ni*.
- e-ko-si*, KN 90=G 820, PY 55=An724, 151=Eb36+, 114=En02+, 255=Jn058+, 186=Na46, 3rd plur. pres.: *ekhōsi* 'they have'.
- e-ke-si*, PY 115=En03.21. Mis-spelling of the preceding.
- e-ke-e*, PY 140=Eb35, 135=Ep704. Pres. inf.: *ekheē* 'to have'.
- e-ko*, KN 298=Sc226. Furumark: nom. sing. pres. part., *ekheō* 'already' having (one)'. Might also be *ekhos* 'spear', see *e-ke-si*, below.
- e-ko-te*, PY 149=Eb33, 253=Jn01+, 43=Sn01. Nom. plur.: *ekhontes* 'having, who have'.
- ‡[*e*]-*ke-a*, KN 263=R 0481 *bū*. Nom. plur.: *ekhesa* 'spears'. [ἔχως *Il.* vi, 319+; etymology uncertain.] Probably a man's name on V 831.
- e-ke-si*, PY 257=Jn09. Dat. plur.: *ekhesi* 'points' for spears'.
- e-ke-jo-to*, PY 44=An29. Perhaps 3rd plur. pres. mid.: *enkeiōtai* (or *enkeinōtai*) 'they lie in, are in'. cf. *e-ne-e-si*. [ἔγκειται *Il.* xxii, 513+. *enkeiō* < \**enkeiō* as Hom. 3rd plur. *enkeiōtai* (beside *enkeiōtai*, cf. *Skt.* *adyantā*), non-Att. *enkeiōtai*].
- e-ke-ro-qo-no*, PY Aa777, Ab21+, 13=Ad691, An01. Nom. and gen. plur., describing women (and men). Palmer: *enkhēra-qoinoi* 'earning wages' (casual labourers). See p. 161.
- e-ku-se-we*, MY sealing Wt501. Nom. plur.: name of vessels or utensils: 'funnels'? [ἔχυνω?] Uncertain reading.
- e-me*, PY 236=Ta641. Dat. sing. masc.: *hemei* 'one'. [Att. *ēg*, gen. *ēdēs*, from \**hema* > *hemi*, \**hemos*, Schwyzler, *Gram.* i, 588.]
- e-me-de*, PY Eb40. The preceding + *-de* 'but' contrasted with *de-wo-u-pi-de*, see p. 254.
- e-na-ri-po-to*, KN Sg884. Verbal adj. describing chariot frame: *enaleptos* 'oiled, polished, painted'. [ἐνάλειπτος Hippocr. 5 a.c.]
- ‡*e-ne-ka*, KN 29=Ac821, PY 27=Ac08, 42=An17, Ea08, 147=Eq03. Preposition with gen.: 'for the sake of, for the benefit of'. [ἔνεκα, *Il.* xiv, 89+, Aeol. *ēneka* indicate \**ēnekar* (Skt. *upāt*), cf. *ἔκων*, Myc. spelling is problematical.]
- e-ne-me-na*, MY 106=Gc603. Nom. fem.: adjective describing a form of the commodity *ekhoimoi*, also abbreviated *e*, see p. 226. [Cf. *ēneuros* 'sitting in', Homer +? *enemeros* 'infused' (Aetnaeus 2 A.D. +)? \**enemeros* 'strung together, entwined', cf. *ēnepa* *δρυνος*, Schol. Pindar?] Or *e-ro-me-na*?
- ‡*e-ne-e-si*, PY 114=En02. 3rd plur. pres.: *enēsi* 'they are in, reside therein'. [ἔνεσι *Od.* ix, 125+.]
- e-ne-o*, KN Uf625 rev. Nom. sing. part.: *en-ēn* or *en-ēn* 'being in'.
- e-ne-ro*, KN L 695. Description of a kind of textile or garment, Björck: cf. Hom. *ēnepoi* 'inferi', *ēnepros* 'lower'?
- e-ne-ra*, KN Ai762. Fem. or neuter plur. of the above. Is *Ai-* (WOMAN) prefix correct?
- e-ne-re-ja*, KN Ak638. Nom. plur.? fem.: 'women engaged in making *e-ne-ra*'?
- e-ne-wo-pe-za* (also joined), PY 239=Ta642+. Nom. sing. fem., describing a table: *enneo-peza* 'with nine feet (?)', see p. 340, and cf. *we-pe-za*.
- e-ne-wo-pe-za*, PY 241=Ta715. Dual. fem. of the preceding: *-peza*.
- e-ni-ge*, KN 221=L 647. Nom. sing. fem., describing a garment or textile: *en-ig'ē* 'with holes in'? [Cf. *πολωπτός* *Od.* xxii, 386, \**-ēg-*, *ἐνόται*, and vocalism of *ἐν-ιγ'ή*.]
- e-pa-na-ge*, PY Ua04.
- e-pe-ke*, KN D1932. Verbal form?
- ‡*e-pi*, KN 207=V 280, PY 148=Ep04, 97=Un03. Prep. with dative: *epi* 'upon', etc. [ἐπι Homer +; cf. also *e-pi*.]
- ‡*e-pi-de-da-to*, PY 250=Vn01. 3rd sing. perf. pass.: *epidedastoi* (or *-dastoi*, cf. *δεδαίσται* 3rd plur., *Od.* i, 23) 'has been divided, distributed'. [ἐπιδεδάσται Hesiod, *Th.* 789.]
- e-pi-da-to*, PY 254=Jn04+. Either abbreviation of the preceding, or aorist *epidastō*? [Homer only middle *ἐδασάμην* (*δασίνω*), *ἐδασάμην* (*δασίωμαι*).] Cf. *ē-da-to* [to?], Wa917.
- e-pi-ke-re*, KN 95=F 852+. Adj.?: *epikhēris*, *epikhēris*? [ἐπιχληρίς Ar.+; cf. *ἐπισχερό* *Il.* xxii, 125.] See p. 219.
- e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja*, KN 222=J 693 [V 505]. Bennett divides *e-pi ki-to-ni-ja*. Prob. a form of garment or accessory. [Cf. *χιτώνιον* 'woman's frock' Aristoph. + (also *χιτώνία* Melamp.), *προσχιτώνιον*, *πρόχιτον* Hesych.]
- e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo*, KN 299=V 789. Nom. dual neuter?: *epikoruśō* 'for fitting on the helmet', cf. *Pylos* *ē-m-ū* in same context. Spelling does not favour Furumark's comparison *ἐπιχρυσός* 'gold-plated'.
- e-pi-ko-wa*, KN Fh343. A kind of olive-oil, perhaps that used for anointing: *epikhōmā*. [Cf. *ἐπιχόα*: *κατάχυστος* Hesych.]
- e-pi-ko-wo*, PY 56=An637. Nom. plur.: *epikōwōi* 'watchers, guards'. [Cf. Delph. *πυρ-κόος* 'watcher of the sacred fire' (man's name *py-ko-wo*); *ἐπικούρος* 'ally' is probably excluded, \**epikōrosos*, not \**epikōrosos*.]
- ‡*e-pi-pa-ta*, PY 252=Vn06. Nom. plur.: *epiphata* 'young trees, saplings'. [ἐπιφύονται 'grow upon, out of' Herodotus +.] Cf. *pa-ta*.
- e-pi-qo-ra*, PY Mn01. A place-name, or a word *epigolia*, *epigolia*? [Cf. *ἐπιβολία* *Epim. Mag.*; *ἐπιβολή* 'additional quantity'; and *ἐπιπόλος* 'companion', Soph. *OT*, 1322.]



*e-pi-ro-pa-ja*, KN Od 696. See p. 321.

*e-pi-we-ti-ri-jo*, PY Ea06. Nom. sing. masc.; description of a class or trade, *epiwetrios*? [Cf. Hesych. ἐπιήτριος λόγιος, πανούργος? But Hom. ἐπιήτριμος 'close-woven' is for \*ēni(p?)ā(?)trios, cf. ἡτριον, ἄτριον.]

*e-pi-zo-ta*, KN 163 = X 984. Nom. plur. neuter: *zoma epizonta* 'living upon'? 'surviving'? [ἐπιζῶς 'survive', Herodotus+; athematic participle like τιθε-ντα, etc.?] But see p. 272.

*e-pi-65-ko*, PY 251 = Vn02. Nom. sing. neuter?: an artefact, cf. *pe-65-ka*.

*e-po*, KN V 283, PY Va03. Nom. plur. masc.?: an object measured in 5's and 10's. [ἔπος Cyp. 'butter' and ἔπος 'skin' are both neuters; but perhaps the numbers refer only to 'jars, hales'?]

*e-po-pi*, KN 299 = V 789. *epōmio*- 'shoulder pieces'? See p. 381.

*e-qe-a-o-a-to-mo*, KN V 56.

*e-qe-o a-to-mo*, PY 43 = Sn01. Alternative spelling of the preceding: 'the *arthas* (fellowship?) of the *e*?' Mülhstein: *epōdōn arthas* 'chariot litters'.

*ē-qe-ta*, KN 29 = A821, B 1055, PY 57 = An43 +, 142 = Eb32, Wa917. Nom. sing. and plur. masc.; *heqetās-tai* 'followers'. Palmer sees in them a special feudal class, like the *ētalpoi*, Lat. *comites*, OEngl. *geithas*, 'thanes', etc. [ἐπείρος Pindar.]

*e-qe-ta-e*, KN 29 = A821. Anomalous spelling of the dual?

*e-qe-ta-i*, PY 28 = An42. Dat. plur.; *heqetāi*.

*e-qe-si-ja*, KN 214 = Ld571 +, PY 288 = Sa790 +, Wa02. Nom. plur. neuter, adj. describing garments, wheels, etc.: perhaps *heqetia* 'suitable for the class of *heqetāi*'.

*e-qe-si-jo*, PY Eb847 (joined). Nom. plur.; *heqetioi dolo* 'slaves of the follower'.

*e-qo-te*, PY 55 = An724 (An32)+. Nom. plur. masc.; *heqontes* 'following'? [Cf. ἐπόμενοι, with active flexion as Zend *hacati*, OLat. *sequo*? Not from *ēnos* 'busy oneself with' Il. vi, 321, etc. (\**ap-*).]

*ē-ra-pe-me-na*, KN 221 = L 647. Fem. sing., perf. part. pass.: *erapmenā* 'stitched'. [Class. ῥαπμένη from ῥάπτω.] Note lack of *r*.

*ē-ra-wa*, KN 94 = F 841. Gen. sing. or nom. plur.; *elaiwa*- 'olive-tree', 'olive'. [ἔλαια (tree) Od. xi, 590+, (fruit) Aristoph.+; Noye *elja*.]

*ē-ra-wo*, PY Gn1184 (see p. 217). Acc. sing.; *elaiwon* 'olive-oil', with 011 ideogram. [ἔλαιον Il. x, 577+. No IE etymology: Lat. *oleum* < \**elaiwon*.]

*ē-ra-wo*, KN G726, Np 1039, PY 1223. Alternative spelling.

*e-re-e*, PY 55 = An724 (An32). Chadwick: pres. inf. *eren* 'to row'. [Bare stem form of ῥέσσω Il. ix, 961+?] See p. 188.

*e-re-mo*, PY 152 = Er01. Nom. sing. neuter:

name of a kind of land holding. *erēmon*? [ῥήμος 'uninhabited' Od. iii, 270+; but note also ἔλεμα, gloss on ἔλωρ 'prey', \**iel-* 'take'.]

*ē-re-pa*, KN Sd0412, PY 249 = Va02. Nom. sing.; *elephas* 'ivory'. [ἔλεφος Il. v, 389+, later 'elephant'. Prob. eastern origin; see p. 346.]

*e-re-pa-te*, KN 266 = Sd0401 +, PY 243 = Ta708. Instr. sing.; *elephantai* 'with ivory'.

*e-re-pa-to*, KN V 684. Gen. sing.; *elephantos*.

*ē-re-pa-te-jo*, KN 276 = Se1006, 265 = Sd0403, PY 239 = Ta642 +. Nom. sing., instr. sing. and plur., masc. and neuter: *elephantios*, etc. 'made of ivory'. [ἑλεφάντιος Alcman 7 B.C.+; ἑλεφάντιος Diosc.+; only 'of an elephant'.]

*e-re-pa-te-o*, KN Se1007. Alternative spelling of the preceding.

*e-re-pa-te-jo-pi*, KN 276 = Se1006+. Instr. plur. masc. (anomalous, cf. p. 85?); *elephantiophi*.

*e-re-pa-te-ja*, PY 240 = Ta713. Nom. sing. fem.; *elephantia* 'of ivory'.

*e-re-pa-te-ja-pi*, PY 242 = Ta707+. Instr. plur. fem.; *elephantiophi*.

*ē-re-ta*, KN 83 = Ch902, 11, As5941, PY 114 = Ad697?, 53 = An12+. Nom. plur. masc.; *eretai* 'oarsmen, rowers, sailors'. [ἑρέται Od. i, 280+.]

*e-re-ta-o*, PY 15 = Ad684. Gen. plur.; *eretān*.

*ē-re-ti-ri-ja*, PY Ad16 (joined). Bennett reads *o-*. Adj. describing a *basileia* of men; *eritia* 'for rowing purposes'? Or read *ko-re-te-ri-ja*?

*e-re-u-te-re*, PY 76 = Cn22, Wa917. Palmer: nom. plur. *eruteres* 'inspectors'. [ἑρευτήρ = ἑρευνητής 'customs officer' Cret. 3-2 B.C., \**reu-* 'inquire'.] Could also be dat. sing., see p. 207. Compare also *j-ri-u-te-il*, Knossos Fh364.

*ē-re-u-te-ro*, PY 191 = Na56+. Nom. and acc. sing. neuter?: *elutheron* 'free', see p. 298. [ἑλευθερος Il. vi, 455+; now *elutheron*.]

*e-re-u-te-ra*, PY 192 = Na50+. Prob. neuter plur.; *eluthera*.

*ē-re-u-te-ro-se*, PY 190 = Na55+. 3rd sing. aor.; *elutherōse* 'he set free'. See p. 299. [ἑλευθερώω Herodotus+; now *elutherōse*.]

*ē-ri-ka*, KN 278 = So894+. Prob. gen. sing.; *helikāi* 'of willow-wood'. [Arc. ἑλίκη Theophr. Probably related to Lat. *salix* rather than OEngl. *weilig* 'willow' and \**riaken* 'spiral'.]

*e-ro-pa-ke-ta*, MY 93 = Fo101. Dat. sing. masc.; name of an office or trade? *sioph-āgetai* 'rounder-up of deer' (cf. *οἰερα* ideogram, PY Cn01+)? [Cf. ἑλαρηβόλος Il. xviii, 319+; \**elphāsi*.] Or a man's name?

*e-ro-pa-ke-a*, KN As0493. Man's name, or alternative form of the preceding.

*e-ro-pa-ke-ja*, KN L 595. Nom. plur. neuter? Adj. describing *τυναι* cs; 'suitable for *e-ro-pa-*



- ke-ta*? Cf. *ra-wa-ke-ja* for *laúwageia*. Could be a woman's name.
- e-ru-mi-ni-ja*, PY 251 = Vn02. Nom. plur.; name of an artefact. [Cf. *Δωμνίαι* 'roof-beams', Hesych.; but Homeric *ἐρυμνός*, Pamp. *ἐρυμνί* = *ἐρυμνιον*, 'fortress' are from \**erw-*.]
- ‡*e-ru-ta*, MY 105 = Ge002+. Nom. sing. fem.: *eruthā* 'red' or 'orange' (cf. *χαλκός*, *φόν*, *χρυσός*). Cf. *e-ru-to-ro*, man's name. [Erudrós Il. xix, 38+.]
- e-ru-ta-ra-pl*, KN 215 = Ld573+, L 785. Instr. plur. fem.: *eruthrāphē*.
- e-sa-pa-ke-me-[na]*, KN L 7375 (= X 508 bii). Perf. part. passive: *espargemena* 'swathed'? [Aor. *ἐσπάρξαν* Hom. *Hymn to Apollo* 121.]
- e-sa-re-u*, PY 190 = Na55+. Nom. sing.: (?) *-ew*, name of trade or office?
- e-sa-re-we*, KN 39 = As1517. Dat. sing.: (?) *-iawī*.
- e-sa-re-wi-ja*, PY Ma15, On01, Vn03. 'The department, or settlement, of the *e-*'?
- e-to-to*, see under *e-to*.
- e-te*, KN 34 = Arn601+, PY 248 = Va01. *enthen* 'from there'? [Il. x, 179+.]
- e-te-do-mo*, KN Uf452, PY Ea008, 114 = En02, 118 = Eo01, 131 = Ep01. *entesdomos* 'artificer, armourer'? [Cf. *ἐντεα* Il. x, 34+. Cf. *-domos* as in *ναυδομάς*, *τοikhodomus*, but etym. suggests this verb orig. restricted to timber work.]
- e-te-re-ta*, KN 275 = Se879. Nom. sing. fem., describing an old (?) chariot: *er-tāā* 'with holes'? [Cf. *τρῆτός* Od. xii, 77, either 'inlaid' or 'holed, morticed'.] Cf. *e-ka-le-re-ta*, and see p. 369.
- e-to-ki-ja*, PY 251 = Vn02, 6, Vn879. Nom. plur., name of an artefact: *erutakhia* 'something on the wall(s)'? [ἐρυτοχίος Xenophon+.]
- e-to-ni-jo*, PY 55 = An724 (An32), 140 = Eb35, 135 = Ep704+. The name of a kind of land holding; see p. 253. [Cf. Cyp. *pa-no-mo-ne* Dali bronze, either 'with all saleable produce' or 'in full ownership'? *er* 'true', cf. *ἐτός*, *ἐτήτυμος*?]
- e-to-ro-pa-ta*, KN Og878, U 736. Nom. plur., name of the *τῆροπα* (?) ideogram, no. 181? *entropata*, *entrophata*? Or *entrophata* < \**-pata* as Aeol. *ἐντροπατα*, γρόππατα? [Cf. *ἐντροπή* 'lusted the ears with things', Hesych.; also *ἐντροπός* 'kind of earring', Poll.]
- e-to-wo-ko*, KN Fh462, PY 50 = An18, 91 = Fn02. Dat. sing., and nom. plur., name of trade: *ento-worgos*, synonymous with *e-to-do-mo*?
- e-to-wo-ko-i*, PY Fn1192. Dat. plur.
- ‡*e-u-ke-to*, PY 140 = Eb35, 135 = Ep704. 3rd sing. pres. mid.: *eukhetoi* 'she (solemnly) declares', not 'prays'. [αὐτὰ φησὶ καὶ εὐχεται Il. xiv, 365+; IE \**eugh-* > *eugh-* beside \**uegh-*, Lat. *uouō*.]
- e-we-pe-se-to-mo-na*, MY 227 = Oel27. Neut. plur.: Ventris (*phartusa*) *eu hepsinomina* 'to be well boiled' ('died'?). [ἐψω 'boil' trans. Herodotus+, fur. act. *ἐψησάω*.]
- e-wi-mu-za*?-ko, PY 249 = Va02+. Dual or plur., adj. applied to pieces (tasks?) of ivory, opposed to *re-i-to* q.v. *ewiu-zugo* 'evenly matched, regular'? [Cf. *ἰσοζυγής* Theaet. 3 p.c., *ἰσόζυγος*. *e-* as in Hom. *ἔπος*, *-u-* as in *στενὸν-κλάρος/στενρός*? But cf. *ai-so-wo-pu-na*.]
- e-wi-su-to-ko*, KN Se1007+. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- ‡*i-ja-te*, PY Eq02. Nom. sing.: *iātr* 'physician'. [ἱητήρ Il. ii, 732+, Cyp. *te-ni-ja-te-ra-ne* acc.; now *yātrōs*.]
- ‡*i-je-re-ja*, KN 200 = Fp1+, Fh5467, PY 27 = Ae08, 140 = Eb35+, 114 = En02, 119 = Eo02, Ep03+, Un1189. Nom. and gen. sing.: *hieria* *-ā* 'priestess', [ἱέρια Il. vi, 600+. No inser. evidence for alleged form \**lēperja*: Cyp. *te-ni-je-re-vi-je-ne* is from *lēphēia* 'sanctuary'.]
- ‡*i-je-re-u*, KN 29 = As821, PY 44 = An29, 121 = Eo04, Ep03. Nom. sing. masc.: *hierew* 'priest'. [ἱερεῖς Il. i, 62+.]
- i-e-re-u*, PY 115 = En03+. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- i-je-re-wo*, PY Ea756. Gen. sing.: *hierāeos*.
- i-je-re-wi-jo*, KN 232 = K 875. A man's name, or *hierāwio*, derivative adjective? [Cf. *lēphiov* 'offering, sacrifice', Od. xiv, 94+.]
- ‡*i-je-ro*, KN Fp363, X 1447. *hieru-* 'consecrated? temple? offering?'. [ἱερός Il. ii, 305+ (ἱερόν Herodotus+, *ἱερό* Il. i, 147+).]
- i-je-ro-jo*, PY 27 = Ae08. Gen. sing. masc.: *hierois* 'of the consecrated, holy (gold)'.
- ‡*i-je-ro-wo-ko*, PY 148 = Ep04. Nom. sing. masc.: *hieru-worgos* 'sacrificing priest'. [ἱερεργός Call. 3 p.c.+; cf. Att. *ἱεροποιός* 'temple overseer'. Nominal from *ἱερό* *ἔργον* Il. i, 147, etc.]
- ‡*i-je-to*, PY 172 = Kn02. Tense uncertain, see p. 285. *hieroi* or *hiertoi* 'is, are being sent'? *hierō*, etc. 'let it, them send' or 'be sent'? [ἱημι Il. i, 479+.]
- jo-i-je-si*, PY 76 = Cn22. 3rd plur. pres.: *hō hierisi* 'thus they send'.
- ‡*i-jo*, KN V 1523. Nom. sing. masc. part.: *iōn* 'going' or 'coming'; a man's name on MY 46 = Au102.
- i-jo-te*, KN B 7041, PY 53 = An12. Nom. plur. masc. *iontes* 'rowers' going (by ship)'. [ἰών καλῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς Od. ii, 332, etc.]
- i-ku-wo-i-pl*, 207 = V 280. Instr. dual?: see p. 311.
- ‡*i-po-no*, KN 233 = Uel60 rev. Nom. plur.?: *ipnoi* 'cooking bowls'? [ἱπνός 'oven' Herodotus+, 'lantern' Aristoph.+; etym. uncertain.]
- i-po-po-qa-i*, PY Fn1192. Transposed spelling of *higgephorhai* 'horse-keepers'? [ἱπποφορβός Plato+.]
- ‡*i-qi-ja*, KN [265 = Sd0403]+, 273 = Sd0420+.



- Nom. sing. and plur. fem.: (*h*)iqq<sup>u</sup>id -ai, apparently the Mycenaean name of a CHARIOT, 'horse- (sc. vehicle)'. [ἵππιος *Il.* v, 799+, also ἵππιος, ἵππικός; Skt. *āpṛah*. Cf. Hom. ἵππιόχαρος 'one who fights from a chariot'.]
- i-qi-jo*, KN 266=So0401+. Prob. dual fem.: (*h*)iqq<sup>u</sup>id 'two chariots'.
- i-qi-jo*, KN 82=Ca895 (joined), PY Fa01, 246=Ta722. Nom. plur., dat. instr. sing.: (*h*)iqq<sup>u</sup>oi 'horses, horse'. [ἵππος Homer+, Dor. also ἵκος; \**ekios*, cf. Skt. *āpṛah*, Lat. *equus*.]
- i-qi-jo*, KN [277=1028?], PY 147=Eq03. Gen. sing.: (*h*)iqq<sup>u</sup>ois 'of the horse' (possibly collective, see p. 260).
- i-qi-e-ge*, KN 269=So0404+. Number uncertain: name of part of a chariot, compounded with (*h*)iqq<sup>u</sup>o-; see p. 364.
- i-te-ja-u*, PY 15=Ad684. Gen. plur. fem.: *histiādi* 'weavers'? [ἵστός 'loom; cloth' Homer+.]
- i-to-we-sa*, PY 237=Ta709. Nom. sing. fem.: *histo-wessa* 'provided with a ἵστός? See p. 338.
- i-tu-a-to-mo-i*, PY 91=Fu02. Dat. plur., cf. *a-to-mo*, Mühlestein: *iq<sup>u</sup>ja-erthui* 'to the chariot fitters', cf. *e-ge-a-a-to-mo*. See p. 217.
- i-65*, PY Ad17, 44=An29, 43=So01. Nom. sing.: the name of a class of man, preceded by a man's name in the genitive. [Cf. *lvs* 'son', Aesch., and Cyp. inscr.?] Lec = *i-ju* = *vlōs* 'son'.
- ja-ke-te-re*, PY Mn03. Variant of *a-ke-te-re*, q.v.?
- ja-a-se-so-si*, see under *a-se-so-si*.
- ja-do-so-si*, see under *do-so-si*.
- ja-i-je-si*, see under *i-je-si*.
- ja-a-po-ro*, see after *a-po-ro*.
- ja-te-re-pa-to*, see under *te-re-pa-to*.
- ka-da-mi-ja*, MY 107=Ge604. Aspic or herb: probably *kardamia*=*κάρδαμον*, *καρδαμίν* 'garden cress', *Lepidium sativum*.
- ka-ka-re-a*, KN 263=R 0481 bis. Last sign indistinct, word divided over signs of erasure. Nom. neut. plur.: *mkha khalkāria* '(spears) with bronze points' (also Furumark, 1954). [*χάλκηραι* *Doigt Il.* v, 145+.]
- ka-ke-ja-pi*, KN 267=So0409. Instr. plur. fem.: *khalkiāpi* 'of bronze'. [*χάλκεις Il.* xii, 30+.]
- ka-ke-[ja?]*, KN Se893. Probably a form of the same adj.
- ka-ki-jo*, KN 278=So894. Dual neuter.: *khalkiā* 'a pair of bronze (wheels)'. [*κύκλα* *χάλκεια Il.* v, 723.]
- ka-ke-u*, KN V 938, PY 28=An42, Jo725, 183=Na831. Nom. sing.: *khalkui* 'bronze' smith'. [*χαλκός Il.* xii, 295+; now *khalkui*.]
- ka-ke-we*, KN X 386, PY 253=Jo01+, 178=Ma13+, 192=Na50+. Nom. plur.: *khalkiā* 'smiths'.
- ka-ke-wi*, MY Oc121. Prob. dat. sing.: *khalkiā*.
- ka-ke-u-si*, PY An15, Na104. Dat. plur.: *khalkui*.
- ka-ko*, PY 254=Jo04+, 291=Sa794. Nom. and instr. sing.: *khalkos -oi* 'bronze'. [*χαλκός* Homer+, now 'brass'.]
- ka-ko-de-ta*, KN 278=So894. Nom. plur. neuter, of wheels: *khalko-deta* 'bronze-bound', cf. *ka-ko de-de-me-no*. [*χαλκόδετος* Aesch.+.]
- ka-ma*, KN L 520, PY 55=An724 (An32), Ea14, Eb22, Eo173, 148=Ep04, 171=Un718. A kind of agricultural holding, see p. 261. [Huxley: cf. Cret. *κάμαν* 'ἀγρόν' Hesych., perhaps related to *χαμαί*.]
- ka-ma-e-u*, PY Eb24+, 148=Ep04. Nom. sing.: 'man who has a *ka-ma* holding'? See p. 261. Cf. *za-ma-e-wi-ja*.
- ka-ma-e-we*, PY 40=An22+, 149=Eb33, Ec07, Ep03. Dat. sing. and nom. plur.: (?) *-ewi*, (?) *-ues*.
- ka-na-ko*, MY 105=Ge602+. Nom. sing. fem.: *knākos* 'safflower', *Carthamus tinctorius*. [*κνήκος* Hippocr. 5 a.c., +, δ or ῥ; related to Dor. *κνακός*, *κνακων* 'tawny goat', cf. Skt. *kṛnākam* 'gold'.] See p. 226.
- ka-na-ko-e-ru*, MY 106=Ge603. Incomplete spelling of *knākos eruthrō*.
- ka-na-pe-u*, PY 115=En03, 120=En03+, Nom. sing. masc.: *knaphēu* 'fuller, cloth-dresser'. [*κναφῆς* inscr. 6 a.c.; +; *γναφῆς* probably the later form, Schwyzler, *Gram.* 1, 414.]
- ka-na-pe-we*, MY 226=Oc129. Dat. sing. (or nom. plur.?): *knaphēui*.
- ka-na-pe-wo*, PY Eb26. Gen. sing.: *knaphēuios*.
- ka-na-to*, MY 234=Ue611, sealings Wt502+. Nom. plur.: probably a kind of vessel or implement. See p. 332.
- ka-pa*, PY 96=Un02. Name applied to *στίνες*(?) apparently in contrast to *ρο-ρα*. [Cf. *σκάφη* 'trough, tub', Herodotus+, *σκαφίς* 'pail', *Od.* ix, 223?] See p. 221.
- ka-pi-ni-ja*, PY 251=Vn02. 'Smoke-stack'. [*καπνία*=*κάπνη* (*καπνοδόκη*) Moeris.]
- ka-po*, KN 94=F 041. *karpoi e[lauiōs?]* 'fruits of the olive'? [*καρπός Il.* vi, 142+, κ. *ἐλαίος* Pindar, *N.* x, 35.]
- ka-ra-a-pi*, PY 246=Ta722. Instr. plur. neuter: *k(a)raū'p(hi* 'with (lions') heads'. [Cf. Hom. gen. sing. *καρήστος*, *κράστος*.]
- ka-ra-ko*, MY Ge607. A herb or spice: *glākhōn* 'peppery', *Mentha pulegium*. [Dor., Bocot. γλάχω(ν), Ion. γλήχων, Att. βλήχων; etym. unknown: now *glifān*, *glīkhēn*.]
- ka-ra-ma-to*, KN V 684. Furumark: gen. plur. *κλασμάτων* 'small pieces, fragments'?
- ka-ra-re-we*, KN Ue778, PY Gn1184 (see p. 217). Nom. plur., name of kind of vessel, probably



- 'stirrup-jars'. [*klātrax*, because used for drawing loes? Or from *κράτα* 'head, prow'?]
- \**ka-ra-te-ra*, MY 234=Ue611. Acc. sing. (nom. expected): *klātrā* 'mixing bowl'. [*κητήρ* *Il.* xxiii, 741+.]
- ka-ra-ti-ri-jo*, MY 234=Ue611. Probably a kind of vessel. See p. 332. Cf. *ka-ra-te-ti-ri-jo*, Mycenaean sealing Wt507.
- \**ka-ra-we*, KN 25=Ap694. Nom. plur., describing WOMEN: *grāves* 'old women'. [*γρηός* *Od.* i, 191, etc., Att. plur. *γρηές*; now *γρηά*.]
- \**ka-ra-wi-po-ro*, PY 142=Eb32, 135=Ep704, 257=Jn09, Un1189, Vn07. Nom. sing. (and plur.?), probably always fem.: *klāwi-phorois* 'key-bearer, administrator', a religious title. [*Dor.* *κλαυσοφόρος*, name of hero at Epidaurus, priest at Messene (*IG*, 3 (i), 1447, 3-2 u.c.); cf. Att. *κλειδοῦχος* 'priestess', *κλειδοφορῶ* 'be a priestess'. \**κλῶρις*, acc. \**κλῶριν* (Att. *κλεῖν*, Lat. *clāuam*) earlier form than *κλεῖς* *κλεῖδα*, *Dor.* *κλῆξ* *κλῆκα*.]
- ka-re-wi-po-ro-jo*, PY Ac09. Gen. sing.: *klāwi-phoroio*.
- \**ka-ru-ke*, PY Fn01. Dat. sing.: *kārakei* 'messenger, envoy' or similar. [*κηρυξ* *Il.* ii, 50+, *Dor.*, Aeol. *κῆρυξ*.]
- ka-ru-sa*, PY Un11 (Bennett): Chadwick reads *ka-ru-ty* on the original.
- ka-ru-we*, PY 245=Ta721. Instr. sing. fem.: a decorative feature in ivory, perhaps *kamui* 'nut'? [Cf. *κόρυον* *Batrach.* +; *σίκωρ*/*σίκωρ*.]
- ka-ru-pi*, PY 246=Ta722. Instr. plur.: perhaps *karuphi*.
- ka-si-ko-no*, KN Ra1555+, PY An31. Nom. plur., a class of craftsmen? [Cf. *κάσις*, *κασιγνήτος* 'brother', -*γονός*?]
- ka-ta-ro*, MY Z 202. Mühlstein: *elai(won) katharna* 'pure olive-oil' (instr. on stirrup-jar). [*καθαρός* *Od.* vi, 61+; but Aeol., *Dor.* *κοθαρός* is perhaps the original form.]
- \**ka-ti*, PY 238=Ta996. Nom. sing.: *kāthiis*, name of a jug with extra small handles around body, 'hydria'. [Cf. *κηθίς* -*ίς* 'vessel for shaking dice', *κηθάριον* 'voting urn'; and Arc. *κάθιδαι* (for -*δεῖς*?) - *ὀδρίαι* Hesych. Etymology unknown.]
- ka-za*, KN M 0452, with 'AURIM HORN I'. Mühlstein, Palmer: *khalkia* 'of bronze'. Doubtful in context.
- ke-ke-me-na*, KN 157=Uf835+, X 984+, PY Ea11+, 144=Eb366+, 131=Ep01, 147=Eq03. Nom. and gen. sing., nom. plur.: (?) *-menā*, *-menāi*, *-menai*. Perf. part. pass. describing the *klaimai* belonging to the *dāmos*, approx. 'communal'. [Palmer: root \**kei-*, cf. *κοινός* 'common', Goth *haim* and OE *Engl.* *-hām* 'village settlement'. Possibly a formal relative of *saīna*, cf. Skt. reduplicated perf. *saīya*.] Carratelli: 'fallow'. See p. 232.
- ke-ke-me*, PY 147=Eq03.2. Defective spelling of the preceding.
- ke-ke-me-na-o*, PY 149=Eb33+, 135=Ep704. Gen. plur. fem.: (?) *-menān*.
- ke-ke-me-no*, PY 45=An830, 141=Eb20, 135=Ep704. Dual fem.: (?) *-menā*.
- ke-ke-me-no-jo*, PY 190=Na55. Gen. sing. masc. or neuter: (?) *-menāio*.
- ke-ki*, PY An16. Nom. sing., description of a class or trade: (?) *-iis*. [Cf. *κηκίς* -*ίς* 'weaver's shuttle, rod, peg, etc.'? Derivative of *κῆκος* 'tail, penis'; etym. uncertain.]
- ke-ki-de*, PY 36=An657+, 187=Na49+. Nom. plur.: (?) *-ides*.
- ke-me-ti-jo*, PY Fn03. Possibly 'amount stored away' [*κειμήλιον* *Il.* vi, 47+], or patronymic.
- ke-ra*, KN 163=X 984, PY 137=Eb30, 135=Ep704. Possibly for *gerai* 'gift of honour, perquisite of age'. [*γῆρας* ὁ τι δῆμος ἐβωκεν *Od.* vii, 150+.]
- \**ke-ra-a*, KN 231=K 872. Nom. plur.: *kerai* 'horns'. [Hom. plur. *κῆραι*.]
- ke-ra-e*, PY Sa340. Probably dual: *keres*.
- \**ke-ra-ja-pi*, KN 266=Sd0401+, 274=SF0428. Instr. plur. fem.: *keraiaphi* 'made of horn' (part of chariot trappings). [\**kerastios* = later *κῆρατινος*. Cf. *κῆρα* 'horn, horn-like object' Aesch. +. *κεράος* originally means 'horned' (*Il.* iii, 24, etc.), supposedly from \**kerawos*, cf. Lat. *ceruus* 'stag'. But Chadwick regards *κεράος* as descended from Mycenaean *keraios*.]
- [*ke*]-*ra-i-ja-pi*, KN Sd0483. Fuller spelling of the preceding.
- \**ke-ra-me-we*, PY 52=An26. Nom. dual: *keramēwe* 'potters'. [*κεραμῆς* *Il.* xviii, 601+.]
- ke-ra-me-wi*, MY Oe125. Probably dat. sing.: *keramēwi*.
- ke-ra-me-wa*, PY 130=Eo371, 117=En01. Gen. sing.: *keramēwos*.
- ke-re-a<sub>2</sub>*, PY 236=Ta641. Acc. plur. neuter: *skēles* 'legs (of a tripod cauldron)'. [*σκελες* n. (only of a man) *Il.* xvi, 314, etc.]
- ke-re-at-jo we-ke*, PY 236=Ta641+. Describing tripod cauldron(s): Palmer: *Arīstourgēs* ('of Cretan style or workmanship', see p. 336). [Cf. *Λυκιοεργής* Herodotus +, *Κορινθιοεργής* Callix. +, etc.]
- ke-ri-mi-ja*, KN 212=Lc535, PY 28=An42. Adj. describing textiles or slave-girls or both. [Relative of *χῆρ* 'hand', cf. *χῆρ-νήτης* *Il.* xii, 433, *χειρισμός* 'manipulation' Hippocr. 5 u.c. +? Or cf. *χῆρος* 'bereaved', *χῆρ-ωστής*?] See p. 167.
- ke-ro*, KN [U 436], U 746. Written over circular ideogram no. 142. *kāms* 'beeswax'? [*κηρός* *Od.* xii, 48+; but Common Gk. possibly \**κῆρῶς*.]
- \**ke-ro-si-ja*, PY 40=An22+. Prob. *geransia* 'group of elders' under the *basileus* of a village, see p. 172. [*γῆρυσία* Eurip. +, Lat. *γῆρυσία*; *γῆροντας* 'elders', *Od.* ii, 14, etc.]



- ke-ro-te*, KN B 800 (erased), PY Jn881. Prob. *gerentes* 'old men'. [*γέροντες* Homer+, now *geri*.]
- ke-ro-ta*, KN L 785, Le786+. Nom. plur. neuter, adj. describing textiles: *geronta* 'old' [cf. *γέρον σάκος* Od. xxii, 184, etc.].
- \**ke-se-nu-wi-ja*, KN 215=Ld573+. Nom. plur. neuter, describing textiles: *xenuia* 'for guest-gifts'. [*ξένια* (\**ξενία*) Il. xi, 779+, also *δῶρα ξενήϊα* Od. xxiv, 279.].
- ke-se-ne-*, KN Ld649. Prob. alternative spelling of the preceding: *xenuia* or *xenufaria*. Cf. also *-nu-ae-jo*, X 651.
- \**ke-se-nu-wo*, PY X603. Either a personal name (cf. Corc. *Ξένων*) or *xenuw* 'guest, stranger'.
- ke-u-po-da*, KN X 442+, PY 190=Na55+. Palmer: *kheu-ponda* 'libation-pourer'; but perhaps a man's name. Cf. 90=G 820.
- ki-ri-te-we*, PY An08. Nom. dual or plur., a man's trade: *khrisfars* 'anointers? painters? plasterers?'. [Cf. *χρίω*; *χρίσμα* 'oil; plaster'; *χρίστης* 'white-washer', Hesych.; also 'stucco-maker'.]
- ki-ri-ta*, KN L 785. Nom. plur. neuter, describing textiles: *khrista* 'anointed' (cf. Od. vii, 107?)? *krita* 'selected, choice' (*κρίτος* Il. vii, 434+)?
- ki-ri-ta-i*, KN Od5003. Prob. dat. plur. fem. of the preceding.
- ki-ri-ta*, 90=G 820. Perhaps related to the preceding, but more prob. *kritā* -ai 'barley'. [*κριθή*, *κριθαί* Il. xi, 69+, also *κρί* (\**κριθ*).]
- ki-ri-te-wi-ja*, KN Fp363 [X M132], PY 28=An42, 139=Eb21, 135=Ep704. Nom. plur., a class of women possibly with a religious function. See p. 167.
- ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i*, KN 89=E 777. Dat. plur.: (?) *-witi*?
- ki-ta-no*, KN Ga1530+. Probably name of a condiment.
- \**ki-ti-je-si*, PY 193=Na37. Palmer: *grd* plur. pres.; *kliensi* 'they bring into cultivation'. [Athematic conjug. of verb *klei-/kti-*, later *κρίζω*, cf. Skt. *kṛṣī* 'reside'.]
- ki-ti-me-na*, KN X 7753, PY 111=Ea23+, Eb26, 117=En01+, 118=En01+. Nom. and gen. sing., nom. plur. fem.: *ktimei* -ās -ai, lit. 'brought into cultivation (by private initiative?)', of land not administered by the *damos*, see p. 233. [Cf. *ἐκτιμῆσθαι* Od. xxiv, 226.].
- ki-ti-me*, 117=En01. Defective spelling of the preceding.
- \**ki-ti-ta*, PY 54=An19+. Acc. sing., nom. plur.: *kittān* -tai 'settlers, inhabitants'. [*κίτιης* Eurip. Or. 1621; cf. *πεπικτῆται* Od. xi, 288, and *me-ta-ki-ti-ta*.]
- \**ki-to*, KN 222=J 693. Nom. sing.: 'tunic', or possibly 'fine linen'. [*χιτών* 'tunic', Od. xv, 60+, Ion. *κιδών*, Dor. *κιδών*.] See p. 320.
- ki-to-ne*, KN X 771.2. Nom. plur.: *khitānes*.
- ki-to-pi*, KN Le787. Instr. plur.: *khitāmphī*.
- ki-to-na*, KN L 785. An adjectival form of the preceding? Acc. plur.?
- ki-wo-ge*, PY 251=Vn02. The name of an artefact with numeral 1: *kinoā q'e* 'and a post'? [*κίων* 'roof-pillar', Od. xix, 38+; but suggested relative Arm. *sin* does not betray \*-u-].
- ko-ki-re-ja*, PY 235=Ta711+. Nom. sing. fem.: adj. describing ewers and tables: *konkhleid* 'decorated with sea-shells'? [*κόχλος* Eurip. +, *κογχύλιον* Epich. 5 n.c.+, etc.]. See p. 335.
- ko-na*, PY Ep02.3. Either an erroneous repetition of *ko-to-na*, or for *koinās* 'common'.
- ko-ni-jo*, PY 54=An19. Without *MAN* ideogram in a list of rowers: *skhoinion* ' (126 lengths of) ship's rope'? [*σχοινίον* Pindar+]. Palmer: from *koinos*.
- ko-ni-ti-ja-ja*, PY Vn879. Nom. plur., adj. or noun describing artefacts. [Adjectives in -iāos are mostly late formations.]
- ko-no*, KN 203=F 953, MY 105=Ge602+. Probably a herb or spice: *skhoinas*, perhaps 'ginger-grass', *Cymbopogon schenanthus*. See p. 226.
- ko-i-no*, MY Ge606. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- ko-no*, PY 154=Eq01. A place-name, or *koino* 'common'.
- ko-no-ni-pi*, KN 229=K 434, PY 244=Ta714. Instr. plur. fem., part of the decoration of a jug and chair: *kononiphi* 'cross-bars, bands'? [Cf. *κανονίς* Aristotle+, also Hom. *κανών*.] See p. 329.
- ko-re-te*, KN 83=Ch902, V 865, PY 257=Jn09, 258=Kn01, 183=Nn831, On01, 43=Sn01. Nom. sing. masc., title of official in tributary villages: *korētēr*? Furumark, 1954: 'Dorfschulee, Bürgermeister'. [Cf. *κορέννυμι* 'nourish, satiate', Att. *Αλγικοπέης*? Or cf. *κοίρανος* (Ruipérez)?]
- ko-re-te-re*, PY 257=Jn09. Nom. plur.: *korētēres*?
- ko-re-te-ri*, PY On01+. Probably dat. sing.: *korētēri*?
- po-ro-ko-re-te*, KN V 865, PY 257=Jn09, 258=Kn01. Nom. sing.: *pro-korētēr* 'vice-k.'? Context shows subordinate position. [Cf. Lat. *pro-consul*, etc. Class. *προβουκόλος*, *πρόφρωνος*, *πρόμαυτης*, are not precise analogies.]
- po-ro-ko-re-te-re*, PY 257=Jn09. Nom. plur.: *prokorētēres q'e*?
- ko-re-te-ri-jo*, PY 45=An830. Neuter: *korēstion* 'land occupied by a k.'?
- \**ko-ri-a-da-na*, PY 103=Un08, MY Ge605. Nom. plur. neuter: *korai(n)ana* 'coriander seed', *Coriandrum sativum*. [*κορίαννα* Anacr. 6 n.c.+, also *κορίανδρον*, *κορίανθλον*, *κορίανδρον*, *κόριον*; derivation from *κόρις* 'bug' is unlikely; probably a loan-word; now *kājundro*.]



- ko-ri-ja-da-na*, MY Ge605. Alternative spelling of *korja(n)da*.
- ko-ri-ja-do-no*, KN 98 = Ga415+. Nom. sing. neuter: *korja(n)dan*.
- ko-ro*, PY Eq02. Gen. plur.: *khōrān* 'of the lands'? [*χῶρος* II, iii, 315+].
- ko-ro-kū-ra-i-fo*, PY 59 = An656+, 186 = Na46+. Nom. plur. masc., a class of men. [Cf. *Koripolios* 'of Kerkira'? Or *Κροκόλια* II, ii, 693, a dependency of Ithaca?]
- ko-ro-no-we-sa*, PY 235 = Ta711. Nom. sing. fem., describing a ewer: *korōnanwessa*, perhaps 'with a curved handle'. [*κοῦνη* *Od.* i, 441.] See p. 335.
- ko-ro-to*, MY Oe106. Nom. sing., applied to a textile: *khōrān* 'dyed' [= *κεχωσμένον*] or *klōrān* 'spun' [= *κεκλωσμένον*].
- ko-ro-ta<sub>2</sub>*, KN 218 = L 598+. Probably fem. or neuter plur. of the preceding.
- \**ko-ru-to*, PY 292 = Sh740+. Gen. sing.: *koruthos* '(plates) of the helmet'. [*κόρυς -θος* *Od.* xxiv, 523+].
- ko-ru-pl*, PY 239 = Ta642. Instr. plur.: *ko-ne<sup>2</sup>phi* 'inlaid with ivory' helmets'. [Cf. *κορυμβοειδής*].
- [*ko*]-*ru*, KN 300 = G 5670. Nom. sing. *korai* with HELMET ideogram.
- ko-ru-we-ja*, KN L 472. Describing textiles: *korwēia* 'children's'? Perhaps also *ko-we-ja*, X 697.
- ko-te-ri-ja*, PY 237 = Ta709. Nom. plur., a utensil, probably for use in fire-tending: *korētria* 'strikers, hammers'? [Cf. *κορτίω* II, xv, 453+, variant *κορτίω*.] See p. 337.
- \**ko-to-na*, PY 108 = Ea817+, 144 = Eb866+, 117 = Ep01+, 118 = Eo01+, 131 = Ep01+, 147 = Eq03, 433 = Su01. Nom. and gen. sing., nom. and acc. plur.: *klōna -an -ai -na*, 'estate, plot of land'. [*κλωήν*: *δῆμος μεμειρημένος* Hesych.; the equivalent of an Attic deme in Rhodian inserr. From \**klei-*, cf. *ki-hi-je-n*, etc.]
- ko-to-i-na*, KN 156 = Uf1031+. Fuller spelling at Knossos.
- ko-to-na-no-no*, PY Ea22. For *klōna-nōnos*, see *u-no-no*.
- ko-to-na-o*, PY 140 = Eb35+, 135 = Ep704, Wa784. Gen. plur.: *klōnādn*.
- ko-to-no*, PY 141 = Eb20, 128 = Eo278. Dual *klōnā*? See p. 249.
- ko-to-ne-sa*, PY 151 = Eb36. Nom. plur.: *klōnetai* [cf. Rhod. *κρονέται*]. Meaning uncertain: see p. 264.
- ko-to-ne-we*, PY Be995. Synonymous with the preceding?
- \**ko-to-no-o-ko*, PY 133 = Eb06+, 121 = Eo04, 131 = Ep01+. Nom. sing.: *klōna-akho* 'holder of a klōna'. [Cf. *κληροδοῦν* Herodotus+].
- ko-to-no-o-ko-de*, PY 140 = Eb35. Acc. sing.?: *klōnaokho*+ *de* 'but'.
- ko-to-no-ko*, PY Ea173. Defective spelling of the preceding.
- ko-u-ra*, KN 211 = Le592+. Nom. plur. neuter? description of a kind of *pharvos* garment. [Not from *κουρά* 'clipping', etc. (as Furumark, 1954), which has spurious diphthong from \**kōrs-*.]
- ko-u-re-ja*, KN 25 = Ap694, Le581, X 5096+. Adj. describing wool and women: 'suitable for making *ko-u-ra*'?
- \**ko-wa*, KN 23 = Ag1654+, 17 = Ai739+, 18 = Ak611+, Ap639, PY 1 = Aa01+, 6 = Ab02+. Nom. sing. and plur. fem.: *korwē* 'daughter, girl'. [*κούρη* II, vi, 440+, Att. *κόρη*, prob. Arc. *Κόρρα*; now *kōri*.]
- ko-wi-ro-wa-ko*, KN 48 = B 101. Nom., number uncertain, name of a trade: *korwilo-wa-go* 'maker of hollow (objects of some sort)'. [*κόλος* Homer+, also *kōilos*, from \**kōfilos*, cf. Lat. *caulus*.] See p. 180.
- \**ko-wa*, KN Ag87+, 17 = Ai739+, 18 = Ak611+, 35 = Am819+, Ap482+, PY 1 = Aa01+, 6 = Ab02+, 8 = Ad670+, 26 = An02+, MY Oe121. Nom. sing. and plur.: *korwos* 'of boy, lad' or 'son'. [*κοῦρος* *Od.* xix, 323+, Att. *κόρος*, Dor. *κῶρος*.]
- ko-wo*, PY 171 = Un718. With ideogram HIDE+ *ko*: *kōwos* 'sheepskin, fleece'. [*κῶς* neuter, II, ix, 661+, Hitt. \**gawai*.]
- \**ku-mi-no*, MY 105 = Ge602+. Nom. sing. neuter: *kumīnan* 'cumin', *Cuminum cyminum*. [*κῦμινον* Hippocr. 5 B.C.+]. A Semitic loan-word, cf. Ugaritic *kmn*, Hebr. *kammān*, Akkad. *kamīnu*.] See p. 227.
- ku-mi-na*, MY Ge605. Nom. plur.: *kumina*.
- \**ku-na-ja*, PY 235 = Ta711. Nom. sing. fem.: *gunaiā* 'as a woman's gift'? Cf. *ἔνφια*. [*γύναϊα* *δῶρα* *Od.* xi, 521, etc.]
- \**ku-na-ke-ta-i*, PY 191 = Na56. Dat. plur.: *kunāgetai* 'to the hunters'. [*κυνήγετης* *Od.* ix, 120+, Dor. *κυνηγέτας*; now *kunāgetai*.]
- \**ku-pa-ri-se-ja*, PY 284 = Sa01. Nom. plur. neuter: *kuparissia* '(wheel) of cypress wood'. [*σταῖρος* *κυπαρίσσιος* *Od.* xvii, 340+].
- \**ku-pa-ro*, KN G 519, 102 = Ga517+. A herb or spice: *kupairis* '*Cyperus rotundus*'. [*κύπαιρον* Theophr.+, also *κύπαιρος*, Ion. *κύπερος*. Not in sense '*Cyperus longus*' of II, xxi, 35+, etc. Dor. *κύπαιρος* (Alcman 7 B.C.) is not diagnostic, as word is probably borrowed from Semitic, cf. Hebr. *kūper*.]
- ku-pa-ro<sub>2</sub>*, PY 103 = Un08+. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- \**ku-pa-ro-we*, PY 1203 (1955). Bennett: *kupairo-wen*, or, 'flavoured with *Cyperus*'. [Cf. \**ku*]-*pe-ra*, MY 234 = Ue611. Nom. plur., in a list of vessels: probably *kupella* 'drinking cups'. [*κύπελλα* plur. II, iii, 248+].]
- ku-re-we*, KN X 7544, PY 57 = An43+, 76 = Gn22, 177 = Ma02. Nom. plur., a class of men: (?) *-wes*. See p. 191. Carratelli: *akūdhes* 'leather-workers'; Palmer: 'men-at-arms', cf. *kūros*, etc.
- \**ku-ru-so*, KN 231 = K 872, PY 239 = Ta642+



- Instr. sing.: *khrusfi* 'with gold'; also *khrus* -*fi* -*fi* *oi*, adj. masc. 'of gold, golden'. [*χρυσός* 'gold', *Il.* vi, 48+; *χρυσέ(ι)ος* (generally scanned as disyllable) 'of gold', *Il.* i, 15, etc. From Hebrew and Ugaritic *ḥarūṣ*, which is both noun and adjective. Now *khrusfi*, 'gold', *khrus* 'of gold'.] See p. 343.
- ku-ru-so-jo*, PY 27=Ac08. Gen. sing.: *khrusio* 'of the gold'.
- ku-ru-sa-pi*, PY 242=Ta707+. Instr. plur. fem. adj.: *khrusāphi* 'of gold'.
- ku-ru-so-po-ro-we*-, KN X 1014. Division uncertain, cf. *χρυσόφορος*?
- \**ku-ru-so-wo-ko*, PY 52=An26. Nom. plur.: *khrus-worgoi* 'goldsmiths'. [*χρυσουργός* Septuagint+; cf. *χρυσόχοος* *Od.* iii, 425+.]
- ku-ru-su-pa*?, KN 230=K 740. Nom. sing.: description of a three-legged vessel, possibly compounded with *khrus*- 'gold'. See p. 327.
- \**ku-mi*, KN L 698. Preposition with dative: *mi* 'with'. [ξύν Homer+.]
- \**ku-sa-pa*, KN Fh367. Nom. sing. neuter: *ῥασσαν* 'so much (olive-oil) all together'.
- ku-sa-pa-ta*, KN D1699. Nom. plur. neuter: *ῥασπαντα* 'all together'. [ξύμπαντα *Od.* vii, 214+, also σύμπαντα.]
- \**ku-su-to-ro-pa*-, KN 36=B 817, [X 1470], [Fh 5497], PY 150=Ec07, 153=Er02. Nom. sing.: *ῥαστροβή* 'aggregate, total rolled into one' (also Furumark). [συστροβή Herodotus+.]
- ku-te-re-u-pi*, PY 28=An42, Na01. Andrews, Georgiev: Instr. plur.: *ῥαστροφι* 'potters'. [*ῥυτρεός* Plato+. Possibly a place-name, cf. Attic deme *Καραμῆς*.] Or 'from Κύθηρα'?
- ku-te-se-ja*, PY 240=Ta713+. Nom. sing. fem.: *kutesiā* 'made of *ku-te-so*'.
- ku-te-se-jo*, PY 242=Ta707+. Noun. sing. and Instr. plur.: *kutesios -ois*.
- ku-te-ta-jo*, PY 242=Ta707.1. Probably a mis-spelling of the preceding.
- \**ku-te-so*, PY 242=Ta707. Nom. sing.: a kind of wood, probably 'ebony'. [*κύτειος* n. 'hastard ebony', *Loburum vulgare*, Theophr.]
- \**ku-wa-ni-jo*, PY 244=Ta714. Instr. plur. masc.: *kuwiniā* 'with (phoenixes) of lapis-coloured glass'. [*κύανεος* *Il.* xviii, 25+.]
- \**ku-wa-no*, PY 239=Ta542+. Bennett: Instr. sing.: *kuwādi* 'inlaid' with *kywās*, lapis-coloured glass'. [*κύανος* *Il.* xi, 26+; 'natural kyano' in Theophr.= 'lapis-lazuli'. Non-IE loan-word. Cf. Ugaritic *iqna*, Akkad. *uqna* 'lapis-lazuli'?. Cf. also *ku-wa-an-na-še*, unknown Hurrian term describing furniture on Alalakh no. 425.] Wace proposes 'niella'; see p. 340.
- ma-ra-ku*, PY 77=Cn23. Acc. sing. neut. = *βροχύ*? See p. 208. [Avest. *marca*-; Acol. *βρόχυς*.]
- ma-ra-te-u*, PY 44=An29, Cn05. Nom. sing. masc., a class or trade: (?) -*ent*. [Cf. *μάλα-τῆρας* *ναῦται* Hesych.?] ]
- ma-ra-te-we*, PY 195=Na67. Nom. plur.: (?) -*entes*.
- \**ma-ra-tu-wo*, MY 105=Ge602+, Nom. sing.: *marathwōn* 'fennel', *Poeniculum vulgare*. [*μάραθρον* Epich. 5 B.C.+, also *μάραθος*, *μάραθρον*; etymology unknown.]
- \**ma-te*, PY 28=An42. Nom. sing. fem.: *māter* 'mother'. [*μήτηρ* *Il.* i, 351+, Dor. *μάτηρ*; now *mātera*.]
- ma-te-de*, ibid.: *māter de* 'and the mother'. Cf. *pa-te-de*.
- ma-te-re*, PY 1202 (1955). Bennett: dat. sing. *mā(e)rei*.
- me-ki-ta*, KN X 537. Nom. plur. neuter?: *megista* 'largest'? [*μέγιστος* *Il.* ii, 412+.]
- \**me-no*, KN 200=Fpl+, Fh1645, Od5672, Wb M133, PY 1224. Gen. sing.: *mēnos* (possibly *mēthos*) 'in the month of'. [*μήσις* *Il.* xix, 117+, gen. *μήνος*, Leab. *μήνος*, Thess. *μην(ν)ος* from \**mēnos*, *mēnos*. Now *mēnas*, *mēnē*.]
- me-no-e-ja*, PY 239=Ta642. Nom. sing. fem., describing table: 'crescent-shaped, semi-circular'? [Cf. *μήνοειδής* Herodotus+.]
- me-re-ti-ri-ja*, PY 1=Aa01. Nom. plur. fem., a woman's trade: *meletriai* 'corn-grinders'? [Cf. *me-re-u-ro*=*ἄλευρον* 'flour', *ἀλετρις* *Od.* xx, 105+; root \**mel-/mel-*.]
- me-re-ti-ra*-, PY Ab789. Alternative spelling. *me-te-ti-ra*[-a], PY Ad05. Gen. plur.
- \**me-re-u-ro*, PY 171=Un718. *meleuon* 'flour, wheat-meal'. [*μάλευρον* Epig. Hom., Alcman+, perhaps modified by the analogy of *ἄλευρον*.]
- \**me-ri*, KN 205=Gg702+ (in monogram 206=Gg705+). Nom. sing., with AMPHORA ideogram: *melī* 'honey'. [*μέλι* *Od.* xx, 69+.]
- me-ri-to*, PY 171=Un718. Gen. sing.: *melitos*.
- me-ri-da-ma-te*, etc., see under *da-ma*.
- me-ri-te-wo*, PY Ea771+, Ec01. Gen. plur.? Carratelli: *melitēwon* 'of the apiarists'. [Cf. *μελισσιός* Aristotle+.]
- me-sa-ta*, KN L 735+. Epithet of CLOTHES: *mes(i)atē* 'of medium quality or size'? [*μέσσοτος* 'midmost', *Il.* viii, 223+.]
- me-so-to*, KN Wb1714+. Masc.?
- \**me-ta*, PY 57=An43+. Prep. with dat.: *meta* q' 'and with (them)'. [*μετά* + dat., *Il.* i, 525+, with gen. in prose. In a number of class. dialects replaced by *meta* from different root.]
- me-ta-ke-ku-me-na*, KN 274=St0428. Nom. sing. fem., redupl. part. applied to framework of a chariot: *meta-(?)menā*. [Possibly from *μεταχέω* 'transfuse'.] See p. 368.
- \**me-ta-ki-ti-ta*, PY 54=An19. Nom. plur., a class of men subsidiary to *ki-ti-ta*: *meta-ktitai* 'migrants, new residents'. [Cf. *μετανάστες* *Il.* ix, 648+.]



- me-tu-ra*, PY 30=Ae03+. Acc. plur.? Perhaps a kind of livestock. [Cf. *utulos* Theocr.+; 'hornless'?.]
- ‡*me-u-jo*, KN Ak612+. Nom. sing. masc.-fem.-neuter, of children and goblets: *meu-jōn* (or *meu-jās*?) *meu-jōn* 'smaller, younger, small rather than large', Lat. *minor*. [*μειών* Homer+, Dor., Arc.; also Dor., Aeol. *μήων*. Not directly connected with Lat. *minor*; proposed derivation from \**mei-ida* is uncertain. \**meinda* (extracted from *duelwōn*) is a fiction.]
- me-wi-jo*, KN 19=Ak627+, PY 236=Ta641. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- me-u-jo-e*, KN Ak509 bis+. Dual and plur. masc.-fem.: *meu-jōe*, *meu-jōe*. [Att. contr. *μειους* Xenophon.]
- me-wi-jo-e*, KN 20=Ak824+, K 829. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- me-u-jo-a<sub>2</sub>*, PY 292=Sh740+. Nom. plur. neuter: *meu-jōa*=Att. *μεία*.
- me-za-na*, PY 76=Cu22, 296=Sh736. Adj. (?) applied to cattle and to a noun connected with armour. Andrews: 'Messenian'? Palmer, Georgiev: erratic spelling of *μελανος*, *μελαινάς* 'black'?
- me-za-ne*, PY 91=Fu02. Dat. sing. or nom. plur.: a class of men. Probably from the same word as the preceding.
- ‡*me-zo*, KN Ak612+. Nom. sing. masc.-fem.: *me-zōn* (or *me-zōs*?) 'larger, older, large rather than small', Lat. *maior*. [*μειζών* Il. iii, 168+, Attic; Ion., Dor., Arc., Aeol. *μῆζων*, Common Gk. form for \**meg-jōn*, Skt. *mahjān*.]
- me-zo-e*, KN 18=Ak611+, 223=L 471, PY 236=Ta641. Dual neuter, dual and plur. masc.-fem.: *me-zoe*, *me-zōe*. On Ta641.2 a mis-spelling for the neuter singular.
- me-[zo]-a*, KN As5863. Probably Knossos spelling of the succeeding.
- me-zo-a<sub>1</sub>*, PY 292=Sh740+. Nom. plur. neuter: *me-zōa*.
- mi-ja-ro*, KN L 1568. Neuter sing., of a textile: *miuron* 'dirty, defiled'? [*μιαρός* Il. xxiv, 420+, but Fick postulates \**miweros*.] Also abbreviated *mi-*.
- mi-ka-ta*, KN Vc64, PY 50=An18+, 91=Fn02, Eb839, [148=Ep04.13]. Nom. sing. and plur. masc., name of a trade or class: *mi-kātās-tai*?
- mi-ra<sub>1</sub>*, PY 241=Ta715. Probably a kind of wood for table-making, see p. 342.
- mi-ta*, MY 105=Gc602+. A herb or spice: *mintia* 'mint', *Mentha viridis*. [*μίνθα* Hippocrax 6 n.c.+, also *μίνθη*. Etym. unknown.]
- ‡*mi-to-we-sa*, KN Sd0407+. Nom. sing. or plur. fem., of chariots: *mi-to-we-sa* 'ai' 'painted with red'. [Cf. *νήες* *μυτοπόρτοι* Il. ii, 637, *μυτοπύλεες* Herodotus.]
- mi-to-we-sa-e*, KN 269=Sd0404. Unusual spelling of the nom. plur.
- ‡*mo-ri-wo-do*, KN 259=Og1527. Nom. sing., a substance measured by weight: *molividos* 'lead' (also Georgiev). [*μόλιβδος* Il. xi, 297, also *μόλιβδος*, *μόλυβδος*, *βόλιμος*, \**βόλιβος*, etc.; now *μόλυβ*. Non-IE loan-word, distantly comparable to Lat. *plumbum*.]
- mo-ro-pa<sub>2</sub>*, KN C 1632, PY 57=An43; 258=Kn01, 43=Sn01. Nom. sing. masc., title of a land-owner in the villages. Palmer: *mo(i)-ro-ppāi* 'owner of a portion' (cf. *ktimō-okhas*?). [*μοῖρα* Il. xvi, 68+, *μόρος* (Loer. and Lesb.) a measure of land. Cf. Boeot. *πρόματα*=*κτήματα*, Arc. *ὑπάσις* 'acquisition'; *ἐκπάμων* 'δάληρων Hesych.]
- mu?-jo-me-no*, PY 97=Un03. See p. 221.
- nu-u-do-mo*, KN U 736, PY 189=Na65, Vn865. Nom. plur.: *naudomoi* 'ship-builders'. [Class. term *ναυπηγός* Thuc.+; cf. *to-ko-do-mo*, *e-to-do-mo*.] Probably not from *ναφο* 'temple'.
- ‡*na-wi-jo*, PY 257=Jn09. Acc. sing. masc.: *na-wiōn* '(bronze) for ships'. [*δῶν νήων* Od. ix, 384+, Trag., Dor. *νάιος*.] Chadwick: from *ναός* 'temple'? See p. 357.
- ne-ki-ri-de*, KN L 1568. Nom. plur. fem.?
- ne-ki-ri-si*, KN Od687. Dat. plur.?
- ne-pa<sub>1</sub>-sa-pi*, KN 231=K 872. Instr. plur., prob. fem., decoration on metal vessels.
- ‡*ne-wo*, KN Ph362+, Od689, X 658, PY 59=An656, MY 226=Oe129, *newos*, etc., 'new, young' [*νέος* Homer+, Cypr. superl. *νιφόστατος*, cf. Lat. *novus*.]
- ne-wo-jo*, KN X 5506. Gen. sing.
- ne-wa*, KN 282=So0430+, X 997, PY [Sa843?], MY [228=Oe111]. Nom. plur. neuter: *newu*, as opposed to *peruwinu* 'last year's'.
- ‡*no-pe-re-a<sub>1</sub>*, PY 288=Sa790+. Nom. plur. neuter, describing wheels: *nāpheles* 'out of service, unusable'. [Cf. *ἀνωφελής* Xenophon 6 n.c.+; cf. Homeric *ἀνώφυμος*/*νέφυμος*, etc.]
- no-pe-re-e*, PY 291=Sa794. Dual neuter: *nāpheles*.
- no-ri-wo-ko*, PY Aa13. Nom. plur. 'fem.', a trade: (?) *-wor-gōi*. Furumark compares *vō-rōpi χαλκῶ*, Il. ii, 378, which is obscure.
- no-ri-wo-ko-jo*, PY Ad669. Gen. sing.: (?) *-wor-gōi*.
- nu-wa-ja*, KN 221=L 647. Nom. sing. fem.: adj. describing garments. See p. 320.
- nu-wa-i*, KN X 663. Possibly identical with the preceding.
- o-a<sub>1</sub>*, PY 250=Vn01. *hō ar* 'thus now', a shorter form of *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>*? Or a defective spelling?
- o-a-ke-re-se*, see after *a-ke-ri-ue*.
- o-a-po-te*, KN 213=L 641. *hō apōthen* 'thus from afar'? (also Furumark, 1954). [*ἀπὸθεν* Soph.+.]



- o-da-a<sub>2</sub>*, PY 44=An29, 142=Eb32+, 114=En02+, 154=Eq01+, 175=Ma10+, 43=Sn01, 171=Un718. An adverbial and/or conjunctive phrase, always first in paragraph, often having function of introducing subsidiary matter. *hōda ar* (?) 'thus now', 'thus in their turn'. [δῶδε, δῶδε Homer+ (for -da cf. Cyp. δῶδε: αὐτῇ Hesych.); ἀρα ἀρ ῥα Homer+ (from \*ar or \*r).] The attempts by Furumark and Georgiev (1954) to explain *o-da-a<sub>2</sub>* as a plural noun conflict with its contexts.
- o-da-87-ta*, KN 282=So0430+. Neuter plur. adj., describing wheels, and contrasted with *te-mi-71-ta*: (?) *semita*. See p. 370.
- o-da-ke-we-ta*, KN So0446. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- o-da-ku-we-ta*, KN [L 870], So0435. Alternative spelling.
- o-da-tu-we-ta*, KN 278=So894. Probably a mis-spelling of the preceding.
- o-da-sa-[to?]*, PY Wa917. 3rd sing. aor. middle: *hō dasato* 'thus he divided'. [Hom. δάσαστο, from δατέωμι.]
- o-de-ka-su-to*, see after *de-ka-sa-to*.
- o-de-pa<sub>2</sub>-a<sub>2</sub>*, PY On01. Introducing second list of enigmatic ideogram no. 154. Bennett now divides *o-de pa<sub>2</sub>-a<sub>2</sub>*; possibly verbal: 'but thus (the men from beyond A.) did such-and-such'.
- o-di-do-si*, see after *di-do-si*.
- o-do-ke*, see after *di-do-si*.
- o-ka*, PY 57=An43+. Nom. sing. fem.?, probably the name of a military detachment or sector: *okhā*. [Cf. ὀχή 'support, food', from ἔχω?] Or *orkhā*? [Cf. ὀρχαρός II. ii, 837, etc. (Aeol.), ὀρχή. But ὀρχος 'row', ὀρχός 'enclosure' probably have \*r-]. See p. 185.
- o-mi-ri-jo-i*, KN Fh356. Prob. dat. plur. [Cf. δμῖλος 'assembled throng' *Od.* i, 225+, Aeol. δμῖλλος?]
- o-mo-pi*, KN 276=Se1006. Instr. plur. masc.: see p. 369. Objects of ivory.
- o-na*, KN M 559, PY Ua04. *onā* 'purchase', cf. *o-na-to*? [δνή Soph.+, Lesb. ὄνω; but this is probably for \**onā*, cf. Skt. *vanam*.]
- o-na-te-re*, PY 114=En02+, [Wa784]. Nom. plur.: 'persons holding an *o-na-to* (lease or purchase)'. See p. 235.
- o-na-to*, PY 112=En025+, 133=Eb08+, Ec01, 114=En02+, 118=Ec01+, 148=Ep04+, 147=Eq03. Acc. sing. neuter: *onāton* 'a holding, lease or purchase (?) of land'. See p. 235.
- o-na-to*, PY 149=Eb33+, 135=Ep704. Acc. plur.: *onāta*.
- o-ni-ti-ja-pl*, PY 242=Ta707. Instr. plur. fem., of part of a chair: *ornithiāphi* 'decorated with birds'?. [δρνίθεος Aristoph.+.]
- ‡*o-no*, KN 82=Ca895 (joined). Nom. plur.: *onai* 'asses, donkeys', with same ideogram as HOKS2. [δνος II. xi, 558+.]
- o-no*, KN Fh347+, L 758, PY 55=An724+, Un01, MY Oc108+. Furumark, 1954: 'Einkaufspreis'? Cf. ὄνος 'price paid', *Od.* xv, 388+? Palmer: 'mull-stone'. Almost certainly not ὄνος 'donkey'.
- o-nu*, KN X 681. Nom. sing. of *o-nu-ke*? [Or cf. ὄνω: ὄνω Hesych.; Arc.-Cyp. ὄνω 'this'?]
- o-nu-ke*, KN L 1568 edge, Od682, M 683, Ws1703. Nom. plur. noun(?), describing *wnot*(?) ideogram; also in compounds *re-u-ko-nu-ka*, *jo-ki-to-nu-ka*. [δνωξ 'claw' II. viii, 248+, also 'nail; hoof', hardly seems possible, unless in a very derivative sense.]
- o-nu-kā*, KN Lc485, L 584+. Apparently synonymous with the preceding (or adjectival?).
- o-nu-ke-ja*, PY Ab30. Nom. plur. fem.: 'women engaged in preparing *o-nu-ke*'?
- o-nu-ke-ja-o*, PY Ad675. Gen. plur.
- o-pa*, KN C 50, L 695, 29=An221, Dm1184, 265=Sc0403, 273=Sc0420, 282=So0430, 264=Ws1704, PY 296=Sh736. Some kind of group, department or detachment? Often preceded by a man's name in the gen. [*\*soq*\**ā* > *opā* 'following, retinue', postulated as base of ὀπάων 'esquire, attendant', II. viii, 263+? Similarly Furumark, 1954, p. 58.] Chadwick: 'a form of feudal service'? See p. 169.
- o-pa-wo-ta*, KN 300=G(?) 5670, PY 292=Sh740+. Nom. plur. neuter: probably 'plates' applied to body-armour, see p. 376.
- o-pe-ro*, KN G 461+, Gg706, L 869, 283=So0442+, X 409+, PY Ad01, 55=An724 (An32), Cn09, Eb39, Fn03, 179=Ma09+, 184=Nu01. Usual annotation to persons and things 'owed', 'failing in their duty', 'which should be there but aren't', etc., further abbreviated as *o-*. Owing to variation in congruent adjectives, probably not a word *ōpeleos* (only 'advantage' in Greek) but abbrev. for participles act. *ōphlōn*, etc. and pass. *ōphlōmenon*, *-menon* etc. [τὸ ὀφειλόμενον 'debt', Xenophon+, etc.]
- pe-ro-ro*, MY 107=Ge604. Probably a mis-spelling of the preceding.
- pe-ro*, PY Ma16. Playful (?) abbrev. of preceding as 'adjunct' to ideogram *o*.
- ‡*o-o-pe-ro-si*, PY 184=Nu01. 3rd plur. pres.: *hō ōphlōnti* 'thus they owe' or 'owe for'. [δφείλω *Od.* viii, 332+ (also Arc., Aeol.), Att. ὀφείλω, Cret. ὀφῆλω. *f-* in Arc. *φελή-σσι* is probably not original, Schwyzler, *Gram.* i, 226.]
- jo-o-po-ro*, MY 105=Ge602. 3rd plur. aorist: *hō ōphlon* or *ōphlan* 'thus they owed', or 'contracted a debt'. [Att.-Ion. ὄφλον (attached to ὀφλισάμενα) was probably orig. aorist to ὀφείλω.]
- o-pe-ro-ta*, PY 55=An724 (An32). Acc. sing.



- masc.: *ophlōnta* ' (an inhabitant) who ought to (be rowing)', 'is obliged to'.
- o-pe-ro-te*, PY 55 = An724+. Nom. plur. masc.: *ophlōntes*.
- o-pe-ro-sa*, PY 135 = Ep704. Nom. sing. fem.: *ophlōntsa*, 'although she should have', or 'although she is obliged to'.
- o-pe-ro-sa-de*, PY 141 = Eb20. *ophlōntsa + de* 'but'.
- o-pi*, KN 39 = Ae1517, L M127+, Od590+, 162 = Uf983, X 567+, PY 31 = Ae04+. Preposition with dative: *opi* 'around, upon, after'. [Cf. Lat. *ob*, Osc. *op*; an ablaut doublet of *ēpi*, cf. *ōpi-ḥēv*, *ōp-ōpa*, Thes. *ōpi*, *ōpōdē* = *ēpi*, *ēpōdē*, Schwyzler, *Gram.* II, 465.]
- o-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra*, PY 56 = An657. Acc. plur. neuter: *opi-hala* 'coastal (regions)'. [*ἐπὶ ἁλός* Il. II, 538+.]
- o-pi-da-mi-jo*, PY 45 = An830, 75 = Cn02. Nom. plur. masc.: *opidāmiōi*, 'those who are at home in the villages'. [*ἐπιδήμιος* Od. I, 194+.]
- o-pi-i-ja-pi*, KN 266 = Sd0401+, 274 = Sf0428. Instr. plur. fem.: part of the harness of a chariot team. See p. 365. A shortened form of the succeeding?
- o-pi-i-ta-ja*, KN X 537. Nom. plur.?; an artefact, possibly *opi-histia*.
- o-pi-ka-pe-e-we*, PY 257 = Jn09. Nom. plur., a class of persons in the tributary villages: *episkaphētes*? [Cf. *ἐπισκαφεύς* = 'one who harrows in the seed', Hesych., *ἐπισκαφεύων* 'hoe, mattock', Delphi 3 n.c.?] See p. 357.
- o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja*, PY 243 = Ta708+. Acc. plur. fem.: *opi-kleminians* (possibly *epiklēmniūs*) 'edges of the back (of a chair)?' See p. 343.
- o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja-pi*, PY 242 = Ta707+. Instr. plur.: *-idphi*.
- o-pi-ke-ri-jo*, PY An35. See p. 187.
- o-pi-ke-ri-jo-de*, PY 55 = An724 (An32). Is *-de* conjunctive or allative?
- o-pi-na-tu*, KN L 1568. See p. 317.
- o-pi-me-ne*, PY An30, 3rd sing. pres.: *opimenei* 'remains'? [*ἐπιμένω* Il. XIX, 142+.] Or *opi mēni* 'per month'? [*ἐπιμήνιος* 'ratios'].]
- o-pi-po-ni-ke-ja*, KN L 1568. *epiphoinkeia*? See p. 317.
- o-pi-qi-ni*, KN L 584. Nom. plur. neuter, adj. applied to textiles?
- o-pi-ro-go*, PY An777, Ab15, 13 = Ad691. Nom. and gen. plur. 'fem.': *opiliqoi-on* 'remaining, supernumerary', cf. *pe-ri-ro-go*. [*ἐπιλοιπός* Pindar+.]
- o-pi-su-ko*, PY 257 = Jn09+. Nom. plur., a class of men in the tributary villages, see p. 357.
- o-pi-te-te-re*, PY 251 = Vn02. Nom. plur., name of an artefact: *opithētes* 'covers, lids'? [Cf. *ἐπιθήρα* Aristotle+, *ἐπιθήρα* Il. XXIV, 228+.] [o?]-*pi-te-te*, KN 231 = K 872. Part of cup, made of gold; probably nom. sing. of the preceding. Or a participle (cf. *κυνέη διαφραδέσσα* Il. X, 271; *φιδλή ἀφρίστος* Il. XXII, 270)?
- o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we*, PY 50 = An18, 91 = Fu02+. Nom. plur., a class of men: *opitukhētes*? 'riggers'? [Connected with Hom. *τεύχεα* 'armour, arms; ship's gear; vessels'? Or with *ἐπιτυγχάνω*?]
- o-pi-te-u-ke-we*, KN B 798. Shorter spelling of the preceding.
- o-pi-te-ke-e-u*, PY 97 = Un03. Nom. sing.: (?) *-eui*, defective spelling.
- o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta*, PY Eb06+. Nom. sing.: a title or trade; connected by Carratelli with Cret. *θινός* = *θελός*, but cf. p. 182.
- o-pi-tu-ra-jo*, PY En01. Dat. sing. Furumark, 1954: *opithuraōi*, a man's occupation [cf. Hom. *ἐπιθύριος*, *προθύριον*]; but possibly a man's name.
- o-po-go*, KN 266 = Sd0401+, 274 = Sf0428. Nom. dual or plural. Palmer: *opōg<sup>oi</sup>* 'horse's cheek-pieces', made of leather or ivory. [*\*opi-ōg<sup>a</sup>*, cf. *πρόσωπον*, *μέτωπον*; and *παρόπια* 'blinkers', Poll.+.]
- o-re-ne-ja*, KN Ld579+. Nom. plur. neuter: (?) *-neia*, adj. describing textiles or garments. [Cf. *ώληνη* 'lower arm', *h.Hom.*+? Or cf. *ώληνη*, *ώληνη* 'mat, mattress'?]
- o-re-ne-a*, KN L 593. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- o-ro-jo*, PY 154 = Eq01. Gen. sing. See p. 269.
- o-ro-me-no*, PY 31 = Ae04+. Nom. sing. masc.: *opi...aromenos* 'watching over (animals)'. [*ἐπι...δρουνται* Od. XIV, 104, etc. No trace of \**f*- in Homer either (for suggested connexion with *δράω*, \**wor*). Probably \**ur*-/*sur*-, cf. Avest. *haraiti*, *haruaiti* 'watches'.]
- o-te*, PY 235 = Ta711. Conj.: *hote* 'when'. [*ὅτε* Il. I, 397+.]
- o-ti-ri-ja*, PY Aa05. Nom. plur. fem., name of a trade: (?) *-triai*.
- o-ti-rū<sub>1</sub>*, PY Ab11. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- o-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>-o*, PY Ad683. Gen. plur.: (?) *-tridōn*.
- o-u-di-do-xi* (with *ou-* 'not'), see after *di-do-si*.
- o-u-di-do-to* (with *ou-* 'not'), see after *di-do-si*.
- o-u-ko*, MY Oe108+. Nom. sing.? An object connected with wool?
- o-u-ka*, MY 228 = Oe111. Probably nom. plur. of the preceding.
- o-u-pa-ro-ke-ne-*[-], see *pa-ro-ke-ne*-[to?].
- o-u-ge*, KN L 641, 265 = Sd0403+, 274 = Sf0428, PY Eb39, 148 = Ep04+, 43 = Sn01, 248 = Va01. Conj.: *uq<sup>e</sup>* 'and not, but not'. [*οὐτε* 'and not', Il. XXII, 265+, more often 'neither...nor'. Function of Myc. *uq<sup>e</sup>* is closer to that of class. *οὐδὲ* 'and not, but not', cf. Lat. *ne-que*.]
- o-u-ru-to*, PY 36 = An657. 3rd plur. pres.: *hō uruntōi* 'thus they guard, watch'. [Athematic pres. of *ἐρούμαι* (\**f*(*r*)*rupai*), cf. Hom. inf. *ῥύσσει*, imperfect *ῥύρτο* Il. IV, 138, etc.]



- o-u-te-mi*, KN 207=V 280. *ou themis* 'it is not right by custom'? Thus Georgiev, 1954. [οὐ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ *Od.* xiv, 56.] Or *ou temis* 'there is no border (?)'? See *u-mi*-\*71-*la*.
- o-u-ki-te-mi*, KN 207=V 280. Alternative spelling with *ouk(h)* 'not'. [οὐκ *Il.* xx, 253, etc., later οὐχι, possibly with a different etym.]
- o-u-wa-ze*, *o-wa-ze*, see under *u-wa-ze*.
- \**o-wi-de*, PY 154=Eq01, 235=Ta711. 3rd sing. aorist: *hō wīde*, lit. 'thus he/she saw' ('made inspection, checked?'). [Idē *Il.* xi, 243, etc.]
- o-wi-de-ta-i*, PY 171=Un718, Wa731. Apparently aor. inf.: *hō wīdeisthai*, see p. 289. [Idē *Il.* i, 587, etc., active sense.]
- o-wa-we*, PY 236=Ta741. Nom. sing. describing tripod cauldron: *aiw-wa-si* 'with a single handle'? [οἶος *Il.* iv, 397+, Cypr. οἶσος.] Or *oiwo-ians* 'provided with handles'. [Cf. τριποδ' ὠτίωντα *Il.* xxiii, 264, etc.?] See p. 337.
- o-wa-mi-i*[-i], PY 42=An17. 'Thus they are penalized'? [ζημιῶς Herodotus+, *ζημία* Aesch.+, Dor. *zēmia*.] Cf. also the man's description *za-mi-ja*.
- o-ze-to*, PY Vn04. Verbal form, probably 3rd sing. aor. Palmer: *hō gento* 'thus he took'. [γέντο *Il.* viii, 43, etc. Cf. Cypr. ἀπόγειμα ἀφελμα, ὀγγειμος συλλαβή Hesych.] Mühlstein: *hō kaitoi* 'what belongs'.
- \**pa*, PY 256=Ja749, Jn02. Nom. sing. masc.: *toisos pansi* 'so much (bronze) in all'. [πᾶς Homer+, possibly from \**kaiant-*.]
- pa-sa*, KN 90=G 820. Acc. fem. sing. or plur.: *panian* or *paniata*. [πᾶσα, Cret., Thess., Arc. πανσα, Lesb. παῖσα.]
- pa-te*, KN B 1055. Nom. plur. masc.: *pantes* 'so many (men) in all'.
- pa-to*[-i], PY 150=Ec07. Probably gen. sing.: *pantios* 'of everything'; could be *sparto* 'sown'.
- pa-si*, PY 254=Jn04. Dat. plur. masc.: *pansi* 'to them all'. [πᾶσι]
- pa-si-te-o-i*, KN 200=Fp1+, 206=Gg705+. Dat. plur.: *pansi theoi* 'to all the gods'.
- pa-ta*[-i], KN C918. Neut. plur.: *panta*.
- \**pa-ka-nu*, KN 261=Ra1540+. Nom. plur. neuter: (*i?*) *phargana* 'swords'. [φάργων *Il.* xxiii, 824+, Cypr. according to *Anec. Gr.* 1095. Perhaps for \**phag-ikanon*, Prellwitz.]
- pa-ke-te-re*, PY [251=Vn02.6] Vn879, MY 234=Ue611. Nom. plur., name of some kind of artefacts. See p. 332.
- pa-ke-te-ri-ja*, MY W506. Adjective or diminutive derived from the preceding.
- pa-ke-we*, KN V 505. Nom. plur. masc.: *pakheios* 'thick'. [παχύς *Il.* v, 309+.]
- pa-ko-to*[-i], PY 237=Ta709. The name of an artefact, see p. 337.
- pa-ra-de-ro*, PY Vn879. In the description of some kind of artefact.
- \**pa-ra-jo*, PY An08, Cn14+, Na59, 292=Sh740. Dat. sing., nom. plur., etc.: *palaioi* 'old', perhaps also 'of the time before'. [ποταῖος of man's age, *Il.* xiv, 108+; of things, *Od.* ii, 293+. From πόλαι \**q<sup>o</sup>alai* (cf. τῆλε); no evidence for \*-*ros*. Now *palaios*.]
- pa-ra-ja*, KN U 124. I. 1568, Se879, PY 286=Sa787+. Nom. plur. neuter, etc.: *palata*.
- pa-ra-ke-te-e-we*, PY Jn750. Nom. plur. masc., of 'active' smiths: *praktikes*? [Cf. πρῆκτηρ 'doer of deeds', *Il.* ix, 443; 'trader', *Od.* viii, 162+, also πράκτωρ?]
- pa-ra-ke-[we]*, PY 239=Ta642. Instr. sing.: name of a material used to inlay furniture, see p. 340.
- pa-ra-ku-we*, PY 244=Ta714+. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- pa-ra-ku*, PY Cn24. A form of βραχύς 'short' (but cf. Aeol. βρόγυς)?
- pa-ra-ku-ja*, KN Ld580. Nom. plur. neuter, adj. describing garments: derived from one or other of the preceding?
- pa<sup>3</sup>-ra-ku-ja*, KN 217=L 587. Alternative spelling of the preceding?
- \**pa<sup>2</sup>-ra-to-ro*, 237=Ta709. Nom. sing. Palmer: *spalathron* 'oven-rake' or similar. [σπάλαθρον Poll., equivalent of σπάλαυθρον, σκάλαυθρον, σκάλευθρον.]
- pa-ra-ya*, PY 286=Sa787. Adj. applied to wheels. See p. 374.
- \**pa-ra-wa-jo*, KN 299=V 789, PY 293=Sh737. Nom. dual: Bennett: *parawaiō* 'pair of (helmet) cheek-pieces'. [Cf. κόρυθος διά χαλκοπαρήν *Od.* xxiv, 523+; Hom. παρήν (par-dusion), plur. παρειαι 'cheek'; 'cheek-piece' *h.Ham.* +; Lesb. παραύα.]
- pa-ra-we-wa*, PY 42=An17, 250=Vn01. A description of *wo-no* (probably 'wine'). [Probably not an inflexion of πρᾶος, Ep. πρῆος 'mild, gentle' (never of taste), \**praiwo-/praiw-*, but a gen. plur. Connected with Πράμειος οἶνος *Il.* xi, 639, etc., of unknown derivation?]
- \**pa-ro*, KN Ai115, C 908+, Dk945, L 5916, Ld871, PY An15+, 61=Cn04+, 109=Ea782+, Eb747+, 118=Ec01+, 131=Ep01+, 147=Eq03, Mn02, Pa01+, 96=Un02, Vn04, Xb01. Prep. with dative: *paro* 'in the care of, from the hands of, in or from the place of'. [παρά Homer+; with gen. in sense 'from' in Epic, Att.-Ionic, but cf. ἀπό, ἐξ with dat. in Arc.-Cypr.; -α from \**-a?* \**-a?* \**-a?*]
- pa-ro-ke-ne-[to?]*, PY 16=Ad686. Perhaps 3rd sing. aor. middle: *ou paro-geneto* 'did not present himself'. [καὶ σφιν παρεγίνετο ἐσσι *Od.* xvii, 173+.]
- \**pa-sa-ro*, PY 247=Ta716. Dual: *passalē* 'two (gold) pegs, rivets'. [πάσσαλος *Il.* xxiv, 268+, \**pakjalas*, cf. πήσσω, πήγνυμι 'fasten in'.]
- \**pa-si*, PY 135=Ep704. 3rd sing. pres.: *phasi*



- 'says, affirms'. [*φησι* Homer+, Dor. *φῶσι*, Lesb. *φῶσι*.]
- \**pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-u<sub>1</sub>*, KN (prob. not 39=As1517), PY Jn03+, 258=Kn01. Nom. sing.: *basileus*, probably not 'sovereign king' but 'head man of tributary village' or 'prince'. [Cf. *βασίλειος* *εἶσι* καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἐν Ἰθάκῃ *Od.* i, 394. Etym. unknown; now *easily*.]
- \**pa<sub>2</sub>-si-re-wi-ja*, KN 232=K 875, PY [Ad15], 91=Fu02+. Gen. or dat. sing.: *basileuō* 'the retinue of a *basileus*'? [Adj. *βασιλικός* Homer+, Ionic *βασιλική* 'kingdom' Herodotus+.]
- \*[*pa<sub>2</sub>*]-*si-re-wi-jo-te*, PY 43=Sn01. Nom. plur. masc.: *basileuōntes*, archaic pres. part. of *βασιλεύω*, 'functioning as *basileus*'.]
- pa-ta-fa*, KN 264=Ws1704+. Nom. plur. neuter: *paltaiā* (?) 'arrows', on scalings from a box of arrows. [Cf. *πᾶλτόν* 'dart', Aristoph.+]. Probably not connected with *σπάθη* 'broad blade', dim. *σπασθίον*.]
- pa-ta-fo-i*, PY 257=Jn09. Dat. plur.: *paltaiōi* (?) 'points for arrows'.
- \**pa-te*, PY 28=An42. Nom. sing.: *patēr* 'father'. [*πατήρ* Homer+, now *patras*.]
- pa-te-de*, PY 28=An42. *patēr de* 'and the father'.
- \**pa-we-a*, KN 211=Lc532+, 214=Ld571+, 219=L 594+. Nom. plur. neuter: *pharissā* 'large pieces of cloth, cloaks'. [*φᾶρος* *Od.* v, 258, *Il.* ii, 43+; cf. Lett. *barres* 'sails'.]
- pa-we-a<sub>2</sub>*, KN [Lc786+], L 7378, MY 227=Oe127. 'Mainland' spelling of the preceding.
- pa-we-o*, KN X 651. Gen. sing. or plur.: *pharissas*, -*ōn*.
- pa-we-pl*, KN L 104. Instr. plur.: *pharissaphi*.
- pa-we-si*?, MY 228=Oe111. Dat. plur.: *pharissasi*.
- pa-wo-ke*, PY Aa795, Ab19. Nom. plur. 'fem.': Palmer *par-wages* 'supplementary labour, extra hands'. [*\*par-wag-*, as *ὄζυγες* from *\*jug-*. Cf. *παρεργάτης* Eurip.+.]
- pa-wo-ko*, PY 13=Ad691, La632. Gen. plur.: *pariworgōn*.
- pe-da*, KN X 114. Sitig, Georgiev: *peḏa muntu* 'into the town'.
- pe-de-we-su*, PY 237=Ta709. Nom. sing. fem.: 'provided with a *peḏ-*', see p. 338.
- pe-di-je-we*, PY 58=An654. Nom. plur.: *pediōn* [Att. *πῆδαι*]; meaning uncertain. See p. 192.
- \**pe-i*, PY 57=An43+, 190=Na55. Dat. plur. pron.: *meta ipheis* (or *sphēi*?) 'with them'. [Hom., Dor., Lesb., Ion. *σφι*(v), also Hom., Att.-Ion. *σφι*(v), Arc. *σφεις*. This pronoun is apparently extended from a pluralization of *\*sphi* 'to himself', Lat. *ibi*, Osc. *sifei*, Schwyzler, *Gram.* i, 601-3.]
- pe-ki-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>*, PY Ab16. Nom. plur. fem., a woman's trade: *pektriai* 'wool-carders'. [*βυφαί* . . . *ἐργα πεκτρῶν χιτῶν* *Od.* xviii, 316.]
- pe-ki-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>-o*, PY 3=Ad694. Gen. plur.: *pektridōn*.
- pe-ki-ti-*, KN L 656. Probably connected with the preceding.
- pe-ko*, KN D 7067+, PY 77=Cn23, Acc. sing.: *pekōs* 'hide'? See p. 208. [*πέκος* Nicander.]
- pe-ko-to*, KN 210=Lc526+, L 698. The name of a kind of textile or garment, probably connected with *pe-ki-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>*; see p. 315.
- \**pe-ma*, KN 101=Ga675+, PY 152=Ec01+. Nom. sing. neuter: *sperma* 'seed' (of wheat or coriander). [*σπέρμα* Homer+.]
- pe-mo*, PY 33=Ac077, 108=Ea817+, 133=Eh08+, Ec06, 117=En01+, 121=Eo04+, 131=Ep01+, 154=Eq01+, 167=Fa650. Apparently synonymous with the preceding: a variant spelling *spermo*; or *spermios* (in specialized sense 'amount or area sown?'). Or abbrev. for *σπερμοβολία*, etc.?
- pe-ne-we-te*, KN Ld5108. Dual or plur., adjective in *-wente -wentes* describing garments. See p. 318.
- pe-ne-we-ta*, KN 214=Ld571+. Nom. plur. neuter: (?) *-wenta*.
- pe-pa<sub>2</sub>-to*, KN 270=Sd0402+. Part of a chariot. See p. 367.
- \**pe-re*, KN Od562, PY 172=Kn02. Part of the verb *pher-* 'bring, take'.
- pe-re-ke*, KN 225=L 520. 3rd sing. pres.: *per-ekhei* 'comprises'? [*περιέχω*, Aeol. *πεπερέχω*.] Not connected with *πέλεω* 'plait'? Sitig reads *peleke(wes)*, a unit of weight.
- pe-re-ke-we*, PY Aa765, Ad19, MY Oe130. Nom. plur., name of a class or trade. [Cf. *πλοκῆς* 'plaiter', Epich. 5 n.c.2? Probably not from *πέλεκος*, 'axe-(men)'?]
- pe-re-ku-ta*, KN [As602], PY An25. Nom. sing. or plur.: *preisutās* 'old man'? [Att. *πρεσβυς*, *πρεσβότης*, Dor. *πρεῖγυς*, *πρεῖγυτας*, etc., from *\*prei-g-*.]
- pe-re-go-ta*, KN C 50, PY An16, Eb22, 116=En659. Previously taken as variant of 'old man'; but appears to be a man's name, also spelt *Qe-re-go-to-s* (gen.).
- pe-go-ta*, PY, 116=En659.5, 123=Eo06. Noun apparently used to distinguish one man of the same name from another: 'old man'?
- \**pe-ri-ro-wo*, KN V 479 rev. Introducing list of men. Georgiev: *perilaiq'oi* 'remaining, surviving'. [*περλοιπός* Aristoph.+.]
- \**pe-ri-ke*, MY 234=Ue611. Nom. plur., name of a vessel: *pelikes*. [*πέλις* 'κόλιξ ἢ προχολιδιον' Cratin. 5 n.c. ap. Poll.; cf. Att. *πῆληξ*=*χάψ*, Aeol. *πέληξ* 'basin'.]
- \**pe-ru-si-nu-wo*, PY 181=Ma14+. Neuter sing.: *perusinnu* 'last year's'. [*περυσινός* Aristoph.+; from *\*per-uli-* (cf. *ῥέτος*), Ski. *parā* 'last year'; now *pēri*. IE *\*-inu-* shows no other trace of variant *-inuos* (Hom. *ὀπωρινός* can be explained *metri gratia*).]



- pe-ra-si-wa*, PY 179 = Ma09. Probably a defective spelling of the preceding.
- pe-ru-si-nu-wa*, PY 180 = Ma01+. Neuter plur.: *peruiniwau*.
- pe-ru-si-ni-wa*, KN 283 = So0442, MY 228 = Oe111. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- pe-65-ka*, PY Vn879. Nom. plur. neuter?; description of an artefact: *per-* added to same stem as *e-pi-65-ka*?
- \**pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra*, PY 238 = In996. Nom. plur. fem.: *phialai* 'boiling-pans'. [*φιάλη* *Il.* xxiii, 270, later in sense 'drinking-bowl', also *φιάλη*; etym. unknown.]
- pi-je-ra<sub>2</sub>*, PY 237 = Ta709. Alternative spelling of preceding: *phialai*.
- pi-ri-je*, KN 230 = K 740. With sign ZE: here to be taken as 'saw', not 'pair'? [Cf. *πρίων* 'saw', *Soph.* +.]
- pi-ri-je-te*, KN 262 = Ra1548+. Nom. sing., name of trade concerned with swords: *priētēr*? 'cutler' (cf. *πριστήρ*)? Or from *πρίσσειν* (\**g<sup>h</sup>ri-*) 'buy'?
- pi-ri-e-te-si*, PY An30. Dat. plur.: *priētēsi*, alternative spelling.
- pi-ri-je-te-re*, PY 52 = An26. Dual: *priētra*.
- pi-ti-ro<sub>2</sub>-we-sa*, PY 240 = Ta713. Nom. sing. fem.: *ptilouessa* 'decorated with a feather pattern' or similar, of a table. [*πτεῖλον* 'feathers, down; insect's wing', *Herodotus* +.]
- po-da*, KN V 1524. Context fragmentary: *spoudā* 'drink-offering'?
- \**po-de*, PY 236 = Ta641. Dat. sing.: *podēi* 'foot, leg' (of tripod cauldron or table). [*πούς* *Homer* +, *Dor.* *πώς*, \**pod*; now *pōdi*.]
- po-pi*, PY 239 = Ta642. Instr. plur.: \**pod-phi* > *popphi*, cf. *ge-to-ro-po-pi*.
- po-ka-ta-ma*, PY 238 = In996. Nom. sing.: *poiklāma* 'additional property, extra acquisition'? [Arc. *ποσ-* = *προσ-*. Cf. *προσκόμομαι* *Herodotus* +.] Or *-κάτμα* 'cleansing'?
- po-ki-ro-nu-ka*, KN Ld579+, 218 = L 598+. Nom. plur. neuter: *poikila* (?) -a 'with (many-) coloured a-nu-ke', of garments. Cf. *te-u-ko-nu-ka*. [*ποικίλος* *Il.* v, 735 +.]
- po-ku-ta*, KN B 815+, C 911+, L 469, PY 54 = An19+. Nom. sing. and plur., a class or trade of men: *poikhtai* 'wine-pourers'? [Cf. *Ion.* *προχύτης* = *πρόχοος*; but *προσχέω* is late.]
- po-ku-te-ro*, KN C 911. Adj. connected with the preceding?
- \**po-me*, KN 29 = As821, Dd1376 (+ 5288), PY 31 = Ae04, An06, 111 = Ea23+, 128 = Ea278. Nom. sing. masc.: *poimēn* 'shepherd'. [*ποιμήν* *Od.* x, 82 +; cf. *Lith.* *pieuēns* gen.]
- po-me-ne*, PY 110 = Ea800+, 183 = Na831 (Nn02). Dat. sing. and nom. plur.: *poimenei*, *poimenes*.
- po-me-no*, PY 109 = Ea782. Gen. sing.: *poimenos*.
- \**po-ni-ke*, PY 246 = Ta722. Instr. sing. masc.: *phoinikei* 'with a griffin (?)'. [*Hom.* *φοινίξ* 'Phoenician; purple; date-palm', 'fabulous bird', *Hesiod*, other meanings later. Probably a loan-word: not from *φαινός* 'blood-red', which is from \**g<sup>h</sup>onjos*.] See p. 344.
- po-ni-ki-pi*, PY 244 = Ta714. Instr. plur.: *phoinik-phi*.
- \**po-ni-ki-ja*, KN 270 = Sd0402+, [Sc882], 274 = Sf0428. Nom. sing. and plur. fem.: *phoinikiā*, describing chariots, probably 'painted crimson, dyed crimson', not 'Phoenician; made of palm-wood'. [*φοινικός* *Pindar* +, cf. *νίκας φοινικοπαρήους* *Od.* xi, 124.] Cf. *o-pi-po-ni-ke-ja*, KN L 1568 edge, of textiles.
- po-ni-ke-a*, KN X 1017. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- po-ni-ja-ja*, KN Sd0408. Probably a misspelling.
- po-ni-ki-jo*, KN 99 = Ga418+, 100 = Og424+. Name of a herb or spice measured by weight: alternative name of *knākos eruthrā*, in allusion to its red colour or Phoenician origin? See p. 222.
- po-pa<sub>2</sub>*, KN 165 = Gv862, PY 96 = Un02. Name applied to olives or olive-trees. [Cf. *φορβός* 'giving nourishment', *Soph.* +, *Hom.* *φορβή* 'food for animals', later 'food' in general?]
- \**po-pu-re-ja*, KN 224 = L 474. Nom. plur. fem.: *porphuriai* '(garments) of purple'. [*ἐῤῥος πορφύρεον* *Il.* viii, 221 +, *Aeol.* *πορφύριος*. Semantic connexion with *πορφύρω*, 'swirl', is dubious.]
- po-pu-ro<sub>2</sub>*, KN L 758. Dual fem.: *porphurid*.
- po-re-na*, PY 172 = Kn02. See p. 285.
- \**po-ri-wa*, KN 217 = L 587. Nom. plur. neuter: *polina* 'grey', of textiles. [*πολιός* *Il.* ix, 366 +; \**πολιφος*, cf. *Lith.* *palwas* 'pale yellow', *Slav.* \**palad* 'white'.] Cf. man's name *Po-ri-wo*, C 911.3.
- \**po-ro*, KN 82 = Ca895. Dual, with 'maneless horse' ideogram. *Evans*: *pōllē* 'two colts, foals'. [*πῶλος* *Od.* xxiii, 246 +.] Also 'young donkeys'.
- po-ro-e-ke*, PY 240 = Ta713+. Nom. sing. fem.: *prokhlē* 'projecting' (?), of a table. [Cf. *προέχω* 'project', *Od.* xu, 11 +, *προεχής* *Plutarch* 'three-dimensional'.]
- po-ro-i-ra*, KN Od690. May be a proper name. [*πῶρα* 'prow' is probably from \**pro-uaira*, which would not fit here.]
- po-ro-ko-re-te*, see after *kū-re-te*.
- po-ro-da-ma-te*, *po-ru-da-ma-te*, etc., see after *du-ma*.
- po-ro-ko-wa*, KN Fh350+. Perhaps a noun applied to olive-oil. [Cf. *προχούη* 'river mouth, outpouring', *Homer* +.] Cf. *e-pi-ko-wa*.
- \**po-ro-ko-wo*, MY 234 = Ue611. Nom. plur.: *prokhousi* 'water-jugs, wine-jugs'. [*πρόχοος* *Od.* xviii, 397 +, *Att.* *πρόχους*, dial. *πρόχος*.]
- po-ro-to*, KN Od562. *prōto* 'first'? [*Homer*, *Att.* *Ιου.*, *Arc.*, *Leab.* *πρῶτος*, *Thess.* *πρῶτος*,



- Dor., Boeot., NWGk. *πράτος*. Detailed etym. uncertain.]
- po-ro-wi-to-jo*, PY 172=Kn02. Gen. sing., introducing 'reverse' of tablet: Palmer: a month-name connected with *πλώζω*, *πλώμα* 'sailing weather'?
- †po-su-po-de*, PY 246=Ta722. Instr. sing. Bennett: *polypodei* 'inlaid' with an octopus'. [Gen. *πολύποδος* *Od.* v, 432+, Dor. *πώλυ*, metri gratia; prose *πολύποδος*; also gen. *πολύπου*, *πώλυπος*, *πώλυπος* with change of declension.]
- po-tu-go-to*, PY An31. Nom. plur., description of men: *polytaloí* 'with more than one ox'?, 'with a large field'? [Cf. *πολυβοῦται* *Il.* ix, 194+, also *πολύβοτος*, -βώτος. Hardly for *πολύβατος* 'much-trodden'.]
- †po-ti*, KN 270=Sa0402+. Adverb: *posi*, *posi-sseni* 'they are attached, in addition'; cf. *ἐν* for *ἐνισσι*. [*πρόσσει* Aesch.+, Arc. *πρόσει* < \**πρόσει*. \**poti* > Dor. *ποτί*, *πότ*, Arc.-Cypr. *πός* (cf. Av. *pa'ti*), parallel to \**proti* > Hom. *πρότι*, Att.-Ion., Lesb. *πρός*, Skt. *prati*.]
- po-ti-ke-to-re*, PY 54=An19. Nom. plur. masc., a class of men: *pos-ik(e)ter* 'suppliants, refugees'? [*προσέκτωρ* Aesch., *βοήτης* *Il.* xxiv, 158, *ἐκτῆρ* Soph.+, same sense.]
- †po-ti-ni-ja*, KN 208=V 52, Gg702, M 729, PY Cc665, Fn01, 172=Kn02, Vn07. Nom. and dat. sing. fem.: *potnia* 'mistress', sometimes (if not always) of Athena. [*πότνια* Homer+, cf. Skt. *potni*.]
- po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, KN D1 930+ [F 760], PY [Ep04], 253=Ja01+, [Un09]. Nom. sing. and plur. masc.: *potnia(iw?)ias*, apparently 'subject to the goddess (or queen?)'. [The *-we-* is difficult to explain, see p. 127.] Also spelt *-we-i-jo* on KN X 7742.
- po-ti-ni-ja-we*, KN D1 943. Defective spelling of the preceding.
- po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo-jo*, PY 154=Eq01. Gen. sing.: *potnia(iw?)iois*.
- †po-ti-pi*, 242=Ta707. Instr. plur.: *portiphi* 'with heifers, cows'. [*πόρπις* *Il.* v, 162+.]
- po-ti-ro*, KN V 1002+. Introducing (?) lists of men or boys.
- po-ti-[-?]-we*, KN 232=K 875? K 873? Name of a kind of vessel? See p. 328.
- pte-no*, KN 270=So0402+. Part of a chariot, 'foot-steps'? Dual in *-s* from *-a* stem? [Cf. *πίτερον* 'heel', *Il.* xxii, 397; later figurative uses.]
- †pte-re-wa*, KN Se879+, 281=So0440+. Gen. sing., describing wheels: *ptelawā* 'of elm-wood', *Ulmus glabra*. [*πτελέη* *Il.* vi, 419+; \**πτελέη*, cf. OHG *filaga* 'willow'.]
- pe-te-re-wa*, KN 278=So894. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- pu-ka-ta-ri-ja*, KN 224=L 474+, MY X 308. Nom. sing. and plur. fem.?: *puktalia* -*iai*, a kind of garment, Chadwick: 'double-thickness, folded'. [Cf. *πυκτός* *Il.* vi, 169+, dissimil. *πυκτός*, etc., cf. *πυκνός*. Cf. Ugaritic *miṣṣim* 'doubled garment, possibly for mourners', Gordon no. 88.] But cf. also *πυκταλίζω* 'box, fight', Anacreon 7 v.c.
- †pu-ka-wo*, PY 50=An18+. Nom. plur. masc., a man's trade: *pur-kawoi* 'fire-kindlers'. [*πυρκαῖος* Soph.; *πυρκαῖή* 'pyre', *Il.* vii, 428+; *πυρκαῖοι*, of the Delphians, Orac. ap. Plu. 2, 406e (for *-i-* in composition see Schwyzler, *Gram.* i, 447).]
- pu-ko-so e-ke-e*, PY 241=Ta715. Nom. dual fem., describing tables: *pauw-ekhee* 'containing box-wood'? [*πύξος*; Homer only adj. *πύξινος*. Etym. unknown.]
- †pu-ra-u-to-ro*, PY 237=Ta709. Nom. dual fem. or neuter: *paraustro* 'fire-tongs'. [*πύραυστρα* = *πυράγρο* *IG*, 2<sup>a</sup>, 47, 18, 4 n.c., *πύραυστρον* Herodas iv, 62; *πύρ* + \**auw-*, cf. Lat. *auris*. Compare Cypr. *ἐναυον* 'ἐνθεός', (f) *παυον* 'ἐς Hesych. The Hom. *αὖω* shows specialization of meaning, see Karageorghis, 1954.]
- †pu-ta*, KN 166=Gv864. Nom. plur. neuter: *phuta* 'young orchard trees or vines'. [*φυτόν* *Od.* xxiv, 227+.]
- †pu-ta-ri-ja*, KN E 849. Nom. sing. or plur. fem.: *phutalia* 'orchard, vineyard'. [*φυταλή* *Il.* vi, 195+.]
- pu-te-ri-ja*, KN 155=Uf981+. Alternative spelling of the preceding?
- pu-te*, KN 157=Uf835. Probably an abbreviation of the preceding. Could be *phuter*, see the succeeding.
- pu<sub>2</sub>-te-re*, KN V 159, PY 193=Na57. Nom. plur., Palmer: *phuteres* 'planters'. [*φυτεύω* *Od.* ix, 108+, *φύτελα* 'planting', Xenophon+.]
- [pu<sub>2</sub>-te-me-no*, PY 153=Er02. Probably [*pe*-*phutēmenon* 'planted with trees'. [*γῆ παρυσιαμένη* Herodotus.] See p. 267.]
- qe-qi-no-me-no*, PY 249=Va02. Nom. plur.: perhaps *q<sup>2</sup>eg<sup>2</sup>indēmnoi* 'carved' or similar. [*δινειτός* *Od.* xix, 56, etc., *ἀμφιδέσινεται* *Il.* xxiii, 562; etymology obscure.] See p. 341.
- qe-qi-no-me-na*, PY 242=Ta707+. Nom. sing. and plur. fem.: *-menā* -*menai*.
- qe-qi-no-to*, PY 239=Ta642. Instr. sing. masc., etc., alternative verbal adjective, 'carved', with problematic reduplication: *-āwā*, etc.
- qe-ra-na*, PY 235=Ta711. Nom. sing. fem.: 'ewer, jug'. Vocalization uncertain, see p. 327.
- qe-ra-si-ja*, KN 200=Ep1+. Probably a cult term. [Connected with Hom. *θήρη* 'hunting' (\**ghēra*)? or island Therasia?] Furumark, 1954, compares *τίρος*, *τεράτεια* (\**q<sup>2</sup>er-*). See p. 303.
- qe-ra-si-ja*, KN Ep16. Alternative spelling in same formula.



- 3] *qe-ro-me-no*, PY 14=Ad697. Nom. plur. masc.: *q<sup>o</sup>elamnoi* 'who become, will be?' [*τίλωμαι* (Aeol.) 'become', Homer +, Cret. *τίλωμαι* 'will be' (\**q<sup>o</sup>el-*).] Or *q<sup>o</sup>elamnoi* 'willing'; cf. Dor. *δῆλωμαι*.
- qe-ro<sub>2</sub>*, KN 300=G 5670, 230=K 740, 299=V 789, X 5306. Nom. dual and plur. masc.: name of a bronze artifact of more or less rectangular shape. See p. 380.
- qe-te-a*, KN Fp363. Nom. plur. neuter: probably a kind of transaction, 'payment due'? [Cf. *τέλος* Callim. 3 a.c., but this may be from \**tel-*; or cf. *θέσασθαι* 'pray for, desire', Hom. ἀπό-θέστος (\**q<sup>o</sup>elb-*?)]. See p. 220. Mühlestein: = *πῖτερ* 'to be paid'.
- qe-te-a<sub>2</sub>*, PY 96=Un02. 'Mainland' spelling of the preceding.
- qe-te-o*, KN Fh348, 222=J 693, 1. 513. Gen. sing. or plur.
- qe-to*, PY 236=Ta641, MY [234=Ue611]. Nom. plur. masc.: name of a vessel with handles round the body. [Bennett compares *πίθοι*, but this is usually derived from \**bhidh-*, cf. Lat. *fidelia*.]
- qe-ti-ja*, MY 234=Ue611, sealing Wt504. Nom. plur., possibly a diminutive of the preceding.
- ‡*qe-to-ro-po-pi*, PY 31=Ae04+. Instr. plur.: *q<sup>o</sup>etropa<sup>o</sup>phi* 'watching over the four-footed animals'. [*τετραπόδα* 'animals', Herodotus+. For *q<sup>o</sup>etru-* cf. Thess. *πετροστης* 1 a.c.].
- ‡*qe-to-ro-we*, PY 236=Ta641. Nom. sing. neuter: Blegen: *q<sup>o</sup>etrhoes* 'with four handles'. [= *τετραδωτος* Zenob. 2 A.D.; see *a-no-wo*].
- qi-ri-ja-to*, KN B822, X 1037. Perhaps *q<sup>o</sup>riato* 'he bought' (Furumark). [*πρίοτε* Od. 1, 490+, cf. Skt. *kṛīṇāmi*.] But see p. 82 for labio-velars before consonants.
- ‡*qi-si-pe-e*, PY 247=Ta716. Dual: Bennett *xiphos* 'two swords'. [*ἔιφος* neuter, Il. 1, 194+; etym. unknown.].
- ‡*qo-o*, PY 76=Cn22. Acc. or gen. plur.?: *q<sup>o</sup>δ(n)s* or *q<sup>o</sup>oδn* (with dissim. of labials?) 'cattle'. [Acc. plur. Att. *βοῦς*, Dor. *βῶς* (\**q<sup>o</sup>oδn*, Skt. *gāu*), also Hom. *βόας* (\**q<sup>o</sup>oδn-qu*); gen. plur. Common Gk. \**q<sup>o</sup>oδn*.] See p. 207.
- ‡*qo-u-ka-ra*, PY 235=Ta711. *q<sup>o</sup>u-ka-rā* 'bull's head'. [There are no classical compounds of *-καρα*, but cf. *βούκρανον*, -ον, *βουκεφάλιον*.]
- [*qo*]-*u-ka-ra-o-i*, PY 244=Ta714. Probably instr. dual.
- ‡*qo-u-ka-ro*, KN [A6067, X 5610], PY 51=An20+, 183=Np831(Nu02). Nom. plur. masc.: *q<sup>o</sup>uhaloi* 'cowherds'. [*βουκόλοι* Il. xiii, 571+; either from *-q<sup>o</sup>uoi* with dissim. of labials (cf. *αἰπόλος*, etc.), or from a different root with \**k-*, cf. Irish *buachail*.]
- ‡*qo-u-qo-te-*, KN X 480. *q<sup>o</sup>uq<sup>o</sup>oδ-* 'herdsman'. [*βουβότας* Pindar.].
- qo-qo-ta-o*, PY Ea11+. Prob. gen. plur. of the preceding.
- qo-wi-ja*, PY 172=Kn02. Adj. *q<sup>o</sup>uwois-* 'oxen's, oxhide-?'. [*βόειος*, *βόας* Homer +.] Furumark assumes mis-spelling of *di-wi-ja* q.v.
- ra-e-ja*, PY 239=Ta642+. Nom. sing. fem., adj. describing tables, see p. 339.
- ra-ke*, PY Eb22, 148=Ep04. Georgiev: 3rd sing. aorist: *lukhe* 'was allotted a portion'. [*λάχε* Il. xxiii, 79+].
- ‡*ra-pi-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>*, PY Ab09. Nom. plur. fem., a woman's trade: *ra<sup>o</sup>ptriai* 'sempstresses, stitchers, clothes-menders'. [*ράπτρια* Eust. 12 A.D., cf. *Περὶ ράπτρια*, Piraeus priestess IG, 2<sup>a</sup>, 2361, 12; now *ráptira*. Compare *e-ra-pe-nu-na* = *ἐρραμνίνη*, which also does not show the *r-* proposed in the equation with Lith. *verpiū* 'apin'.]
- ra-qi-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>*, PY Ab18. Probably an eccentric spelling of the preceding (indicating the general labialization of \**q-* before a consonant?). See p. 82.
- ra-qi-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>-o*, PY Ad14 (+667). Gen. plur.: *rap(?)triān*.
- ‡*ra-pte*, PY An25, Ea14+. Masc. of the preceding: *ra<sup>o</sup>pter* 'stitcher, tailor'. [Cf. *ράπτης*, *ραφεύς*, *ραφευτής*; now *ráptis*.]
- ra-pte-re*, KN Fh1056, V 159, PY 52=An26+. Nom. plur.: *ra<sup>o</sup>ptres*.
- ‡*ra-wa-ke-si-jo*, KN E 1569, PY Ea09+, 147=Eg03, 152=Er01, 195=Na67. Nom. and dat. sing., masc. and neuter: *lāwage<sup>o</sup>siat*, etc. 'of the leader of the people'. [Cf. *κυνηγέτης/κυνήτοριον* Herodotus+].
- ra-wa-e-si-jo*, KN E 846. Probably a defective spelling of the preceding.
- ra-wa-ke-si-jo-jo*, PY Ea25+. Gen. sing. masc.: *lāwage<sup>o</sup>siō*.
- ra-wu-ke-ja*, KN 38=As1516. Probably for *lāwage(n)ā-* (cf. *basiloid-* in the same context).
- ‡*ra-wu-ke-ta*, PY 55=An724, 171=Un718+. Nom. and dat. sing.: *lāwage<sup>o</sup>lās -tāi* 'leader of the people, commander (?)', see p. 120. [*ῥαγέτας* Pindar+; inaccr. *λαφo-*, *-λαφος*, etym. unknown. Palmer compares OHG *heri-ego*, OEng. *folc-taga*.]
- ra-wi-ja-ja*, PY Aa807, Ab25. Nom. plur. fem., a class of women: *lāwaiiai* 'captives, won on a raid'. [Cf. *ληϊάδες* Il. xx, 193+, from Ion. *ληη*, Dor. *ληα*, Att. *λεία*; \**λῆρια*, cf. *ἐπιλοχῶ*.]
- ra-wi-ja-ja-o*, PY 16=Ad606. Gen. plur. fem.: *lāwaisiān*.
- re-di-na-to-mo*, PY Eg02. Nom. sing. masc., probably a trade: *re<sup>o</sup>dina-tomas* 'tapper of pine-resin, retinia?'. [*ῥητινη* Hippocr. 5 a.c.+; etymology uncertain.].
- re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo*, PY Xa01, 1217 (*re-ke-e*). With 01E ideogram. Bennett: 'for bed coverings?'. [Cf. *λέχος στρωτόν* Hesiod+].



- \**re-po-to*, KN 222=J 693. Neuter sing.: *linon* 'lepton' 'thin, fine'. [*λεπτός* *ōdōnas* 'fine linens', *Il.* xviii, 595+; now *leptōs*.]  
 \**re-qo-me-no*, KN 39=As1517. Nom. plur. masc.: *leiq'omenoi* 'those who are left', cf. *o-pi-ro-qo*, *pe-ri-ro-qo*. [*ol* 8' *oloi* *λεπόντων* *Od.* xxii, 250+, cf. Lat. *linguo*.]  
 \**re-u-ko*, KN L 695, PY 77=Cn23. Dual masc. or neuter: *leukō* 'white'. [*λευκός* Homer+.]  
*re-u-ka*, KN 223=L 471, MY 106=Ge603+. Nom. sing. and plur. fem.: *leukō-ai*.  
*re-u-ko-nu-ka*, KN 217=L 587+, 214=Ld571+. Nom. plur. neuter, describing garments: *leuko*-(?)*-a*, 'with white *o-nu-ke*', q.v.  
*re-u-te-ra*, PY Na52. Defective spelling of *e-te-u-te-ra*, q.v.  
 \**re-wo-pi*, PY 243=Ta708. Instr. plur.: *lewo-phi* > *lecomphi* 'with lions', [*λεων-οντος* *Il.* v, 782+.]  
 \**re-wo-te-jo*, PY 246=Ta722. Instr. plur.: *k(a)ra'phi lewonteis* 'with lions' (heads)'. [*λεόντειος* Aesch.+.]  
 \**re-wo-te-re-jo*, PY 238=Tn996. Nom. sing.? masc.: adj. *lewotrios* 'bath-(tub)', 'for bathing'. [*λουτήριον* 'bath-water', Aristoph.+, *λεωτό* plur. 'bath', *Il.* xxii, 444+. For the apparent vowel metathesis, see p. 160.]  
 \**re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo*, PY 9=Ab27+, 10=Ad676. Nom. and gen. plur. 'fem.': *lewo-to-ro-ko-woi-an* 'bath attendants'. [*λεωτορχός* *Od.* xx, 297+.]  
*ri-na-ko-ro*, PY An15. Nom. sing., prob. a trade. [Cf. *lōvon* 'net', *Il.* v, 487, *λινυγρετής* 'caught in the net', Lyc.?] *ri-ne-ja*, PY Aa18, Ab746. Nom. plur. fem., a women's trade: *liniui* 'flax workers'? *ri-ne-ja-a*, PY 8=Ad670+. Gen. plur.: *liniādn*.  
 \**ri-no*, KN 222=J 693, X 7741, PY 184=Na01. Nom. and acc. sing.: *linn* 'flax, linen, linen thread, etc.'. [*λινον* *Il.* ix, 661+.]  
 \**ri-ta*, KN 219=L 594+. Nom. plur. neuter, in phrase *lita pharwa* 'linen garments'. [*λίτα* acc. plur. alone, *Od.* i, 130, etc. Not *λίτός* 'frugal', Alcæus+.]  
 \**ro-i-ko*, PY 249=Val02. Nom. plur. masc.: *roikoi* 'crooked, irregular'. [*ροικός* Archil. 7 B.C.+; but this may have initial \*fp-, cf. MLC *urich*.]  
*sa-pa*, KN 222=J 693, MY Oc108. Apparently the name of a textile.  
*sa-pi-de*, PY Vn05, MY 105=Ge602+. Nom. plur., a commodity: *sarpides* 'boxes'? [Cf. *σαρπίς* 'sarpis' *An. Ox.* ii, 466, and *σάρπεις* 'κβωτοός' Hesych. Or cf. *σηπία* 'cuttle-fish', *σάλπη* 'saupé fish'?] See p. 227.  
*sa-ra-pe-do*-, PY 153=Er02. The description of a royal land-holding, perhaps a proper name. [Cf. *-pedon* in *γεώπεδον* 'plot of ground', *δλίπεδον* 'coastal plain', *στρατοπέδον* 'encampment'.]  
*sa-ra-pe-do*, PY 171=Un718. Probably nom. plur. of the preceding.  
 \**sa-sa-ma*, MY 105=Ge602+. Nom. plur. neuter: *sasuma* 'sesame seed'. [*σήσυμα* Hipponax 6 B.C.+, Dor. *σάσσυον*. Semitic loan-word, cf. Akkad. *šamūšum*, Ugaritic *šmn*.] Now *sāsmi*, *usāmi*. Also abbrev. *sa*.  
*se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi*, PY 243=Ta708. Instr. plur. neuter, a decorative feature on chairs: 'finials' (lit. 'plank-heads')? See p. 343.  
*se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-i*, PY 242=Ta707+. Perhaps instr. dual.  
 \**se-ri-no*, MY 107=Ge604. Nom. sing., a herb or spice: *selinum* 'celery', *Apium graveolens*. [*σίλινον* *Il.* ii, 776+, now *selina*.]  
 \**si-a-ro*, PY 75=Cn02. Acc. plur.: *sialons* 'fat hogs'. [*σίαλος* *Il.* xxi, 363+; etym. uncertain.]  
 \**si-to*, KN 35=Am819. *sitas* 'grain, ration in cereals'. [*σίτος* (both wheat and barley) *Od.* ix, 87+; now *s(i)ltri* 'wheat'.]  
 \**si-to-ko-wo*, PY 26=An02. Nom. plur. fem., a women's trade: *silo-khowoi* 'grain measurers'. [Cf. class. *σιτομέτρης*; and *Od.* ii, 380 *γρηῖς* ... *δὲ οἱ ἄλφιτα χεῖν εὐροαίεσσι δοροῖσι*.]  
*so-we-ne-ja*, PY 237=Ta709. Nom. sing. fem.: 'provided or decorated with a *so-we-na*'.  
*so-we-no*, PY 245=Ta721+. Instr. sing. or plur.: item of decoration on a footstool, see p. 338.  
 \**su-go-to-o*, PY Ea08+, Ec01, 147=Eq03. Gen. plur.: Furumark *su'gōlōdn* 'of the swineherds'. [*συβώτης* *Od.* iv, 640+.]  
*su-ra-se*, PY 30=Ac03+, 3rd sing. aor. (or fut.?): *sulāse* 'seized'? [*συλάω* Homer+; etym. obscure.]  
*su-ra-te*, PY 30=Ac03+. Nom. sing.: *sulāter* 'exercising the right of reprisal'? Prob. not 'cattle-thief'. [*συλήτωρ* 'plunderer', Aesch., also *συλητής*, fem. *συλήτειρα* Eur.] See p. 169.  
*su-za*, KN 94=F 841, 166=Cv864, PY 153=Er02. Term describing *rio* (or *rio-trees*) ideogram. For *sukia* or *suka*? [*σῦκον* 'fig', *Od.* vii, 121+, Boeot. *τύκον*; *συκία* '-tree', *Od.* vii, 116+, Dor., Aesol. *συκία*. Etym. obscure, perhaps related to Lat. *fiux*, Arm. *thuz*. Now *siko*, *siyd*.]  
 \**ta-na-wa*, PY 287=Sa793. Nom. plur. neuter, describing whorls: *tanawai* 'slender, worn thin, spindly'? [*τανός* *Il.* xvi, 589+, both 'long' and 'thin', cf. *μήλα ταναῦ-ποδα* *Od.* ix, 464. Lat. *tenuis*, Engl. *thin*.]  
*ta-pa-e-o-te*, KN 37=B 823. Nom. plur. masc. (opposite of *a-pe-o-te*): *tappha* (?) *emles* 'present (and milling about)'? [*ταρφίς* plur. 'thick, frequent', *Il.* xi, 387+. Cf. Hom. *θαμά/θαμῆς*, same meaning, and Hom. *θαμίζω* 'come often'.]  
 \**ta-ra-nu*, KN X 1521, PY 242=Ta707+. Nom. sing. masc.: *tharinar* 'foot-stool', etc. [*θρῆνυς* *Od.* xix, 57+, Att. *θρῆνος* 'bench'.]



- ta-ra-nu-we*, PY 245 = Ta721, 251 = Vn02. Nom. plur.; *thrānues*.
- ‡*ta-ra-si-ja*, KN Lc535, 283 = So0442, PY 253 = Jn01+, MY Oe110. Nom. and acc. sing. fem.: Björck *talasiā -ān* 'amount weighed out and issued for processing'; also perhaps in specialized meaning 'wool-spinning'. [Class. *ταλάστια, ταλάσσιουργία* 'wool-spinning'; Lat. *penion* parallels the semantic development. From stem of *τάλαντον* (not directly from *τάλος* 'long-suffering').] See p. 332.
- ta-te-re*, PY An13. Nom. plur., a man's trade: *stathri*? [στᾶτρη only of weights and coins; 'debtor' once Epich. 5 n.c. Cf. also στᾶτρία 'plaiter', Hesych.]
- ‡*ta-to-mo*, KN Ws1703, PY Cn09+, 251 = Vn02. Nom. sing.; *stathmos* 'farmstead; sheep-pen'; prob. also the name of an artefact. [στᾶθμος ποιμνήτος, διοπόλος Hom., also 'post, door-post; balance'.]
- ‡*te-ke*, PY 235 = Ta711. 3rd sing. aorist: *thike* 'appointed, made into'. [θήκε *Od.* xiii, 163, etc.]
- ?*te-ko-to*, PY 167 = Es650 rev. Nom. *tektōn*, or part of a man's name?
- ‡*te-ko-to-ne*, KN 47 = Am826, PY [51 = An20.11]. Nom. plur.; *taktōnes* 'carpenters, wood-workers'. [τέκτονες *Il.* vi, 315+; Skt. *takṣan-*.]
- te-ko-to-a-pe*, PY An24. Combination of *tektōn* with a dubious element: *-apē* 'was absent'? [Dor., Aeol., Arc.-Cyp. ἦς 'he was', Ved. ā; Hom. ἦν, ἔην, etc. is derived from the orig. 3rd plur., Schwyzler, *Gram.* i, 677.]
- te-ko-to-na-pe*, PY 51 = An20 [An38]. Alternative spelling of the preceding, with inclusion of final *-n*.
- ‡*te-me-no*, PY 152 = Er01 (not Er02). Nom. sing. neuter: *temnos* 'area of agricultural land set aside for a chieftain'. [τίμνος βασιλῆϊον *Il.* xviii, 350+, later 'precinct of a god'; cf. Lat. *templum*.]
- te-mi*, see *o-u-te-mi*.
- te-mi*-\*71, KN 278 = So894. Nom. sing. neuter, adj. in *-ni* or *-ant* 'having a border(?)'? [Cf. ἄσπης περιμέσσα *Il.* xvi, 803, etc., of contested meaning.]
- te-mi*-\*71-ta, KN 278 = So894+, PY 287 = Sa793+. Nom. plur. neuter, describing wheels, *termi*-(?)*-ata*.
- te-mi*-\*71-te, KN 279 = So0437+. Dual: *termi*-(?)*-ata*.
- ‡*te-o*, PY 140 = Eb35, 120 = Eo03, 135 = Ep704. Acc. sing.: *theon* 'the god' (or 'goddess?'); on Eo03.7 a mis-spelling for *te-o-jo*. [θεός Homer+, masc. and fem. (as in Attic), also θεᾶ (prob. Aeol.); etym. uncertain; now *théos*.]
- te-o-jo*, PY 137 = Eb30+, Eo07, 114 = En02+, 118 = Eo01+, 143 = Ep715+. Gen. sing.: *theios doleios* -id 'servant of the god(dess)'.  
*te-o-l*, KN E 842, PY 1226. Cf. *pa-ti-te-o-i*, *throi* 'to the gods'.  
*te-i-ja*, PY 1202 (1955), Bennett: adj. *thēta* 'of the gods'; or as proper name? [Θεία Hes. *Theog.* 135, cf. Pind. *Isth.* v, 1.]  
*te-o-qo-ri-ja*, KN Od696. *theopoliis*-, adj. 'of the priests, of the cult'? [θεοπολίω Plato+.]  
Cf. *te-o-po-ri-ja*, KN E 1058.  
*te-pe-ja*, KN L 642. Probably a women's trade. Furumark: *sterpheiai*. [Cf. στέρφος 'hide', Lyc.+.] Wilton: cf. στῆφω 'wreath'.  
*te-pe-ja-o*, PY Ad921. Gen. plur.  
*te-ra-pi-ke*, PY Eb842, 148 = Ep04. 3rd sing. pres.; *therapiskei*? 'serves as a squire'. [Cf. θεραπεύω *Od.* xiii, 265+.]  
*te-re-ja*, PY Eb39 (+940). Probably athematic 3rd sing. pres. (from \**teleiāmi*?), from same stem as word *te-re-ta*, q.v.: *uiq'e teleiā* 'he does (not) perform his feudal duties (or payments)'? [τελέω n 'pay', Homer+ (also τελέω) from \**tel-*; but τελέω 'accomplish' probably from \**qel-*.]  
*te-re-ja-e*, PY Eb39, 148 = Ep04. Pres. inf. of the preceding, prob. synonymous with *wo-re-e*; apparently for *teleimen*.  
(*jo*)-*te-re-pa-to*, KN 201 = Ep14. Probably a verbal form with prefixed *ja* 'thus'. See p. 307.  
*te-re-ta*, KN 47 = Am826, 161 = Uf839+, PY Eb37, Eo07114 = Eo02, 119 = Eo02, Eo02, 152 = Er01. Nom. sing. and plural: a function or office in the pattern of land-tenure: *telestās -tai* 'chief-holder' or similar. [Cf. τελεστά nom. sing. Olympia 6 n.c.]  
*te-re-ta-o*, PY 152 = Er01. Gen. plur.: *telestān*.  
*te-re-te-we*, PY 28 = An42. Meaning unknown, see p. 168.  
‡*te-tu-ko-wo-a*, KN 216 = Ld871. Nom. plur. neuter, perfect participle of *τεύχω*, describing garments: *teukhōsa*, perhaps 'well-made' (Hom. τετυγμένα). [τετυχώς in passive sense only *Od.* xii, 423; επίτονος βοός μινολο τετυχώς. \*τετύχ- is historically correct for the neuter plural, Schwyzler, *Gram.* i, 541.]  
*te-tu-ko-wo-a*, PY 289 = Sa682. 'Mainland' spelling of the preceding.  
*te-u-ta-ra-ka-ro*, PY An09, 120 = Eo03. A man's trade? *teull-agoro* 'beekeeper-collector'? [τεῦ-πλον *Bostrach*+, *Απ. πειπλον*; etym. unknown.]  
*ti-no*, KN L 5923, PY 51 = An20, Xa26. Possibly gen. sing.: *thinos* 'of the shore, coast'. [παρά θίνα θαλάσσης Homer+; etym. obscure.]  
‡*ti-ri-jo-we*, PY 236 = Ta641. Nom. sing. neuter: *dipai tridakes* 'goblet with three handles', cf. *o-no-an*, *ge-to-ra-ate*. [= τριῶτον BGE 544. 17, 2 A.D.]  
*ti-ri-o-we-e*, PY 236 = Ta641. Dual: *tridace*.  
‡*ti-ri-po*, PY 236 = Ta641+. Nom. sing. masc.: Blegen: *tripos* 'tripod cauldron'. [τρίπος *Il.* xxii, 164+, earlier form than τρίπους Homer+.]



- ti-ri-po-de*, PY 236 = Ta641. Dual: *tripode*.  
 †*ti-ri-po-di-ko*, MY 234 = Ue611. Nom. plur.: *tripodikai* 'small tripod cauldrons'. [*tripodikonos* insert., also Attic *deme*.] A man's name on PY Cn12.  
*to-e*, PY Eb842. Fuller spelling of the dative *τῷ*? See p. 87.  
*to-me*, PY 148 = Ep04. Alternative version of the preceding, see p. 87.  
*to-jo-ge*, PY Eb24. *tois q'e* 'and of this'?  
*to-j-ge*, PY 193 = Na57. *to'i q'e* 'and to these'?  
*to-ko*, KN V 1529. Context unknown: *tokos* 'childbirth', 'interest'? *toikos* 'wall'?  
 †*to-ko-do-mo*, PY 51 = An20+. Nom. plur.: *toikodomois* 'builders'. [*toikodōmos* Dion. Alex. (3 A.D.); *oikodōmos* Herodotus+ has perhaps gained at its expense.]  
 †*to-ko-so-wo-ko*, PY 52 = An26. Nom. plur. masc., a man's trade: *toxo-worgoi* 'bowyers, bow-makers'. [= *τοξοποιός* gloss. ap. Poll.; *τόξον* II. iv, 124+, etym. unknown.] *To-ko-so-ta* (cf. Hom. *τοξότα*) on X 7624 is perhaps a name.  
*to-mi-ka*, KN Lc761+. Adj. describing textiles or garments. [Cf. *θῶμυξ* 'cord, string', Herodotus+? Not *τμιλοχον* 'lustrous' (Hesych.), prob. \**τπι-μριλοχον*.]  
*to-ni-jo*, PY 247 = Ta716. Dat. sing.: part of a sword, see p. 347.  
*to-ni-ja*, KN X 192. Connected with the preceding?  
 †*to-no*, PY 242 = Ta707+. Nom. sing. masc.: *thornos* 'chair'. [*θρόνος* Od. i, 145+; cf. *θρόνος* *ὀπρισεδίου* (Cyp.) Hesych.]  
 †*to-pe-za*, KN 207 = V 280, PY 239 = Ta642+. Nom. sing. fem. Bennett: *torpeza* 'table'. [*τράπεζα* Od. xvii, 333+, Bocot. *τπέμεσσα*. Probably from \*(q')*tr-paiza*. Now *trapezi*.]  
*to-pe-za*, PY 241 = Ta715.3. Dual: *torpeza*.  
*to-qi-de*, PY 239 = Ta642+. Imtr. sing., a decorative feature on vessels and furniture: *torq'idni* 'with a running spiral'? [Cf. Lat. *torques*.] See p. 336.  
*to-qi-de-ja*, PY 237 = Ta709. Nom. sing. fem.: *torq'idniā* '(jug) decorated with a running spiral'?  
*to-qi-de-ja*, PY 241 = Ta715. Dual fem.: *tor-q'idniā*?  
*to-qi-de-we-sa*, PY 235 = Ta711. Nom. sing. fem.: *torq'id-wei-sa*, synonym.  
 †*to-ra-ke*, PY 296 = Sh736+. Bennett: nom. plur.: *thorakes* 'corlets'. [*θώραξ* II. xiii, 560+, Att. *θώραξ*, Aeol. *θόρραξ*; etym. obscure.]  
*to-ro-no-wo-ko*, KN 39 = As1517. Nom. plur.?: probably a man's trade, *throno-worgoi*, 'makers of chairs'? But note spelling *to-wo* above. [Cf. Hom. *θρόνα* 'embroidered flowers'?]  
*to-ro-pa*, KN Fh358+. Possibly *traphā* 'food, provisions'. [*τροφή* Aesch.+.]  
*to-pa*, KN Fh339. Probably a defective spelling of the preceding.  
 †*to-ro-qe-jo-me-no*, PY 154 = Eq01. Nom. sing. (or gen. plur.?): *troq'eimmas*, see p. 268. [Mid. part. of *τροπός* II. xviii, 224, cf. *τρώπων* 'be changed', *τροπέσθαι* 'betake oneself', etc.]  
*to-ro-go*, KN Od563. Perhaps *troq'on* 'manner'. [*τρώπος* Pindar+. Also occurs in the man's name *E-a-to-ro-go* (PY Jn05) = *Eōtropos*. Boisacq connects *τρώω*, etc. with \**trēp-*, cf. Skt. *trāpatē* 'be confused'. OLat. *trepit* = *vertit*. But Meillet connects Latin *torqueo* (similarly Schwyzler, *Gram.* i, 295); cf. Cyp. *ἐτροπέσασθαι* *ἐμιατράπεσθαι* (Hesych.), prob. from \**troq'jō*, and the synonyms *ἀτροπος*-*ἀτρε-κίς*.]  
 †*to-so*, KN Am600+, 39 = As1517+, 36 = B 817+, C 912, E 846+, Fh0484, Od666+, Og833, Pp499, V 655, PY 51 = An20, 149 = Eb33, 131 = Ep01+, 154 = Eq01, 152 = Er01+, Gn1184, 256 = Ja749, 171 = Ua718, Xn985, MY 93 = Fo101. Nom. sing. masc. and neuter, nom. plur. masc.: *tassai tassan tassai*, normal Mycenaean totalling formula: 'so much, so many', cf. Aristotle *τὸ τοσόνδε* 'quantity'. [*τόσος* Homer+, Att. *τόσος*, \**toijis*; now *lōsos*, *tōso*, *tōni*.]  
*to-so-de*, PY 58 = An654, 146 = Eb34+, 117 = En01+, 121 = Eo04+, 131 = Ep01+, 154 = Eq01+, 152 = Er01+, 167 = Es650, 253 = Ju01+, 171 = Un718: *tasside*, *tassande*, *tor-voidē*. [*τοσσοδῆ* Homer+. Some of the Myc. contexts may indicate *tassai -de* 'but'; similarly with *to-so-de*.]  
*to-so-jo*, PY 152 = Er01 (not Er02). Gen. sing.: *torsoia*.  
*to-so-ne*, MY Oe118. For *tasson*? Dialectic -*ni*?  
*to-sa*, KN Ap639, C 918, Ga1530, 217 = L 387+, Lc535, Od688, 261 = Ra1540, X 997+, PY 114 = En02, 153 = Er02, Na71, 286 = Sa787, Xn888. Nom. sing. fem., nom. plur. fem. and neuter: *tassā*, *tassai*, *tassai*.  
*to-sa-de*, [KN Ga1530], PY 153 = Er02, 192 = Na50+, 199 = Ng01+, 252 = Vn06. *tasside*, *tassande*.  
 †*to-to*, PY 43 = Sn01. Neuter sing.: *hito astos* 'this (year)'. [*τοῦτος* Homer+, probably for \**to-u-to*, cf. \**δ-u-to*; but a variant \**to-to* is indicated by early Att. inscr. *τοτο*, Schwyzler, *Gram.* i, 611.]  
*to-u-ka*, KN Lc504+. A description of something to do with garments. Cf. *to-mi-ka*, or Mycenaean *u-ka*?  
 †*tu-ka-te-re*, MY Oe106. Prob. dat. sing.: *thugazeti* 'to the daughter (of So-and-so)'. [*θύγατήρ* II. ix, 148+.]  
*tu-na-no*, KN 209 = Lc525+, L 1568. A description of textiles, see p. 315.  
*tu-ra-te-u*, PY An01+. Nom. sing., a class or trade (or ethnic?): (?) *-us*.  
*tu-ra-to-we*, KN B 755. Nom. plur.: (?) *-wesi*.  
*tu-ra-tē-u-ti*, PY Gn01, Vn07. Dat. plur.: (?) *-ewi*.



- ‡*tu-ro<sub>2</sub>*, PY 171=Un718. Nom. plur.: *tūri* 'cheeses', also written with monogram *tu+ro<sub>2</sub>*. [*tu-ro<sub>2</sub>* *Il.* xi, 639+, cf. Av. *nāri*; now *tiri*.]
- tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*, PY 41=An14, Un01. A kind of transaction (in both cases followed by *e-na*)? [Cf. *θρῦρτω* 'break in pieces; enfeeble'?] Carratelli: 'demolition'? Palmer: 'grinding'.
- ‡*tu-we-a*, PY 103=Un08. Acc. plur. neuter: *thues*, prob. 'ingredients for aromatic oil'. [*θύεα* 'burnt sacrifices' *Il.* vi, 270+, orig. 'fragrant smoke'; cf. *ἑλαιον τεθυρωμένον* 'aromatic oil', *Il.* xiv, 172.] See p. 224.
- tu-wo*, PY Un11. Sing. or dual? An enumerated object or commodity. [Cf. *θύον* 'citron-wood' *Od.* v, 60, 'incense' *Soph.*+; and the succeeding.]
- u-do*, KN K 873. Annotation to a vessel (?) *-ua* labelled *u-o*. Apparently *hudōr* 'water'. For a possible oblique form, see *a<sub>2</sub>-yp-u-do-pi*. [*ὑδωρ* *Od.* i, 110+.]
- u-do-ro*, KN [233=Uc160 rev.], PY 238=Un996. Nom. plur., name of a bucket-shaped vessel. A compound of *hudro-* (abbrev.), or a noun *hudroi*? [*ὑδρος* *Il.* ii, 723+, only 'water-snake'; cf. *ὑδρία*, Dor. *ὑδραν(α)*.]
- ‡*u-po*, KN 271=Sd0422, PY [145=En05]. Adverb: *hupo* 'underneath'. [Hom. *ὑπό*, Acol., Boeot. *ὑπό*; Arc. *ὑνύ* perhaps on the analogy of *ἀνύ*, Schwyzler, *Gram.* ii, 474.]
- u-po-we*, KN Le178. Description of two linen (?) tunics. [Cf. Hesych. *ὑποδότης* 'χιτῶν (\*ὑπο-φῆστις)?']
- ‡*wa-na-ka*, KN Vc73, PY 194=Na58, 235=Ta711. Nom. sing.: *wanas* 'the king'. [*ἄναξ* *Il.* i, 442+, Cypr. *wa-na-ze*. Etym. unknown.]
- wa-na-ka-te*, KN 101=Ga675, PY 97=Un03, 1125+. Dat. sing.: *wanaktei* 'to the king'. [Cf. also Phryg. dat. *wanaktei*.]
- wa-na-ka-to*, PY La622 rev. Gen. sing.: *wanaktes*.
- ‡*wa-na-ka-te-ro*, KN X 976, PY 114=En02+, 120=En03+, 152=En01, Thebes I. Nom. sing. masc. and neuter: *wanakteros* 'of the king, royal'. [*ἀνακτόριος* *Od.* xv, 397, and *ἀνακτορῶν* 'palace', *Soph.*+, are evidently remodelled on *ἀνάκτωρ*. Cf. Hom. *βασιλεύ-τατος*.]
- wa-na-ka-te-ra*, KN 209=Le525. Nom. plur. neuter: *wanakten*.
- wa-na-se-wi-ja*, PY 235=Ta711. Nom. sing. fem., adj. *wanauswid* 'belonging to the queen (or to her apartments)'? [*ἄνασσα* Homer + (no adj.). Adj. modelled on *βασιλῆς*, etc., like Hom. *ποιμνῆς*, *ξανῆς*, Ion., *γυναικῆς*.]
- wa-no-so-i*, PY 1219 (1955, elsewhere *wa-na-so-i*). Conceivably from *ἄνωσος* (dual?).
- wa-ra-wi-ta*, KN So0433. Nom. plur. neuter, describing wheels? Or a man's name? [Cf. (*ἄρ*)*ραιστος* 'undamaged'; Schol. to *Od.* xiii, 259? Ion. *ῥήιστος* 'easiest' may be from *\*wāristos*.]
- wa-o*, PY 247=Ta716. Noun followed by axe-shaped ideogram and numeral 2: part of a sword? [Probably not *ἄρ* 'sword' (either *\*wior*=Lat. *ensis*, or *\*awor* from *ἀίρω*).]
- wa-to*, KN 83=Ch902+, Thebes II+. Perhaps *wastos* 'citizen'; see p. 212. [*ἄστος* *Il.* xi, 242+.]
- ‡*wa-tu*, KN X 114, PY Eq887, 172=Kn02.1. *watu* 'the town'. [*ἄστν* *Il.* ii, 332+, cf. Arc. *φασσυνόχω*, Skt. *astu*.]
- ‡*we-a<sub>2</sub>-no-i*, PY 1225 (1955). Bennett: *wianoi*? 'for the fine robes'. [*ἰωνός* *Il.* xxi, 507+.]
- we-a-re-ja*, PY 239=Ta642. Nom. sing. fem., adj. describing tables and chairs: (?) *-eid*, see p. 340.
- we-a<sub>2</sub>-re-jo*, PY 244=Ta714. Nom. sing. masc.: (?) *-eios*.
- we-je-ke-a<sub>2</sub>*, PY 286=Sa787. Nom. plur. neuter, adj. in *-ei* describing wheels: (?) *-ea*, see p. 373.
- we-je-ke-e*, PY 285=Sa02+. Dual: (?) *-ee*.
- we-je-we*, KN 164=Gv863, [PY 153=Er02.5]. Nom. plur.: a kind of plant?
- ‡*we-ka-ta*, KN [B 802?], 84=G 59+. Nom. plur., describing oxen: *wergatai* 'working oxen, ox-teams'. [*βοῦς ἐργάτης* Archil., *Soph.*]
- we-ka-ta-e*, KN X 1044. Perhaps intended as dual of the preceding, cf. *e-ge-ta-e*.
- we-ke*, PY 236=Ta641+. See *ke-re-si-jo*.
- we-ke-i-ja*, KN 35=Am819. Furumark: *wergia* 'Tagewerke'?
- we-ko-we-ka-te*-, KN Ak630. Nom. plur., apparently describing young craftsmen: *wēd-wergatai*? [Cf. *ἑκέπυος* *Il.* v, 439+, probably from *\*wēkē-* 'working at will'; could also be for *\*wēkēd-* (*ἑκός*) 'secluded, far away', or *werga*.]
- we-pe-za*, PY 240=Ta713. Nom. sing. fem., describing a table. *\*we<sup>4</sup>peza* 'with six feet' (?), see p. 342, and cf. *e-ne-wo-pe-za*.
- we-re-ka-ra-ta*, PY An08. Nom. plur., a man's trade: *wergaldai*? [Cf. Grt. *τεργαλειον* 'tool, instrument'.]
- we-re-ka-ra*, PY 54=An19. Probably a defective spelling of the preceding.
- we-re-ke*, PY 61=En04+. Perhaps 3rd sing. pres.: *wergei* 'encloses, pens in' (of sheep). [*ἐργω* *Od.* x, 283+, Att. *ἐργω*; cf. Skt. *vrajāḥ* 'paddock, stable'.] See p. 199.
- ‡*we-to*, PY 178=Ma13, 43=Sn01. Acc. sing. neuter: *wetas* 'year'. [*ἔτος* *Il.* xxiv, 765+, Cypr. *ētōs*.]
- we-te-i-we-te-i*, PY 168=En644. Reduplicated dat.-loc.: *wetel wetel* 'from year to year, every year'. [=class. *ἐτησίη*. Cf. Skt. loc. *varṣa-varṣa* 'every year'.]



‡*we-we-e-a*, KN Le178, 220=L 870. Nom. plur. neuter, describing textiles: *werweea* 'woollen'. [Att. ἑρῶ (\**esa*) neuter plur., Ion. ἑρῖνοι Herodotus +; from Hom. ἑρῶς 'wool', from orig. \**werwes-*, cf. Lat. *vervex* 'sheep'.] Cf. ]*we-we-a*, PY Xn878.

*we-we-si-je-jo*, PY Aa762, Ab26. Nom. plur. fem., a women's trade: *werwesistai* 'wool-workers'? [Cf. the preceding, and ἑρῖσιων 'olive-branch wound with wool'.] *We-we-si-jo* is a man's name.

*we-we-si-je-ja-o*, PY Ad10. Gen. plur.: *werwesistān*.

‡*wi-ti-ni-jo*, KN 266=Sd0401. Dual? Palmer: *witniš* 'made of leather'. [δῖνός *Od.* i, 108+, cf. Hom. *ταλαῖρινος* < *ταλά-ρινος*.]

*wi-ti-ne-o*, KN Sd0408+, 274=Sf0428+. Alternative spelling: *witniš*.

*wi-ti-ne-jo*, KN Sd0415. Third alternative: *witniš*.

*wi-ti-za*, KN OdM26, PY 104=Un09. Apparently = *ρίζα*, Lesb. βριῖδα 'root', but the connexion with the *wool* (?) ideogram is obscure.

*wi-so-wo-pa-na*, PY 292=Sh740. Describing the plates (?) on a corset: *witso-(?)*-a neuter plural, 'with equal somethings, evenly-spaced? symmetrical?'. [ἴσος, ἴσος Hom. +, Cret., Arc. *ῖσος*.]

*wo-do-we*, PY 1203+ (1955). Probably adj. in *-uion*, applied to oil.

‡*wo-i-ko-de*, KN Aa1519. *wikān-de* 'to the house (of . . . -neus)'. [οἰκόνδε *Il.* i, 606, also οἰκαδε, dial. *folkos*, *foikaδε*.]

‡*wo-jo*, PY Eb07. Prob. gen. sing. \**woio* 'of his (own)'. [olo gen. *Il.* iii, 339, also *ēolo*, etc., from \**wo-iuon*.]

*wo-ka*, PY 285=Sa02+. An adverb? See p. 373.

*wo-ke*, KN L 698, PY 296=Sh736. Perhaps 3rd sing. aorist: *worge* (from \**worēd*) 'made', etc. [Hom. ἔρξα from both ἔρδω 'do' and ἔργω 'shut in'; Hom. perf. ἔργα 'have done'; Cyp. *kor. kat-ērgayon* 'shut in'.]

*wo-na-ti*, KN 164=Gv863. Dat.-loc. plur.: *wōnaiti* 'in the vineyards'? [οἰνάδες ἀμπελῶδες τόποι Hesych.]

*wo-ne-we*, PY Cn14+. Dat. sing. *-ēnei*, a title or trade?

*wo-no*, PY 250=Vn01. Nom. sing.: probably *wōnias* 'wine'. [οἶνος Homer +, Acol. *folnos*; prob. of foreign origin.]

*wo-ra-we-sa*, KN Sc880. Nom. sing. fem. describing a chariot, *wōlō-weus* 'scarred'? [οὔλη 'scar', *Od.* xix, 391, from \**wōln-*, cf. Lat. *wolnus*.]

‡*wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo*, PY 152=Er01, 171=Un718. Describing a tract of land: *worgionia* 'belonging to the *worgiones*'. [Att. ὄργε(ν)ῶνες Aesch. +, ὄργιους acc. plur. *L.Hom.*; from

ὄργια 'rites'. Apparently a college of priests, see p. 265.]

*wo-ro-ne-ja*, MY 228=Oe111. Nom. plur. neuter? Adj. (?) describing wool or woollen garments. [A form *wōln-* 'woollen'? Cf. οὔλος 'woolly', *Il.* xvi, 224, from \**wōlnas*; λῆνες 'wool', Aesch. +, from \**wōlnas*.] Palmer: *worgia* 'lambswool'. See p. 323.

‡*wo-wo*, PY An09+, Cn11, 141=Eb20, 128=Eo278, Na12+, Xa38+. Nom. and acc.: *wōwōn* -*on*, a topographical term. [Cf. οὔρος 'boundary stone', *Il.* xii, 421+, Att. ὄρος, Core. ὄρρος, from \**rōrros*, cf. Lat. *urvas* 'circuitus ciuitatis'; also οὔρον 'area of land ploughed by a mule in a day; range', *Od.* viii, 124, etc.] Generally preceded by man's name in gen.; see p. 250. The place-names *ke-ro-jo-wo-wi-ja* and *Ra-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja* may preserve a plural *wōwōn*, cf. Att. ὄρος Eurip. +. Cf. also *wo-wi-ja*, 59=An656. Palmer: *wōwōn* 'sheep-pen' (cf. Hom. εἶλαρ).

‡*wo-ze*, PY Ea28, Eb24, 148=Ep04+. 3rd sing. pres.: *worzei* 'works, performs', possibly 'ploughs' (ἔργα 'ploughland', *Od.* xvi, 140, etc.). [ἔρδω Homer +, also ἔρζω; both from \**wergjō*/ \**wergjō*, cf. Av. *wergy-*, Goth. *wairkjan*, Engl. *work*.] See p. 254.

*o-u-wo-ze*, PY 135=Ep704. *ou worzei* 'she does not perform'.

*o-wo-ze*, PY 141=Eb20. Incomplete spelling of the preceding.

*wo-ze-e*, PY 135=Ep704. Pres. inf.: *worzeen* 'to perform'.

*wo-zo-e*, PY 141=Eb20. Defective spelling of the preceding.

*wo-zo*, PY 57=An43, Eb38. Nom. sing. masc., pres. part. *worzan* 'performing', etc.

*wo-zo-te*, PY 149=Eb33, Ep03. Dat. sing. and nom. plur.: *worzantei -ntes*.

*wo-zo-me-no*, KN So0433. Dual, pass. part., of wheels: *worzomenō* 'being worked on'?

*wo-zo-me-na*, KN So0438. Nom. plur. neuter: *worzomēna*.

*za-ku-si-ja*, PY 286=Sa787+. Nom. plur. neuter, describing wheels: *zakumia* 'Zakynthian'?

[*za*]-*ku-si-jo*, PY Sa753. Dual: *-niš*. A man's name on MY Oe122?

*za-ma-e-wi-ja*, PY 257=Jn09, [175=Ma10, Vn03]. A place, possibly derived from *ka-ma-e-u* (q.v.) with *e-* for *k-*, see p. 44.

*za-mi-jo*, KN 39=As1517 rev., PY An15. Nom. plur. masc., a class of men: *zāmioi*? [Cf. ζημία 'punishment, deliberate damage', Epich., Aesch. +, Dor. *zaiuz*.]

‡*ze-so-me-no*, PY 103=Un08. Dat. sing., fut. part. pass. *zesomenōi* 'aromatic oil' which is to be boiled up; see *u-re-pa-co-o*. [Fut. act. *zēōw* Aesch.]



‡*ze-u-ke-u-si*, PY 91 = Fn02+. Dat. plur., a class of men: *zeugēai*. [Cf. Att. *zeugētai*, 'men with a pair of oxen'; Arc. *zeugos* (Schwyzer, *Dial.* 654<sup>1</sup>) 'yoke of oxen'.]  
*zo-a*, KN Fh343+. Describing the oit. ideogram: *zōē* 'decoction' or similar? [*zōē* 'acum

on milk', τὸ ἐπάνω τοῦ μέλιτος Hesych. Cf. *ze-to-me-no*.]  
*zo-wa*, KN 163 = X 984, X 766+, [277 = Se1028?]. *zōēa*, 'living', possibly 'animals'. [*zōēa*, *zōa* is post-Homeric and evidently derivative, cf. *κράια* for *κίρος*.]

# WORDS WITH UNTRANSCRIBED INITIALS

\**85-de-we-sa*, PY 237 = Ta709. Nom. sing. fem.: (?) *-ussa* 'decorated with \**85-de-pi*', see the succeeding.  
 \**85-de-pi*, PY 239 = Ta642+. Instr. plural, a decorative feature on furniture, see p. 338.

\**85-ro*, KN 270 = Sd0402. Part of a chariot. See p. 367.  
 \**85-re*, PY 237 = Ta709. Nom. sing. masc.: (?) *-tēr*, a utensil.  
 \**85-to-jo*, PY Eb24. Gen. sing.: conceivably for *sitio* 'grain', cf. *si-to*.

# WORDS WITH MISSING INITIALS

]-*de-wa-pi*, KN 229 = K 434. Instr. plur. fem., adj. (?) describing a decorative feature on a vessel; see p. 329.  
 ?]-*ka-ro-ro*, MY 106 = Ge603. In a list of herbs and spices. [*ἀκροτος* 'unmixed' *Od.* xxiv, 73, Att. *ἀκρατος*? Or cf. *κάλαθος* 'basket', Aristoph. +?]  
 ]-*ke-te-rí-ja*, PY 237 = Ta709. Nom. sing. fem.: name of a kind of spoon, shovel or lamp. See p. 337.  
 ]-*ko-so-ni-ja*, KN Pp(?)437. Nom. plur.: probably not the *apze* ideogram, but 'axle-pins(?)'. [*ἀξόνια* 'small pins or bolts', Hero+.]

]-*o-ta-pa-ro-te-wa-ro*, MY 228 = Oe111. Probably to be divided, see p. 323.  
 ]-*ra-ka-te-ra*, PY 248 = Va01. Probably acc. sing. Could be *kharaktēra* 'engraved mark, etc.' [Aesch. +]. Andrews suggests alternative spelling of dual *ai<sub>2</sub>-ka-te-re* in line 1 and reverse. See p. 348.  
 ]-*tu-ko-ro*, KN Uf837. Probably a man's title or trade: *-āgoros* or *-agros*?  
 ]-*wē-ke-ke-tu-wo-e*, PY 40 = An22. Probably nom. plur. masc. of a perf. part. in *-(h)uses*, describing a list of men. Erasure makes reading difficult.



## APPENDIX II

# INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

THE personal names are discussed in ch. iv (pp. 92-105). The following Index follows the pattern of the Vocabulary. It contains all the sign-groups identified as personal names in the tablets quoted in Part Two, and a wide selection of apparent names from other tablets. For reasons of space about one-quarter of the complete catalogue has been excluded; but an attempt has been made to include all names which have a possible parallel in known Greek names or in vocabulary. It must be emphasized that the identification of personal names is much less certain than that of vocabulary words, being based entirely upon superficial resemblance.

If a Greek name equivalent or similar to a suggested interpretation is known to occur this is given in brackets. If no reference is added this name will be found in Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³. All names found in Homer are given one Homeric reference.

In most cases the derivation of suggested interpretations is sufficiently obvious; etymological notes are only added to explain obscure or questionable points.

To save space two special conventions have been adopted; all entries should be assumed to be in the nominative case, unless the contrary is stated. Since the great majority of the names are those of men, and in many cases there is nothing by which we can prove the gender, only the names which are certainly those of women are distinguished (fem.).

*a-da-ma-o*, PY Eb747, 131 = Ep01. *Admaas*?  
*a-da-ma-a-jo*, PY 116 = En659. Gen.: *Admasio*.  
*a-da-ma-jo*, PY 124 = Eo351 (Ec02). Incomplete spelling of genitive.  
*a-da-ra-ti-jo*, PY 59 = An656. Patronymic adjective; *Adrastios*. [Cf. \*Ἀδραστος *Il.* xiv, 121 +.]  
*a-di-je-u*, PY 59 = An656. *Ardieus*? [Cf. place-name \*Ἀρδία; Ἀρδισαλός.]  
*a-di-je-wo*, KN Dw747. Gen.: *Ardiēnos*.  
*a-di-uwa-ta*, KN 39 = As1517.  
*a-di-ri-jo*, KN X 7613. *Andrios*? *Andriōn*? [\*Ἀνδριος ethnic; Ἀνδριών.]  
*a-e-da-do-ro*, KN Sc237. *-dāros*?  
*a-e-ri-jo*, PY An16, Jn03. *Aeri-*. [Homeric ἥρι 'early', ἥριος; or cf. Ἀῖριπος?] *Aeri-*  
*a-e-ri-jo-ta*, PY 44 = An29, 56 = An657 +. *Aeri-*  
*g'hottās*, *g'otās*? [-φωτῆς, -βωτῆς.]  
*a-e-ta*, PY 40 = An22. *Aētās*. [Ἀέτης.]  
*ai-ke-u*, PY 236 = Ta641 +. *Aigear*; but possibly not a man's name. [Ἀλγέως.]  
*ai-ke-wa-to*, KN Db1295 +. *Aige* = *Aigi*?  
*ai-ki-wa-to*, KN Uf987. Alternative spelling of the preceding.

*ai-ki-e-we*, PY Vn04. Dat.: *Aigidas*. [Cf. Ἀλγιδεύς ethnic of Ἀλγίων.]  
*ai-ki-po*, KN U 0478. *Aigipos*.  
*ai-ki-si-jo*, KN U 0478. *Aikios*?  
*ai-ki-wa-ro*, PY 168 = Ea644, 167 = Ea650 +. *Aigi*?  
*ai-ko-ta*, KN 38 = As1516, PY 44 = An29, 56 = An657.  
*ai-ku-pi-ti-jo*, KN Db1105 (+1446). *Aiguptios*. [Ἀλγύπτιος *Od.* u, 15.]  
*ai-nu-ma-no*, PY 40 = An22. *Ainununos*; cf. *a₂-nu-ma-nu*. [Homeric αἰνυμεν 'seize'.]  
*a-i-ge-u*, PY 134 = Eb895, 131 = Ep01. *Veatris*: *Aiqq'ear*? Palmer: = *Aicēus* [αἰσέω]; or cf. Homeric αἰθεός [*pace* Boisacq]?  
*a-i-ge-wo*, PY 116 = En659. Gen.: *-keos*.  
*a-i-ge-we*, PY 125 = Eo855 (Ec03). Dat.: *-fear*.  
*ai-so-ni-jo*, PY 40 = An22, 253 = Jn01, Jn706. *Aisomias*. [Cf. Αἰσών *Od.* xi, 259, Αἰσωνίδης.]  
*ai-ta-ro*, PY Jn08. *Aithalos*. [Αἰθαλός.]  
*ai-ta-ro-we*, KN 64 = Da1221, PY Cn05 +. *Aithalouens*. [Cf. Αἰθαλῶν river in Mysia.]  
*ai-ti-jo-jo*, PY 133 = Eb008 +, 115 = En03, 121 = Eo04, 131 = Ep01. Nom. and gen.: *Aithiog'w*, *Aithiog'w*. [Αἰθιονῆς *Il.* xxiii, 206 +.]



- ai-ti-jo-ge*, PY 121 = Eo04. Dat.: *Aithiog'ri*.  
*ai-to*, KN Da6061. *Aithōn*. [*Aἰθων* Od. xix, 183.]  
*ai-wa*, KN Np973. *Aiwans*. [*Αἰας* Il. i, 138+; Corinth. *Alfas* Schwyzler, *Dial.* 122. 3.]  
*ai-wa-ja*, PY 115 = En03, 122 = Eo03. Fem. *Aiwaiā*. [*Αἰαίη* Od. xii, 268.]  
*ai-wa-to*, KN 38 = As1516. *Aiwatos*. [*Αἰάτος*; or cf. Homeric *αἰήτος* (of uncertain meaning).]  
*a-ka-de*, KN B 799. *Arkadiā*? [Cf. *Ἀρκάς*.]  
*a-ka-i-jo*, KN Vd62, Vc68, G153, De1084+. Georgiev: *Agaios*. [*Ἀγαιός*.]  
*a-ka-ma-jo*, PY Fn03. Dat.?: *Alkmaidi*. [*Ἀλκμαῖος*; *ισανίσιος* Heisch.; cf. *Ἀλκμαίων*.]  
*a-ka-ma-wo*, PY 61 = Cn04+, Jn706+. Nom. and dat.: *Alkmaios*, *Alkmaidi*? [Cf. *Ἀλκμαίων* Il. xii, 394.]  
*a-ka-re-u*, KN Ga416. *Agallus*? *Angarus*?  
*a-ka-sa-no*, KN As650, PY Jn08. *Alxānōr*. [*Ἀλκσηνὸρ* Schwyzler, *Dial.* 761.]  
*a-ka-ta-jo*, KN Dv1086+, PY 127 = Eo269 (Eb26) edge. Nom. and dat.: *Aktias*, *Aktaiōi*. [*Ἀκταῖος*]; Georgiev: *Agathaios* [*Ἀγαθαῖος*].  
*a-ka-ta-jo-jo*, PY 127 = Eo269 (Eb26), [116 = En659]. Gen.: *Aktaiios*.  
*a-ka-to*, KN Sc256. *Akanthos*; Georgiev: *Agathos*, *Agathōn*? [*Ἀκανθός*; *Ἀγαθος*; *Ἀγάθων*.]  
*a-ka-wo*, KN A1738, PY 258 = Ku01. *Alkaiōn*? (not *Alkaios* in view of declension).  
*a-ka-wo-ne*, PY Un11. Dat.: *Alkaiōnei*?  
*a-ke-o*, PY An16, 63 = Ce660. *Alkos*? *Argos*? Georgiev: *Hāgios*?  
*a-ke-o-jo*, PY Cn11+. Gen.: *-oia*.  
*a-ke-ra-wo*, KN Vc316, PY Cn12. Nom. and dat.: *Agelaios*, *Agelaiōi*, or *Arke-*. [*Ἀγέλαος* Il. viii, 257; *Ἀγέλαος* Od. xxii, 131; *Ἀρχέλαος*.]  
*a-ke-re-wi-jo*, MY 106 = Ge603, 107 = Ge604. Nom. and dat.: possibly connected with Pylon place-name *A-ke-re-wo*; hardly *Akheleios* = *ἄχρηος*. [*\*χρήσιος* Boisacq.]  
*a-ke-ta*, KN B 798, PY Cn719. *Agētās*? *Akestās*? [*Ἀγῆτας*, *Ἀκίστης*.]  
*a-ke-ti-jo*, PY An13. *Akestios*? *Arkhetidi*? [*Ἀκίστιος*, *Ἀρχητιδών*.]  
*a-ke-u*, KN V 151, Dw1133. *Alkaiu*. [*Ἀλκίος* father of Amphitryon.]  
*a-ke-wo*, KN Ap628. Gen.?: *Alkaios*.  
*a-ke-wa-to*, PY 60 = An661. *Arkheiwastus*? or cf. *Ἀργεῖσθαι* people of Arcadia.  
*a-ki-re-u*, KN Vc106. *Akhilleus*. [*Ἀχιλλεύς* Il. i, 1+.]  
*a-ki-re-we*, PY Fn06. Dat.: *Akhilleuci*.  
*a-ki-to-jo*, PY 91 = Fn02+. Gen.: *Furumark Alkithois*. [*Ἀλκίθοος* = *Ἀλκίθοος*?]  
*a-ki-to*, PY Fn1192. Dat.: *Alkithōi*.  
*a-ki-wa-ta*, KN B 801, 38 = As1516.  
*a-ki-wo-ni-jo*, PY 59 = An656. *Arkhiwōnias*? [Cf. *Ἀρχίωιν*.]  
*a-ko-i-da*, KN 73 = Di 943.  
*a-ko-mo-ni-jo*, KN De1112+. *Akononias*. [Cf. *Ἀκμων*, *Ἀκμωνίδης*.]  
*a-ko-ra-jo*, KN 38 = As1516. *Agoraios*; cf. *a-ko-ra-jo* in vocabulary.  
*a-ko-ro-go-ro*, KN Dw1079. *Agroq'olas*? [Cf. Latin *Agricola*.]  
*a-ko-so-ta*, PY 50 = An18 rev., 154 = Eo01, 103 = Un08, 249 = Va02+. *Axolās*? *Arxolās*?  
*a-ku-to-ia-o*, PY Cn12+. Gen.  
*a-ko-to*, KN Sc239. *Aktōr*. [*Ἀκτωρ* Il. ii, 513+.]  
*a-ko-to-wo*, PY Cn13+, Jn03. Nom. and dat.: *Arktōios*, *-ōi*? *Argothōos*?  
*a-kū-ni-jo*, PY 59 = An656.  
*a-kū-mi-jo*, PY 196 = Na70 [926].  
*a-kū-wo*, KN X 109. Mühlestein: *Alkūn*? [*Ἀλκυνών*.]  
*a-ma-ru-ta*, PY 119 = Eo02. Dat.: *Amaruntāi*, *-anthāi*? [Cf. *Ἀμαρυγνῖος*, *Ἀμαρόνθιος*.]  
*a-ma-ru-ta-o*, PY 114 = En02, 119 = Eo02. Gen.: *Amarantōi*.  
*a-ma-to-wo*, PY An39. *Anathōos*? [Cf. *Ἀμαθῶς* eponymous hero of Cypriot town; or *Ἀμαθωνίδαι*.]  
*a-me-no*, PY Jn08. *Armenos*? *Ameinōn*? Georgiev also: *Armenos*? [*Ἀρμενος*, *Ἀμείνων*, *Ἀρμενος*.]  
*a-mi-nu-wa-ta*, PY Cn08.  
*a-mo-ta-jo*, PY Jn06. *Harmostaios*. [Cf. *Ἀρμόστας*.]  
*a-mu?-ta-wo*, PY 183 = Nu831 (02). *Amuthāwōn*. [*Ἀμυθῶων* Od. xi, 259.] (So also Mühlestein.)  
*a-mu?-ta-wo-no*, PY Jn03. Gen.: *Amuthāwōnias*.  
*a-na-go-ta*, KN B 798. *Anag'olās*? *Anag'hōitās*? (See p. 94.) [Cf. *Ἀναβησι-νῶος* Od. viii, 113.]  
*a-na-te-u*, PY Jn08.  
*a-ne-a<sub>1</sub>*, MY 93 = Fo101. Dat. *Ainōs*? [*Ἀνείας*.]  
*a-ne-o*, PY 168 = Es644, 167 = Es650+.  
*a-ni-ja-to*, KN 70 = Dg1158. *Anidōi*? [*ἄνιδτος* or cf. Homeric *ἀνιδῶ*.]  
*a-no-ke-we*, KN Db1261, PY An16. Cf. *a-no-ze-ur*.  
*a-no-me-de*, PY Jn706. *Anomēdēs*?  
*a-no-po*, PY 61 = Cn04, 249 = Va02 (not name here?).  
*a-no-go-ta*, KN Vc173, Dv410, Ak615, Ap633, X 1051, Da1289. *Anog'otās*; cf. *a-na-go-ta*.  
*a-no-go-ta-ō*, KN E 847. Gen.: *Anog'otōi*.  
*a-no-ze-we*, PY Cn11. Cf. *a-no-ke-ur*.  
*a-no-ze-jo*, KN 19 = Ak627. Gen.: *Anazōio*? [Cf. Homeric *δζος* 'companion'; *δζος* 'servant'(?)]  
*a-nu-me-no*, PY 254 = Jn04. Cf. *ai-nu-me-no*. *Arnumenos*. [*ἀρνυμαι* 'win'.]  
*a-nu-to*, KN 38 = As1516, THEBES X. *Anitos*. [*Ἄνυτος*.]  
*a-nu-to-jo*, KN X 697. Gen.: *Anutoio*.  
*a-pa-i-ti-jo*, KN L 588. *Hēphaistōi*, *-iān*. [*Ἡφαίστιος*, *-ίων*.]  
*a-pa-je-u*, PY Jn845.  
*a-pa-re-u*, KN B 804. *Aphareus*. [*Ἀφαρεύς* Il. xiii, 541.]  
*a-pa-to*, KN 38 = As1516.  
*a-pa-u-ro*, KN Mc0463. *Aphauros*? *Apauros*?



*a-pe-ri-ta-wo*, PY 56 = An657. *Amphitēwōn*?  
*a-pe-te-u*, PY Jn692.  
*a-pi-a-ro*, PY An16, Ea08+, [Jn05], On01.  
*Amphialos*, [*Ἀμφιάλος* Od. vii, 114.]  
*a-pi-do-ra*, MY Oel24. Fem.: *Amphidōrā*; cf. next.  
*a-pi-do-ro*, KN X 146; *Amphidōros*. [*Ἀμφιδωρος*;  
*Amphiagrosio*.  
*a-pi-ja-re-wo*, KN X 94, [X 7568]. *Amphiarēwos*.  
 Possibly gen. [*Ἀμφιάρεος* Od. xv, 244; Pindar  
*Ἀμφιάρεος*.]  
*a-pi-je-ta*, PY 56 = An657. [Not = *Ἀμφίετης*.]  
*a-pi-jo-ta*, PY 40 = An22. Gen.: *Amphiontos*?  
 [*Ἀμφίωντος* -ονος Od. xi, 262+.]  
*a-pi-o-to*, PY 40 = An22 rev., +. Alternative  
 spelling of the preceding.  
*a-pi-ka-ra-do-jo*, PY Ad15. Gen.: *Amphikladoia*?  
*a-pi-me-de*, KN B 801, PY 146 = Eb34. *Amphi-*  
*mēdes*; but possibly a title rather than a name.  
 [*Ἀμφιμήδης*.]  
*a-pi-me-de-o*, KN C 911, PY 62 = Cn655, Ep03.  
 Gen.: *Amphimēdes*.  
*a-pi-o-to*, see after *a-pi-jo-ta*.  
*a-pi-go-i-ta*, KN 20 = Ak824. *Amphiq'hoitās*. See  
 p. 94.  
*a-pi-go-o*, PY An23. Gen.: incomplete spelling of  
*a-pi-go-la-s*; but cf. *a-e-ri-go*; *a-e-ri-go-ta*.  
*a-pi-go-ta*, KN C 915, PY Jn03. Nom. and dat.:  
 alternative spelling of *a-pi-go-i-ta*; or = *Am-*  
*phig'elās*.  
*a-pi-go-ta-o*, KN [Dx45?], PY 40 = An22. Gen.:  
*-lās*.  
*a-pi-ra-wo*, KN 38 = As1516. *Amphilāwos*, *Am-*  
*philāwōn*. [Cf. *Ἰεπίλαος*.]  
*a-pi-wu-to*, KN 38 = As1516. *Amphiwastos*?  
*a-qi-zo-we*, PY 43 = Sn01.  
*a-ra-du-jo*, KN 38 = As1516.  
*a-ra-i-jo*, PY 40 = An22. Patronym: *Araios*.  
*a-ra-ko*, KN As607, C 911, Db1236+. *Arakos*.  
 [*Ἀράκος*.]  
*a-ra-na-ro*, KN 38 = As1516.  
*a-ra-si-jo*, KN Ph369, X 1463. *Alāsiar*? [*Ἀλήσιος*  
 founder of *Ἀλήσιον* in Elik].  
*a-ra-ta*, KN Uf1011. *Alātāt*. [*Ἀλήτης*. Pindar  
*Ἀλᾶτες*.] Ventrils reads *i-ra-ta*.  
*a-re-i-jo*, PY 59 = An656, (KN 213 = L 641 probably  
 man's name). Patronymic adjective: *Arēiās*?  
 [*Ἀρήϊος*; but Aeol. *Ἀρεῖος*.]  
*a-re-ke-se-u*, KN Dw1156. *Alexas*. [*Ἀλέξω*.]  
*a-re-ki-si-to*, KN So0433, PY Vn865. *Alexitos*,  
*Alexitōs*?  
*a-re-ki-si-to-jo*, KN Se1053, 273 = Sf0420. Gen.:  
*-sio*.  
*a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo*, (KN Fh364), PY 58 = An654, 167 =  
 Es650. *Alektrūwōn*. [*Ἀλεκτρυών* Il. xvi, 604.]  
*a-re-ku-tu-ru-[wo]-ne*, PY 170 = Es649. Dat.  
*a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo-no*, PY 168 = Es644. Gen.:  
*Alektrūwōs*.  
*a-re-me-ne*, THEBES IV. *Arēimēnēs*? (Björck:  
*Ἀρε(ι)μένης*; but cf. *a-re-zo-ne-ne*.

*a-re-ta-wo*, KN Ap645; *Arētāwōn*. [*Ἀρετάων* Il.  
 vi, 31.]  
*a-re-zo-me-ne*, THEBES IV. Ventrils: cf. *Ἀλέξο-*  
*μένης*.  
*a-ri-ja-to*, PY 55 = As724(32). *Haliartos*? [*Ἥλιαρ-*  
*τος* town in Boeotia (Il. ii, 503) and its  
 eponymous hero; also town in Messenia.]  
*a-ri-ja-wo*, KN 159 = Uf990. *-āwōn*.  
*a-ri-ja-wo-ne*, KN F 462. Dat.: *-āwonei*.  
*a-ri-ke-u*, KN X 966. *Halikeus*? *Haliskeus*?  
 [Should be *hal-* from *ἐλίσκουμαι*.]  
*a-ri-wo*, PY 62 = Cn655. *Arīwōn*? [*Ἀρίων*; cf.  
*Ἀρίων* name of a horse Il. xxii, 345.]  
*a-ri-wo-ne*, PY 61 = Cn04. Dat.: *Arīawnei*.  
*a-ro-je-u*, PY 183 = Nn831(02). *Aloieus*? [Cf.  
*Ἄλωις* Il. v, 386; but this may contain  
 medial *-r-* if from *ἐλαιοῖω*.]  
*a-sa-ro*, KN As40. Cf. *ja-sa-ro*. *Asaros*? [Cf.  
*Ἀσάρακος* Il. xx, 232.]  
*a-si-wi-jo*, KN Df1469, PY Cn07, Eq02. *Anwios*?  
 [Cf. *Ἄσος* town in Crete?]  
*a-so-gi-jo*, KN B 803. *Asōgias*? [Cf. *Ἀσωπός*?]  
*a-ta*, PY 50 = An18 rev. *Anthas*. [*Ἄνθος*.]  
*a-ta*, PY An13. Alternative spelling of the  
 preceding?  
*a-ta-ma-ne-u*, PY 62 = Cn655. *Athmaneus*? [Cf.  
*Ἀθμανεύς* ethnic of Attic deme; or *Ἀθα-*  
*μάνης*?]  
*a-ta-ma-ne-we*, PY 61 = Cn04. Dat.: *Athmanēwei*.  
*a-ta-no*, KN Vc569, As1520. *Antānōr*. [*Ἀντήνωρ*  
 Il. iii, 262+.]  
*a-ta-no-ro*, PY 91 = Fn02. Gen.: *Antānoros*.  
*a-ta-no-re*, PY Vn04. Dat.: *Antānorri*.  
*a-ta-o*, KN L 698, PY An21, Fn03, Jn03. Nom.  
 and dat.: *Antas*, *-ōi*? [Cf. *Ἄντοιος*.]  
*a-ta-o-jo*, PY Vn1191. Gen.: *Antasios*.  
*a-ta-ro*, PY 41 = An14. Cf. *ai-ta-ro*?  
*a-ta-wo*, KN X 324, PY An16. *Anthāwōn*?  
*a-ta-ze-u*, KN 38 = As1516.  
*a-te-mo*, KN As1520, 68 = De1648+. *Anthamas*,  
*Anthamōn*? [Cf. *Ἀνθεμάων* Il. iv, 473.]  
*a-te-u-ke*, KN Vc150. *Ateukhēs*? [*ἄτευχής*.]  
*a-te-wo-jo*, PY Sa797. Gen.  
*a-ti-ja-wo*, PY 58 = An654, Jn845. *Antīāwōn*.  
 [*Ἀντίων*?]  
*a-ti-jo*, KN 38 = As1516. *Anthios*; Mühlstein:  
*Antīōn*. [*Ἀνθίος*.]  
*a-ti-ke-ne-ja*, MY Oel10. Fem.: *Antigeneia*.  
 [*Ἀντιγενεία*.]  
*a-ti-ra-mo*, KN Od562, PY Jn06+. *Antiphāmōs*.  
 [*Ἀντιφάμος*.]  
*a-ti-ro*, KN Dv1272, PY 60 = An661(?).  
*a-to*, KN As40. *Anthos*. [*Ἄνθος*.]  
*a-to-me-ja*, KN Ap639. Fem.: *Artameia*? [Cf.  
*ἄρταμος*, *Ἀρτεμία*.]  
*a-to-re-u*, KN Pp495.  
*a-tu-ko*, KN X 1052, Dg1102, PY 114 = En02,  
 118 = Eo01, 131 = Ep01, 255 = Jn658+. *Atukhos*?  
*a-tu-go-ta*, KN B 799. *Atug'hentās*? [Cf. *Ἄττος*.]  
*a-u-po-no*, KN U 0478. *A(h)upnos*.



- a-wa-ta*, PY An21. *Awatās?* [ἀήτης.]  
*a-we-ke-se-u*, PY Cn07+. *Awēkeu.* [ἀέξω.]  
*a-we-ke-se-we*, PY 61=Cn04. Dat.: *Awēkewi.*  
*a-wi-to-do-jo*, KN U 0478. *Awistodotos?* [Homer. ἄιστος.]  
*a-wo-i-jo*, PY Cn12. Dat.: *Awōiōi.* [Ἠώς.]  
*a-wo-ro*, KN B 800. *Aworos.* [Cf. Cyp. ἄωρον  
 ... θυρωρὸν Hesych.]  
*a-zu?*, MY Oc123.  
*a-64-jo*, KN Sc261, PY Fn03.
- da-i-qo-ta*, KN Dw1164. *Dāiq'hontās.* [Δηιφόντης.]  
*[da?]-mo-ke-re-we-i*, PY Fn03. Dat.: *Dāmoklewēi.*  
 [Δαμοκλῆς.]  
*da-na-jo*, KN Db1324, V 1631. *Danaios?* [Cf. Δαναός.]  
*da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra-zo*, ELEUSIS I. Cf. *du-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra-zo.*  
*da-ra-mu?-ro*, KN Dw1220. Mühlestein: *Drāmulus;* Risch: *Drāmulus.* [\*δραμι-υλος (δράσιμος).]  
*da-to-re-u*, PY Cn05. *Daitorras?*; cf. *da-to-ro.*  
*da-to-ne-jo*, KN Ap639. Fem.: *Datēneia?* [Cf. Δατηνός, ethnic of Δάτος.]  
*da-to-ro*, KN Dx964, Dw1104. *Daitros?* [Cf. Δαίτωρ II. viii, 275.]  
*da-wa-no*, KN Ga423 rev., 39=As1517, Mc0454+. Ventris: *Dawanos* [δανός]; Chadwick: *Dawnos.* [δῆν, Alcmān δῶαν.]  
*[de?]-ke-se-ra-wo*, KN 38=As1516. *Deselānos?* [Δεσιλάος.]  
*de-ke-se-u*, KN 69=Df1119, Dw1426. *Dexeu* or *Dexenus.* [δέχομαι, δέκνομαι; cf. Δέρξιος.]  
*de-ki-si-wo*, KN C 908 [V 1524]. Nom. and dat.: *Dexiwas*, *Dexiwas* [Δεξιός; \*δεξιγος Boisacq.]  
*de-ki-si-wo-jo*, PY Vn1194. Gen.: *Dexiwoio.*  
*de-ko-to*, KN L 642 (probably not a name), PY Cn11. *Dektos* or *Dekatos*, [δέκτος; Arcad. δέκτος=δέκατος.]  
*de-ko-to-jo*, PY Cn07. Gen.: *Dek(s)toio.*  
*de-mo-ge*, PY Cn13. Dat.: *Dēmog'ri?* [Etymology of Δημός uncertain, but probably \*dēm-.]  
*de-u-ka-ri-jo*, PY 58=An654. *Deukaliōn.* [Δευκαλίων II. xiii, 431+.]  
*de-u-ki-jo*, MY 46=Au102. *Deukias*, *Deukian?*  
*de-we-ra*, KN DwM19. Fem.?; cf. next.  
*de-we-ro*, PY Jn06. *Deuelas*, *Dauilas?* [δαίλος < \*δρεμελος Boisacq.]  
*di-ko-na-ro*, PY 59=An656.  
*di-mi-wa-to*, PY Jn725. *Dinuat(t)as?* [Cf. Arcad. Δινύττας.]  
*di-so*, KN Sc255. *Disoi.* [δισσός.]  
*di-wi-je-u*, PY 59=An656. *Diwirut.* [Cf. Διεύς.]  
*di-wi-je-we*, PY 76=Cn22, 169=Es646+. Dat.: *Diwūiwi.*  
*di-wo*, KN Dx1503, PY An25. *Diwōn.* [Δίων.]  
*di-wo-pu-ka-ta*, KN Fp363. *Diwopuktās?* [Cf. Πύκτις.]  
*do-ge-a*, KN B 804. *Dorq'aus?* [Cf. \*δρωπῆς in παλαιορόπτης (Sappho); see *do-ge-ja* in Vocabulary.]  
*do-qo-no*, PY 61=Cn04.  
*do-qo-ro*, PY 58=An654.  
*do-qo-so*, MY Au609.  
*do-ri-ka-no*, KN U 0478. *Dolikhānōr.*  
*do-ri-ka-o*, KN V 958, PY 258=Kn01. *Do-likhān.* [Δολιχάων.]  
*do-ro-jo*, PY Jn06. *Droios?* [Cf. Cretan δροίων· καλόν (καλόν?) Hesych.]  
*do-ro-jo-jo*, PY Cn13. Gen.: *Droioio.* (Error for dat.?)  
*do-ro-me-u*, PY An13. *Drimeu.*  
*du-ni-jo*, KN Og426, 38=As1516, 39=As1517, PY An16, Ea811, Eb43, 143=Ep705, 147=Eq03, Fn06, 96=Un02. Nom. and dat.  
*du-ni-jo-jo*, PY Ae01+. Gen.  
*du-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra-zo*, KN V 479, Dw1173. Cf. *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra-zo.*  
*du-re-u*, PY Jn845.  
*du-ra-po*, KN Fh345, 38=As1516. *Drupas?* [δρῦς + -πος (πούς).]  
*du-to*, KN 38=As1516.14, 16. Two men of the same name?  
*du-wo-jo*, PY Jn750. *Duwoio.* [δοιός; cf. Δοίος.]
- e-do-mo-ne-u*, PY (114=En02), 119=En02, 254=Jn04.  
*e-do-mo-ne-we*, PY Cn03. Dat.: *-ewē.*  
*e-ka-no*, PY Jn725. *Ekhānōr?* [Cf. Ἐχάνδρα.]  
*e-ke-da-mo*, KN Uf1522, PY Cn07. *Ekhedāmos.* [Ἐχέδαμος, Ἐχέδημος.]  
*e-ke-i-jo-jo*, PY Sa760. Gen.: *Ekhioio.* [Ἐχίος.]  
*e-ke-me-de*, KN [Dd659], U 0478, PY 56=An657, 258=Kn01. *Ekhmedts.* [Cf. Ictn. Ἐχημήδα.]  
*e-ke-ne*, MY 46=Au102. *Engenēs?* [ἐγγενής; cf. Ἐγγυέτωρ.]  
*e-ke-ra-wo*, PY [153=Er02], 171=Un718. *Ekhelāwōn?* [Cf. Ἐχέλαος.]  
*e-ke-ra-wo-no*, PY 54=An19. Gen.: *Ekhelāwōnōi.*  
*e-ke-ra-wo-ne*, PY 55=An724(32). Dat.: *Ekhelāwōnēi.*  
*e-ke-ra-ne*, PY Un11. Incomplete spelling of the preceding?  
*e-ke-ro*, PY Jn832. *Enkhēros?* [Ἐγχέρα.]  
*e-ki-no*, KN Da1078. *Eklhinos?*  
*e-ki-no-jo*, PY 60=An661. Gen.: *Eklhinoio.*  
*e-ki-wo*, PY Jn06. *Eklhicos*, *Eklhiron.* [Ἐχίος, Ἐχίων.]  
*e-ko-me-na-ta-o*, PY 44=An29, 60=An661. Gen.: *Eklhomendādo.* [Cf. place-name Ἐρχομανός.]  
*e-ko-to*, PY Eb913, 115=En03, 120=En03, 121=En04, 143=Ep705+. *Hektōr.* [Ἐκτωρ II. i, 242+.]  
*e-ko-to-ri-jo*, PY Cn13. Dat.: *Hektoriōi.* [Ἐκτόριος as adjective II. ii, 416.]  
*e-ne-ke-se-u*, KN Da1081. *Enexu.* [ἔνεκ-.]  
*e-ni-ja-u-si-jo*, PY 50=An18. *Eniāunios.*  
*e-no-wa-ro*, PY 58=An654.  
*e-o-te-a*, PY 60=An661.



- e-pa-sa-na-ti*, PY 115 = En03, Ep02. Fem.: cf. *i-pa-sa-na-ti*.  
*e-pe-ke-u*, PY Jn03. *Epeigai*? [*Ἐπειγός* II. xvi, 571.]  
*e-pi-ja-ta*, PY An39. *Ephialtās* (*Ἐφιᾶλτης*?). [*Ἐφιάλτης* II. v, 385.]  
 [e?]-*pi-qe-ra-wo*; KN B 5025. *Epiq<sup>u</sup>elāwōn*? [Cf. *Ἐπιτέλης*.]  
*e-po-me-ne-u*, PY 183 = NoB31(02). *Hepomeneus*? [Ἐπω 'busy oneself with'.]  
*e-po-me-ne-we*, PY Vn831. Dat.: *Hepomeneū*.  
*e-ra-ro*, PY 56 = An657. *Elaphos*. [*Ἐλαφος*; also name of a river in Arcadia.]  
*e-ra-ta-ra*, PY (114 = En02), 119 = Eo02. Fem.  
*e-re-pa-i-ro*, KN X 212. *Elephaios*? [Cf. *ἐλεφαίρωμαι*, *Ἐλεφίνωρ*.]  
*e-ri-ke-re-we*, KN 155 = Uf081. *Eriklewēs*.  
*e-ri-ko-wo*, PY 59 = An656, Ep02, Jn845+. *Erikowas*, *Erigowas*? [Cf. *Ἐρίβορα*; Georgiev *Erikowān*. [Cf. *Ἐρι-κόων*.]  
*e-ri-qi-ja*, PY Ep03. Fem.: cf. next.  
*e-ri-qi-jo*, PY Ea10. *Eriqq<sup>u</sup>ios*? Georgiev: *Eribios*?  
*e-ri-ta*, PY 135 = Ep704. Fem.: *Erithā*? [Cf. *Ἐριθος*, *Ἐριθαδς*.]  
*e-ri-ta-ri-jo*, KN X 304. *Erithallios*. [Cf. *Ἐριθήλας*.]  
*e-ti-we-ro*, PY Vn04. Dat.: *Eriwēnōi*. [*Ἐρίηρος*.]  
*e-to-ra-ke-ja*, KN L 595. Fem. or vocabulary word?; cf. *e-to-ra-ke-u*.  
*e-to-ra-ke-ta*, MY 93 = Fo101. Dat.: or name of an office or trade? See Vocabulary.  
*e-to-ra-ke-u*, KN Aa0493. Name or trade?  
*e-to-ro*, PY Ea16+. *Eiroq<sup>u</sup>as*? *Eiroq<sup>u</sup>as*? Palmer: cf. *Ἐλλοψ*. [*ἔλλοψ* Boeot. = μέροψ.]  
*e-ru-si-jo*, PY Vn04. *Eruisios*. [*Ἐρύσιος*.]  
*e-ru-ti-ri-[jo?]*, KN X 297. *Eruthrios*? [*Ἐρύθριος*.]  
*e-ru-to-ro*, KN 72 = Dk1074, 39 = As1517. *Eru-thros*. [*Ἐρυθρός*.]  
*e-ta-ro*, PY (114 = En02), 119 = Eo02, 143 = Ep705.  
*e-ta-je-u*, PY An24. Georgiev: *Etaius*. [Cf. place-name *Ἐταιός*.]  
*e-ta-wo-ne-u*, PY 43 = Sn01. *Etaiwneui*. [*Ἐταιωνεύς* Od. iv, 22+.]  
*e-ta-wo-ne-wo*, KN K 695. Gen.: *Etaiwneōs*.  
*e-ta-wo-ne-we*, KN L 384, [L 695]. Dat.: *Etaiwneōi*.  
*e-te-wa*, PY 56 = An637, [Cn11, Cn15?]. *Etewās*?  
*e-te-wa-o*, KN X 5785. Gen.: *Etewāō*; or nom. *Etewāōn*? [*Ἐτῶων*.]  
*e-te-wa-jo*, PY Xa639. *Etewasias*?  
*e-te-wa-jo-jo*, PY Sa769. Gen.: *Etewasias*.  
*e-te-wa-no*, KN 80 = C 913. Dat.: *Etewasini*? [Cf. *ἔταιός*.]  
*e-te-wa-tu-o*, KN C 912. Gen.: *Etewastuas*?  
*e-te-we*, PY Cn03. Dat.: *Etewēi*?  
*e-to-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, PY 58 = An654, 43 = Sn01. Patronymic adjective: *Etewoklewēas*. [Cf. βίη *Ἐτῶκλησι* II. iv, 386.]  
*e-ti-me-de-i*, PY Fu03. Dat.: *Etimēdei*?

- e-ti-ra-wo*, PY 61 = Cn04, 62 = Cn655. Nom. and dat.: *Etirawos*, *Etirawoi*?  
*e-ti-wa-ja*, KN Ap639. Fem.: cf. *e-te-wa-jo*.  
*e-u-da-mo*, KN X 57, B 799. THEBES n. *Eudamos*; less likely *Eudamōn*. [*Εὐδαμος*; *Εὐδαμόων*.]  
*e-u-do-no*, PY 253 = Jn01. Ventris, Andrews: *Euzōnos*.  
*e-u-ka-ro*, PY An723, Jn750. *Eukālos*. [*Εὐκαλός*, Dor. *εὐκαλός*.]  
*e-u-ko-me-no*, PY Jn725. *Eukhomenos*. Cf. *e-u-ko-me* [KN X 7748].  
*e-u-ko-ro*, KN Ap482, Dd1149, Da1299, Dw1389. *Eukolos*, *Eukhoros* or *Euklos*? [*Εὐκόλος*; *Εὐχορος*; *Εὐκλος*.]  
*e-u-me-de*, PY Ea773+. *Eumēdes*. [*Εὐμήδης* II. x, 314].  
*e-u-mo-da-i*, PY Gd1184 (see p. 217). Dat.: *Eumēdei*.  
*e-u-me-ne*, PY Ea822, Jn725. *Eumēnēs*. [*Εὐμένης*.]  
*e-u-me-ta*, KN D1 1388. *Eumēdis*. [*Εὐμήτης*.]  
*e-u-mo-*, KN X 1390. Ventris: *Eumo* [*ἱμω*] ? [*Εὐμολπος*.]  
*e-u-na-wo*, KN B 799, Dw1206, As1520. *Eunawos*. [*Εὐνώης* II. vii, 468].  
*e-u-o-mo* [?], KN X 127. *Eunormos*? [Cf. *Εὐορμήδης*.]  
*e-u-ro-ro*, MY 46 = Au102. *Euporos* or *Euphoros*; Georgiev: *Eupōlos*. [*Εὐπορος*; *Εὐφορος*; *Εὐπωλος*.]  
*e-u-ro-ro-wo*, KN V 510.3, PY Jn02+. *Euplowos*. [*Εὐπλωος*.]  
*e-u-ru-da-mo*, KN X 166. *Eurudamos*. [*Εὐρύδαμος*.]  
 [e-a]-*ru-ro-to-re-mo-jo*, PY Fu03. Gen.: *Euruptolemoio*. [*Εὐρυπτελέμοιος*.]  
*e-u-ru-za-ta*, KN V 147. *Euruzatās*. [*Εὐρυζάτης* Od. xix, 247; or cf. *Εὐρυζω* [i]ται Gortyn, Collitz-Bechtel iii 2, 5019, 3.]  
*e-u-ru-wo-ta*, PY Eb24, [148 = Ep04], 253 = Jn01. *Eurwātās*? Carratelli: *Eurwōtās*. [*Εὐρώτας*.]  
*e-u-ro-ro-wo*, PY Jn05. *Eutrowas*? [Cf. *Εὐτροπος*, but *τρόπος* may have original π; cf. *to-ro-go* in Vocabulary.]  
*e-u-wa-ko-ro*, PY Jn03. *Eulagros* or *Euagros*. [*Εὐάγορος* (Cypriot king: Schwyzler, *Dial.* 681<sup>9</sup>); *Εὐαγρος*.]  
*e-wa-ko-ro*, KN V 1005. THEBES v. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
*e-u-wa-re*, PY Jn693. *Euwāre*. [*Εὐώρης*.]  
*e-u-we-to*, PY Jn750. *Eutēr*, *Euwēr*? [Cf. *Εὐίστης*.]  
*e-u-we-to-ro*, PY Jn750. Gen.: *-toras*.  
*e-wa-ko-ro*, see after *e-u-wa-ko-ro*.  
*e-wi-te-u*, PY Cn17. Cf. the place-name *e-wi-te-wi-jo*. *Eui* (i) *teu*? *Eui* (i) *thru*? [Cf. *ἠθεός*.]  
*e-wi-te-we*, PY Ca14. Dat.: *-tori*.  
*e<sup>u</sup>65-to*, PY 114 = En02, 115 = En03, 118 = Eo01, 120 = Eo03.  
*i-da-i-jo*, KN 232 = K 875, PY 60 = An661. *Idaios*? [Cretan \*I5z has initial f.]



*i-do-me-ne-ja*, PY Eb28, Ep02. Fem.: *Idonunna*. [Cf. Ἰδομένης *Il.* i, 145 +.]  
*i-do-me-ni-jo*, PY Gn01. Dat.: *Idonunniōi*?  
*i-ja-me-i*, PY Fn03. Dat.: *Iamei*? [Cf. Ἰάμος, Ἰάμενος.]  
*i-ja-wo-ne*, KN X 146. Dat.: *Iāwonei*; or nom. plur. *Iāwones*? [Cf. Ἰάωνες *Il.* xiii, 685 +.]  
*i-jo*, MY 46=Au102. Apparently not *Iōn* (contracted from *Iāwōn*); cf. place-name 'Ios'?  
*i-ke-se-ra*, KN Dk1077. *Iaklās*? [Cf. Ἰζαλος; or Ἰζαλῆ (Ἰσθλα, etc.) 'goat-skin'.]  
*i-ke-ta*, KN B 799. *Hiketās*. [Cf. ἱεταίων *Il.* iii, 147 +.]  
*i-ma-di-ja*, PY Ea816. Masc., or fem. of next.  
*i-ma-di-jo*, PY Cn08, Ea16, 253=Jn01. Nom. and dat. [Cf. Ἐρμαδίων.]  
*i-mi-ri-jo*, KN Db1186. *Himiriōs*? [Ἰμῆριος.]  
*i-mo-ro-ne-u*, KN Vc55.  
*i-na*, PY Ep03. [Cf. Ἰνα, Ἰννα.]  
*i-na-o*, PY An13, MY 106=Ge603+. *Inaōn*.  
*i-na-o-te*, MY 107=Ge604. Dat.: *Inaōntei*.  
*i-ne-u*, KN Da1379.  
*i-ni-ja*, PY 114=En02, 118=Eo01. Fem.  
*i-ra-sa-na-ti*, PY 121=Eo04. Fem.; =*e-ra-sa-na-ti*. (i written over e erased.)  
*i-pe-se-wa*, PY Gn1184 (see p. 217). Dat.  
*i-ra-ta*, KN Uf1011?, PY 116=En659. Masc. or fem.?  
*i-su-ku-wo-do-to*, KN Fh348. *Ishuadotos*? [ἰσχύς 'strength' seems to have initial *ῑ* in view of Lacon. βίσχυον and γίσχυον (Hesych.); from ἰζύς 'loins' (< \*ἰσχύς Boissacq)?]  
*i-te-u*, KN 38=As1516. *Histeus*? (cf. *i-te-ja-o* in Vocabulary), *Itheus*?  
*i-to*, KN As1519. [Cf. place-name Ἰτων.]  
*i-wa-ka*, KN V 60, Uf120, PY 253=Jn01. *Iwakhās*? [Cf. ἰσχή (if not < \*ῑσχαῖ).]  
*i-wa-ka-o*, PY 253=Jn01. Gen.: *Iwakhāo*.  
*i-wa-ko*, KN 38=As1516. *Iwakthos*?  
*i-wa-so*, PY 62=Cn655. *Iwasos*. [Cf. place-name.]  
  
*ja-sa-no*, KN 38=As1516.  
*ja-sa-ro*, KN V 832. Cf. *a-sa-ro*.  
  
*ka-da-no*, KN Dk1065, X 5567. *Khaldanos*? [Χολδῶνος.]  
*ka-da-ti-jo*, PY 57=An43. [Cf. Χαθήσιαι name of the Amazons.]  
*ka-do-wo*, PY 43=Sn01, Cn719.  
*ka-e-sa-me-no*, PY 59=An556. Cf. next and *ke-sa-me-no*. [Cf. Κασσαμενός (Thracian).]  
*ka-e-sa-me-no-jo*, PY Vn1191. Gen.  
*ka-e-se-u*, MY Ge605.  
*ka-e-se-we*, MY 105=Ge602. Dat.: *-seu*.  
*ka-ku-po*, PY Jn06. *Kakkhāos*?  
*ka-ke*, KN B 799, 38=As1516.  
*ka-ke-u*, PY Jn750. *Khalkeu*? (A smith by trade!)  
*ka-mo*, KN Dv440, As604, Db1263. *Skamōn*, *Kamōn*? [Σκάμων; Κάμων.]  
*ka-mo-ni-jo*, KN Da1293. *Skamonias*?

*ka-na-to-po*, KN Ap639. Fem.  
*ka-pa<sub>2</sub>?-na-to*, KN 38=As1516.  
*ka-pa<sub>2</sub>?-no*, KN Df1219. Palmer: *Karbānos*. [κάρβανος.]  
*ka-pa-ra<sub>2</sub>*, PY Jn706. [Cf. *ka-pa-ra<sub>2</sub>-de* in Place-names.]  
*ka-pa-ri-jo*, KN Vc72, V 77, U 0478. *Karpaliōn*. [Καρπαλιών.]  
*ka-pa-ri-jo-ne*, KN Fh344. Dat.: *Karpaliūnei*.  
*ka-pa-ti-ja*, PY 141=Eb20, 135=Ep704+, Un01. Fem.: *Karpaliā*. [Cf. Καρπάσιος ethnic of Κάρπαθος; Homeric Κράπαθος *Il.* ii, 676.]  
*ka-ra-i*, PY [168=Es644], 167=Es650+. Fem.? [Cf. woman's name Κλαῖς (Sappho), if not = κλαρίς.]  
*ka-ra-pa-so*, PY 254=Jn04.  
*ka-ra-pa<sub>2</sub>?-ro*, PY 127=Eo269 (Eb26) edge, [116=En659]. Alternative spelling of the preceding? Probably not the same person as one is a smith, the other *te-o-jo do-e-ro*.  
*ka-ra-pl*, PY Ea808. *Krambīs*? [Κράμβης.]  
*ka-ra-su-no*, PY 63=Cc660. Dat.  
*ka-ra-u-du-ro*, PY 143=Ep705+.  
*ka-ra-u-ko*, PY Cn07, Jn706+, *Glaukos*. [Γλαυκος *Il.* ii, 876 +.]  
*ka-ra-u-ro*, PY An16, Jn750. *Kalauros*? [Κάλαυρος eponymous hero of Καλαυρία.]  
*ka-ra-wa-ni-ta*, PY Cn13.  
*ka-ra-wi-ko*, PY 254=Jn04. *Klāwikos*?  
*ka-ri-se-u*, KN 38=As1516+, PY Jn03, MY 46=Au102. *Kharisus*. [Cf. next entry.]  
*ka-ri-si-jo*, PY Jn706. *Kharisios*. [Χαρίσιος.]  
*ka-ro*, KN Fh340. *Kharōn*? *Khairōn*? Georgiev: *Kallōn*. [Χάριων, Χείρων, Κάλλων.]  
*ka-ro-qo*, KN Sc257, X 7634, PY Vn065. *Kharo-ros* or *Kharōs*. [Χάροπος *Il.* ii, 67u; Χάροις *Il.* xi, 426.]  
*ka-sa-to*, PY 50=An18, Jn06, MY Go610. (Cf. *ka-sa-γρ* KN C 912 misreading?) *Xanthos*. [Ξάνθος *Il.* v, 152.]  
*ka-so*, KN Dd1593 (V 684 possibly not a name), PY Cn12. Nom. and dat.: *Kasos*? [Cf. Κάσος place-name *Il.* ii, 676.]  
*ka-ta-no*, KN X 795, PY Eb890, 143=Ep705. [Cf. place-name Κατάνη; or Κατάνηρ?] *ka-te-u*, KN 71=Dk1072.  
*ka-to*, KN Dg1169, X 5287. *Kastōr*. [Κάστωρ *Od.* xiv, 204.]  
*ka-to-ro*, KN Da438, X 489+. Gen.: *Kastoras*.  
*ka-u-no*, THEBES L. Björck: *Khaunoi*. [Cf. Χάυνη.]  
*ke-do-jo*, PY Ua04. Gen.? Ventris: nom. *Kerdōtas*?  
*ke-e-pe*, MY 107=Ge604. Dat. Cf. *ke-po*.  
*ke-ka-ro*, KN 39=As1517, PY Fn01.  
*ke-kt*, PY Jn692. Cf. *ke-ki* in Vocabulary. [Cf. woman's name Κερκίς.]  
*ke-ki-jo*, PY 44=An29, 56=An657. *Kerkias*. [Κέρκιος.]  
*ke-ko-jo*, PY 91=Fn02. Gen.: *Kerkias*?  
*ke-ku-ro*, PY Mn02. Dat.: *Kerkulāi*? [Cf. Κερκύλος.]



*ke-me-u*, KN Dx1427. *Kelmeu*?  
*ke-po*, MY 105 = Ge602, 106 = Ge603+.  
*ke-pu*, KN Ap639. Fem.  
*ke-pu-ke-ne-ja*, PY Fn06. Fem.: ?-genia.  
*ke-ra-me-ja*, KN Ap639. Fem.: *Keramia*. [Fem. to κραμῖος.]  
*ke-ra-so*, MY 93 = Fo101. *Kerasos*? [κρασός?]  
*ke-ra-u-jo*, PY Eb04, 131 = Ep01.  
*ke-re*, KN B 805, 38 = As1516. *Kris*? (cf. *ke-re-te-in* Place-names); Georgiev: *Kelis*. [Κρή, Κίλης].  
*ke-re-no*, PY Cn12, MY 46 = Au102. Nom. and dat.: *Geḗnos*? [Cf. Γεῖνιος epithet of Nestor Il. II, 336+.]  
*ke-re-te-u*, PY Ea01, 110 = Ea800+, 147 = Eq03. *Krithēus*. [Κριθῆς Od. XI, 237.]  
*ke-re-u*, KN Ag91, PY Ea827? (Eq03 error for *ke-re-te-u*?). Georgiev: *Kelau*.  
*ke-ro-ke-re-we-o*, PY 285 = Sa02. Gen.: Palmer: *Khirokleweos*.  
*ke-ro-u-te-u*, PY Cn11, [Fn03]. Ventris: *Kelouthēus*. [Cf. κίλουθος, ἀκόλουθος.]  
*ke-ro-wo*, PY 31 = Ae04, 61 = Cn04. Nom. and dat.: Ventris: *Kerasos*? [κρασός < \**kerawo*-.]  
*ke-ro-wo-jo*, PY 62 = Cn655. Gen.  
*ke-sa-da-ra*, PY Fg01, Ea828. Fem.? *Kassandra*? [For Κασσάνδρα.]  
*ke-sa-do-ro*, KN B 798, As1520, PY Vn04. *Kessandros*?  
 [ke]-*sa-do-ro-jo*, KN B 809. Gen.: *Kessandrio*.  
*ke-sa-me-no*, PY 61 = Cn04, Fn03 rev. Nom. and dat.  
*ke-ti-ro*, KN U 172 (?), PY Jn08.  
*ke-to*, KN Da1134+, PY Cn08. *Kētos* or *Kētōn*? [Κῆτος, Κῆτων.]  
*ke-we-to*, PY 253 = Jn01.  
*ke-we-to-jo*, PY 253 = Jn01. Gen.  
*ke-wo-no-jo*, PY 57 = An43. Gen.  
*ki-e-u*, PY 55 = An724(32). *Skieus*, *Khieus*? [Σκίως, Χίως ethnic adjectives.]  
*ki-e-wo*, PY 43 = Sn01. Gen.  
*ki-fo-u*, KN X 94. Alternative spelling of nom.  
*ki-ri-ja-i-jo*, PY 57 = An43. *Killaios*? [Κίλλαιος epithet of Apollo and name of a river.]  
*ki-ra-i-jo*, KN Se103. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
*ki-ri-ja-si*, KN B 801. [Cf. Κρίασος.]  
*ki-tu-ne-to*, KN 29 = As821, Da1108.  
*ko-a-ta*, PY Jn706. [Cf. woman's name Κοάτα.]  
*ko-do*, KN 161 = Uf839, PY 113 = Ea824, 112 = Ea825+, Vn04. Nom. and dat. *Koldos*? [Κλάδος < \**klad*-.]  
*ko-do-jo*, PY 111 = Ea23 (error for nom. or another name?), Ea754. Gen. *Koldoio*.  
*ko-do-ro*, PY Jn706. *Kodru*. [Κόδρος.]  
*ko-ka-ro*, PY Fg02, Gn1184 (see p. 217). Cf. *ko-ko-ro*. *Kōkalos*. [Κώκαλος.]  
*ko-ki-jo*, PY 56 = An657. *Kōkhiōn*? [Κοκκίων.]  
*ko-ku*, KN DI 1240. *Kokku*?  
*ko-ma-ta*, MY 93 = Fo101. *Komātās*. [Κομάτας.]  
*ko-ma-we*, PY 57 = An43, Jn750. *Komāwen*. [κομήεις.]

*ko-ma-we-to*, KN Dw931, Dv1272. Gen.: *Komāwenos*.  
*ko-ma-we-te*, KN 80 = C 913, Ds1049, PY Cn03. Dat.: *Komāwenēi*.  
*ko-ma-we-te-ja*, PY 172 = Kn02. Possibly a derivative; see p. 288.  
*ko-ma-we-ta*, KN B 798. *Komāwenētāi*?  
*ko-ne-wa-ta*, PY Jn03. [Cf. Σχοινάτας name of Asklepios, Σχοινῆος.]  
*ko-ni-da-jo*, KN 38 = As1516. [Cf. Κοινίδας.]  
*ko-no-pu<sub>2</sub>-da-ro*, MY 46 = Au102.  
*ko-pe-re-u*, KN 29 = As821, PY 169 = Ea846, 167 = Ea650. *Koprus*. [Κοπρῆς Il. xv, 639.]  
*ko-pe-re-wo*, PY 168 = Ea644. Gen.: *Kopriwos*.  
*ko-pe-re-we*, KN X 5486. Dat.: *Kopriwēi*.  
*ko-pi-na*, PY 148 = Ep04. Fem.: *Kophinē*? [Cf. κόφινος.]  
*ko-ri-si-ja*, PY Eb29, 115 = Kn03, 121 = Eo04, [122 = Eo05], Ep02. Fem.: *Koriniā*. [Fem. of ethnic *ko-ri-si-jo*, see *ko-ri-to* in Place-names.]  
*ko-ro*, KN De1152, PY 61 = Cn04. Nom. and dat.: *Khoros*, *Khōlos*? [Χοῖρος, Χῶλος.]  
*ko-ro-tu-no*, PY Jn05. *Gortunoi*?  
*ko-ru-da-ro-jo*, PY 33 = Ae07. Gen.: *Korudalloio*. [Cf. Κορυδαλλός name of an Attic deme.]  
*ko-ru-no*, PY 61 = Cn04, Cn719. Nom. and dat.  
*ko-ru-to*, KN Ds1310. *Koruthos*. [Κόρυθος.]  
*ko-sa-ma-to*, KN Ga685, PY Ep02. *Kosmētios*? [Cf. Κοσμητής title of Zeus.]  
*ko-so-u-to*, PY 254 = Jn04. *Kouthai*. (Also the name of an ox; see Appendix to this index.) [Ξοῦθος.]  
*ko-tu-ro<sub>2</sub>*, PY Cn08, Eb23, Jn03. *Kotulos*, *Kotulios*? [Κότυλος.]  
*ko-za-ro*, PY Jn03. Cf. *ko-ko-ro*. *Kōkalos*?  
*ku-da-jo*, KN V 1004. *Kudaios*, *Khudaios*?  
*ku-da-ma-ro*, PY 168 = Ea644, 167 = Ea650.  
*ku-ka-ro*, KN V 653, Da1238, 262 = Ra1548. *Kūkalos*? [Cf. Κύκαλος name of an Attic deme.]  
*ku-ke-re-u*, PY Jn845. *Kukleus*. [Κυκλῆς.]  
*ku-ne-u*, KN Dw1396. Cf. *ku*[-] *u*, PY 40 = An22. *Kuneus*?  
*ku-pe-se-ro*, KN 260 = Og0467. *Kupselos*. [Κύψελος.]  
*ku-pl-ri-jo*, PY 61 = Cn04+, Jn06, Un01(?). Nom. and dat.: *Kaprios*. [Κῆπιος ethnic of Κύπρος.]  
*ku-ra-no*, KN 39 = As1517. *Kullānos*. [Κύλλανος.]  
*ku-ri-sa-to*, KN X 0494, PY An24, Cn09, Jn706.  
*ku-ro<sub>2</sub>*, KN U 0478, PY Ea814. Nom. and dat.: *Kurios*, *Kuridi*?  
*ku-ro<sub>2</sub>-jo*, KN B 822. Gen.: *Kurioio*?  
*ku-ro-nu-we-to*, KN 39 = As1517.  
*ku-ru-me-ni-jo*, KN Dw1173 edge. *Klumenios*. [Derivative of next.]  
*ku-ru-me-no*, KN Sc236, PY 43 = Sn01. *Klumenos*. [Κλύμενος Od. III, 452.]  
*ku-ru-me-no-jo*, PY 58 = An654. Gen.: *Klumenio*.  
*ku-ru-no-jo*, PY Ea801. Gen.: error for *ku-ru-me-no-jo*?



*ku-sa-me-ni-jo*, PY 44=An29, 57=An43. Patronymic adjective: *Kuṣamenios*?  
*ku-so*, PY 131=Ep01, Eb893.  
*ku-ta-i-jo*, KN 39=As1517. *Kulaias*? [Cf. Cretan place-name *Kútaiou*.]  
*ku-te-ro*, KN B 822. Furuiyark: *Kūthēros*. [Κούθηρος.]  
*ku-to*, KN 38=As1516. *Kurtos*, -*an*, *Kulas*, -*an*? [Κύρτος, Κύρτων, Κύτος, Κύτων.]  
*ku-tu-ra<sub>2</sub>-no*, KN Ap639, Dx1161. Fem.  
*ku-<sup>a</sup>63-so*, PY 115=En03, 121=En04.  
*ma-du-ro*, PY 62=Cn655. [Cf. Μόνδαλος (Ly-dian), Μανδύριον town in Iapygia.]  
*ma-ka-ta*, PY Jn725. *Makhātās*, *Makhaitās*? [Μαχάτας, Μαχάιτας.]  
*ma-ka-wo*, PY 255=Jn658. *Makhāwēa*. [Μαχάων Il. ii, 732+.]  
*ma-ma-ro*, PY 62=Cn655. *Marmaris*. [Μάρμαρος.]  
*ma-na-si-we-ko*, PY Jn03. *Mnāsivergos*. [Μνησίεργος.]  
*ma-no*, MY 93=Fa101. *Mānos*. [Μήνος.]  
*ma-ra-ni-jo*, PY Cn643+. *Malanios*. [Cf. place-names Μαλάνιος, Μαλάνια (Cyprus).]  
*ma-ra-pi-jo*, KN Dw1296. *Maraphios*. [Μαράφιος.]  
*ma-ra-si-jo*, PY Jn706.  
*ma-ra<sub>2</sub>-wa*, PY 144=Eb866, 143=Ep705. Fem.: *Marraiōa*. [Cf. Μαρραῖος.]  
*ma-re-ku-na*, PY 115=En03, 120=En03. Masc. in one place, fem. in the other; one presumably an error.  
*ma-re-u*, PY 60=An661. *Māleus*? [Cf. Μῆλος.]  
*ma-re-wo*, PY 56=An657. Gen.: *Mālēnos*.  
*ma-ri-ta*, PY Jn832. *Malitā*. [Μαλίτης.]  
*ma-ri-ti-wi-jo*, KN X 1461, PY An04, Cn14.  
*ma-ta-ko*, PY Jn845. *Malthakos*?  
*mu-ti-ko*, KN Vc295, V 831. *Mātikhos*? [Μήτιχος.]  
*mu-u-ti-jo*, PY Cn14, 254=Jn04.  
*ma-zu<sup>2</sup>*, PY 115=En03, 120=En03. Fem.  
*me-de-i-jo*, KN B 800. *Mēdeias*. [Μήδειος.]  
*me-nu-wa*, KN V 60; Sc238, PY 55=An724(32). *Menus*. [=Μινός?]  
*me-nu-a<sub>2</sub>*, PY 44=An29. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
*me-re-u*, PY Ep03. *Mēleus*?  
*me-ta-no*, PY Cn719. *Metānōr*. [Cf. fem. Μετά-νεια.]  
*me-ta-no-re*, KN Uf1522. Dat.: *Metānōrei*.  
*[me-ta-ra-wo]*, KN B 799 rev. *Metānōr*.  
*me-te-we*, PY 61=Cn04. Dat.: *Mētiwei*, *Metiwei*?  
*me-ti-ja-no-ro*, PY Vn1191. Gen.: *Mētiānōr*. Cf. *te-ti-ja-no*.  
*me-to-ge-u*, PY An16. *Metāgeus*. [Cf. Μέτωπος.]  
*me-wi*, PY 43=Sn01.  
*me-za-wo*, KN 297=Sc222. *Mezāwōn*?  
*me-za-wo-ni*, PY 96=Un02. Dat.: *Mezāwōni*.  
*mi-ja-ra-ro*, KN 38=As1516.  
*mi-jo-pa<sub>2</sub>*, PY [91=Fn02], Fn867. Fem. gen. (or masc. nom.?).

*mi-ka-ri-jo*, PY Cn11, [Jn605]. *Mikkaliōn*? [Μικκαλίων.]  
*mi-ra*, PY Eb905, 115=En03, 120=En03, 148=Ep04. Fem.: *Smilā*? [Cf. Σμίλης; place-name Σμίλα.]  
*mi-ru-ro*, KN Ap482, 83=Ch902, Da1127, 38=As1516.  
*mo-da*, KN V 7525, PY Jn02. Cf. *mo-i-da*, *mu-da*?  
*mo-i-da*, MY 46=An102.  
*mo-ni-ko*, KN Da1288. *Monik(h)as*. [Μόνικος, Μόνιχος.]  
*mo-qo-so*, KN X 1497. *Moq<sup>a</sup>so<sup>2</sup>*? [Μόφος; cf. Hiitise *Mukšai*.]  
*mo-qo-so-jo*, PY Sa774. Gen.: *Moq<sup>a</sup>soi*?  
*mo-re-u*, PY 254=Jn04+. *Mōleus*?  
*mo-ro-qo-ro*, PY Ea19, 110=En800. Dat.: *Molag<sup>a</sup>tiil*. [Μόλοβρος; cf. μολοβρός Od. xvi, 219+.]  
*mo-ro-qo-ro-jo*, PY 109=En782, 108=En817. Gen.: *Molag<sup>a</sup>soi*.  
*mu<sup>2</sup>-da*, KN Dx1331. Cf. *mo-da*.  
*mu<sup>2</sup>-ka-ra*, KN Pp498. Fem. *Mukalā*. [Μυκαλή.]  
*mu<sup>2</sup>-ko*, PY An25. *Mukon*, *Mukhon*? [Μύκων, Μύσχων.]  
*mu<sup>2</sup>-ti*, PY Eb858. Bennett: =*mu-ti-ri*. Fem.: *Murtis*. [Μούρτις.]  
*mu<sup>2</sup>-ti-ri*, PY Ep02. Fem.: *Murtilis*. [Cf. place-name Μυρτίλις.]  
*mu<sup>2</sup>-to-na*, PY Jn706. [Cf. Μούτων.]  
*na-e-si-jo*, KN V 147, PY Jn750.  
*na-pu-ti-jo*, KN 65=Dh1232, PY Jn845. *Nāpidios*. [Cf. νηπίδιος.]  
*na-si-jo*, KN B 800. Georgiev: *Nāsias*.  
*na-xu-to*, MY 46=An102.  
*na-ta-ra-ma*, MY 93=Fa101. Dat.  
*na-u-si-ke-re*[-we?], KN X 214. *Nauwiklāwē*? [Ναυσικλής.]  
*ne-da-wa-ta*, PY 258=Kn01. *Nedwātis*? [Cf. Νέδα Arcadian nymph.]  
*ne-da-wa-ta-o*, PY 56=An657. Gen.: *Nedwātis*.  
*ne-e-ra-wo*, PY Fn06. Dat.: *Neilāwē*? [Νελεως.]  
*ne-o-ta*, KN 38=As1516.  
*ne-ge-u*, PY Jn725, 43=Sn01. *Nēgeus*? [Cf. Νήπεια.]  
*ne-ge-wo*, PY Eb833. Gen.: *Nēge<sup>a</sup>woi*.  
*ne-ri-to*, PY 61=Cn04. *Nērios*. [Νήριος Od. xvi, 207.]  
*ne-ri-wa-to*, KN 260=Og0467.  
*ne-ti-ja-no*, PY Cn12. Cf. *-ti-ja-no*, KN Np273. *Nētiānōr*?  
*ne-ti-ja-no-re*, PY Cn14. Dat.: *Nētiānōrei*.  
*ne-wo-ki-to*, PY 44=An29, 59=An656. *Nēwo*? Palmer: *Nēwokhiān*.  
*no-e-u*, PY Jn03. Georgiev: *Nōwas*.  
*o-at<sub>2</sub>-ta*, PY 57=An43, 58=An654.  
*o-du-pa<sub>2</sub>-ro*, PY 40=An22.  
*o-ka*, PY [168=Es644], 167=Es650 rev., Es727. Cf. *o-ka* in Vocabulary; here apparently a man's name.



- o-ka-ri-jo, PY 62 = Cn655. *Oikhalios*. [Cf. *Οἰχαλίη* II. ii, 730.]
- o-ke-te-u, PY Jn693. *Okhetew*? [Cf. *ὀχρετώω*.]
- o-ke-u, PY 145 = Ea05+. Georgiev: *Okew*.
- o-ko, PY Cn08. *Horkos*?
- o-ko-me-ne-u, PY Ea780. *Orkhumenios*. [Cf. *Ὀρχομενός*; as names of places II. ii, 511, 605.]
- o-ku, KN Dd1170, X 7619. *Okw*.
- o-ku-ka, PY 61 = Cn04+. Nom. and dat.: *Ὀκυγᾶς*, -ᾶ? [Cf. *ὠκυγός*; place-name *ὠκυγίη* Od. i, 85.]
- o-ku-na-wo, KN V 60. *Okunāwos*.
- o-ku-no, KN Dd1082.
- o-na-se-u, KN V 1523, PY 255 = Jn658+. *Onāseu*. [Cf. Cyp. *Ὀνασι*.]
- o-ne-u, KN Dd1207. *Orneus*. [*Ὀρνέως*.]
- o-pa<sub>2</sub>, PY Jn02. *Orw*? [*Ὀρως*.]
- o-pa<sub>2</sub>-wo-ni, PY En03, Dat.: *Opāwani*. [Cf. *ὀπάων* II. x, 38+.]
- o-pe-ra-no, PY 255 = Jn658+. *Ophelānōr*. [Cf. *Ὀφελάνδρος*.]
- o-pe-ra-no-re, MY Oe126. Dat.: *Ophelānurei*.
- o-pe-re-ta, PY An13, 62 = Cn655. Ventris: *Hophlās*? Palmer: *Ophelastās*. Possibly an alternative spelling of the next?
- o-pe-ta, KN B 799. *Opheltās*. [*Ὀφέλτας*.]
- o-pe-te-re-u, PY 136 = Eb31, Ea805.
- o-pe-to-re-u, PY 135 = Ep704. Incorrect spelling of the preceding?
- o-pi-ri-ni-ni-jo, KN Sc230. *Opitimnios*. [Cf. *Ἐπιθιμνίος* title of Poseidon.]
- o-pi-si-jo, KN 38 = As1516+. *Opisio*. [*Ὀπισίος* IG ii, 868, ii, 20.]
- o-po-ro-me-no, PY 168 = Ea644, 167 = Ea650+. *Hoplomenos*?
- o-re-a<sub>2</sub>, PY 143 = Ep705. *Oreāi*. [*Ὀρείης*.]
- o-re-ta, PY 56 = An657. *Oreātāi*. [*Ὀρεάτης* II. v, 705+.]
- o-ri-ko, MY 46 = Au102. *Oligos*? [Or cf. place-name *ὠρικός*.]
- o-ta-ki, MY 93 = Fo101. Dat.?
- o-ta<sub>2</sub>-we-u, PY 40 = An22. Gen.: = o-to-wo-o.
- o-ti-na-wo, PY Cn07. *Ortināwos*.
- o-tu, PY An24. *Otus*. [*Ὀτὺς* (Paphlagonian).]
- o-tu-wo-we, PY 255 = Jn658+.
- o-to-wo-we-i, PY Vn851. Dat.
- o-to-wo-o, PY An23. Alternative spelling of gen. [Alternation *tu/to* points to *-to-*; *-wo-o* for *-wo-wo* by dissimilation, cf. *qu-o* in Vocabulary?]
- o-wa-ko, PY 61 = Cn04, Jn725. Nom. and dat.
- o-wi-du, PY Jn725. [Cf. *ὠίδας* (-αντος)?]
- o-wi-ro, KN Dd1218. *Owikas*? [Cf. *ὠιδῶς* II. xii, 697+.]
- o-wo-to, PY 40 = An22, Vn04. Nom. and dat.
- pa-da-je-u, PY An16, Eb23+. *Pandaios*. Bennett: = *pa-da-wo-u*.
- pa-da-je-wo, PY 123 = Ea06. Dat.: *Pandaiēcei*.
- pa-da-ro, KN V 831. Sittig: *Pandarus*. [*Πάνδαρος* II. iv, 68+.]
- pa-da-so, KN Db1297. *Padasos*? [*Πήδασος* II. vi, 21+.]
- pa-de-we-u, PY 148 = Ep04. Cf. *pa-da-je-u*.
- pa-di-jo, KN Sc224. *Pandion*. [*Πανδίων* II. xii, 372.]
- pa-ja-ni-jo, KN Fp354. Nom. or dat.? *Painios*, -iōi. [*Πανίος*; cf. *Παιανία* name of an Attic deme.]
- pa-ku-ro<sub>2</sub>, PY 44 = An29, Jn750. Palmer: *Baikulos*. [*Βαΐκυλος*.]
- pa-me-si-jo, KN 38 = As1516. Cf. next. *Pamēnios*. [Cf. *Πάμισος* river in Messenia.]
- pa-mi-si-jo, KN Sc135. Alternative spelling of the preceding: *Pamīsios*.
- pa-na-ki, MY 93 = Fo101. Dat. *Phainaki*? [*Φαινῶξ*.]
- pa-na-re-jo, KN V 1004, 38 = As1516, 39 = As1517, U 0478, PY Fp867. *Panareios*, -ōi. [Cf. *Πανάρης* (a Cretan).]
- pa-ni-ko, KN Dd1283. *Pānikas*? Palmer: *Phainikos*.
- pa-nu-wa-so, KN 38 = As1516. Ventris: cf. *Πανύσσις*, *Πανύσσιος*; Chadwick: *Parnikasos*?
- pa-nu-wa-so, KN Dd 943. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- pa-pa-jo, PY 254 = Jn04. *Pamphaios*. [*Πάμφαιος*.]
- pa-pa-ro, KN X 206, Dd207, PY Cn643 (?) [Cn719]. Ventris: *Barbaros*; Chadwick: *Parparos*? [*Βάρβαρος*; cf. place-name *Πάρπαρος*.]
- pa<sub>2</sub>-pa<sub>2</sub>-ro, KN As604. Alternative spelling of the preceding?
- pa-qo-si-jo, [KN Dd441, Dd988], PY 253 = Jn01. *Pangōsaios*. [Cf. *Παμφωτιάδης* name of an Attic deme, *Παμφῶτης* title of Demeter.]
- pa-qo-si-jo-jo, PY 253 = Jn01. Gen.: *Pangōsaios*.
- pa-qo-ta, PY 255 = Jn658+. *Pangōstās*. [Cf. the preceding.]
- pa<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>, PY An16. *Pallans*?
- pa<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-te, PY 50 = An18 rev., An30. Dat.: *Pallantei*.
- pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-i-so, KN V 466. Perhaps a place-name = *Praisos*. Palmer: *Blaios*. [*Βλαΐσιος*.]
- pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-jo, KN 39 = As1517. *Pharaios*? [Here apparently not ethnic; cf. *pa<sub>2</sub>-ra-jo* in Place-names.]
- pa-ra-ke-se-we, PY Fp03. Dat.: *Prāstewēi*.
- pa-ra-ko, KN Sc258, PY Eb03, 119 = Ea02, 131 = Ep01, 148 = Ep04. Nom. and dat. *Phalaikos*, -di? Georgiev: *Plakos*. [*Φάλακκος*; *Πλάκος* mountain II. vi, 396.]
- pa<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-ro, KN Dd932. *Phalaros*. [*Φάλαρος*.]
- pa-ra-ti-jo, KN 78 = C 914. *Pallantios*.
- pa<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-ti-jo, KN Dd1235. Alternative spelling of the preceding.
- pa-ra-to, KN Db1373. *Platōn*? Georgiev also: *Phalanthos*. [*Πλάτων*, *Φάλανθος*.]
- pa-re, KN Sc247, Sc249. *Phalēi*. [*Φαλής*.]
- pa<sub>2</sub>-ro<sub>2</sub>, KN Dd1422. *Balios*, *Phalios*? [*Βαλιος*, *Φάλιος*.]
- pa<sub>2</sub>-ta-re-wo, PY Sa755. Gen.: *Bassarētēs*? [Cf. *Βασσαρεύς* title of Dionysus.]



- pa-ta*, PY Cn14. Dat.: *Phantāi*? [Φάντης.]  
*pa-ti*, KN Dd1281, 38=As1516. Georgiev: *Batis*. [Βάτις.]  
*pa-wa-wo*, KN Sc254, PY Cn07, Vn03.  
*pa-wi-no*, KN B 799, B 805. Georgiev: *Phauiinos* or *Phauiinos*. [Φάεινος, Φαίνος.]  
*pe-da-i-o*, KN Fh341. *Pēdaios*? [Πήδαιος II, v, 69.]  
*pe-ke-u*, MY 105=Ge602, 106=Ge503+. *Phēgus*? [Φηγυς II, v, 11.]  
*pe-ki-ta*, PY 115=En03, [120=En03], 122=En05.  
*pe-po-ro*, KN De6060, PY Jn02. *Pēpos*. [Πέπος.]  
*pe-qe-ro-jo*, PY Sa768. Gen. [Cf. Πένθιλος or Πεντελή?] *pe-qe-u*, KN Vd137 bis, PY Jn693. [Cf. πέντε, πέτων?] *pe-qe-we*, PY Cn13, Fn06. Dat.  
*pe-re-ku-wa-na-ka*, PY 248=Va01. *Presguosapax*.  
*pe-re-qo-ni-jo*, PY 59=An656. *Presgōstias*? [Cf. Πρέσβων, Πρεσβωνιάδης.]  
*[pe]-re-qo-no*, PY Jn725. 3. *Presgōstias*. [Cf. the preceding.]  
*pe-re-qo-no-jo*, PY Ea12. Gen.: *Presgōstias*.  
*pe-re-qo-ta*, PY 116=En659. Dat.; possibly the same name as *pe-re-qo-ta-o*.  
*pe-re-ta*, PY 255=Jn658+. *Pleistās*. [Cf. Πλειστος, Πλειστίας, etc.]  
*pe-re-wa-ta*, KN X 183, PY An15. *Plewātās*? [Cf. πλώω.]  
*pe-ri-me-de*, PY 59=An656. *Perimēdēs*. [Περιμήδης II, xv, 515.]  
*pe-ri-me-de-o*, PY 43=Sn01. Gen.: *Perimēdēs*.  
*pe-ri-mo*, PY 43=Sn01. *Perimos*. [Πέριμος II, xv, 695.]  
*pe-ri-no*, PY 58=An654, Jn706. *Pelinos*? [Πέλινος founder of Πέλινα.]  
*pe-ri-qo-ta*, PY Jn693. *Perigōstās*, etc. (see p. 94); Georgiev compares Περιβωτάδης.  
*pe-ri-qo-ta-o*, KN Dw42, Dx46. Gen.: *Perigōstās*.  
*pe-ri-ra-wo*, PY 58=An654. *Perilānos*. [Περίλαος.]  
*pe-ri-ta*, KN V 60, 232=K 875. *Peritās*. [Περίτας.]  
*pe-ri-te-u*, KN C 954, B 5025, PY 58=An654. *Perintheus*? [Cf. place-name Πέρνθος.]  
*pe-ri-to-wo*, KN [Vc171], Vc195. *Perithouos*. [Περίθουος (Plei-metrical lengthening) II, xii, 129.]  
*pe-se-ro*, MY 105=Ge602. Dat.?: *Pēllōi*. [Ψελλός only late as name; as adjective from Aesch.]  
*pe-se-ro-jo*, KN 24=As63. Gen.: *Pēllōi*.  
*pe-ta-ro*, PY 253=Jn01. *Petalos*. [Πέταλος.]  
*pe-te-ki-ja*, KN 38=As1516.  
*pe-te-u*, KN As603. [Not Πενθεός if this is derived from πένθος.]  
*pe-we-ri-jo*, KN 39=An1517.  
*pi-ja-se-me*, KN 38=As1516.  
*pi-ja-si-ro*, KN 38=As1516.  
*pi-ke-re-u*, PY Eb03, 131=Ep01. *Pigruis*, *Pikreus*. [Cf. Cyp. gen. *pi-ki-re-u* Schwyzler, *Diol.* 684, 5.]  
*pi-ke-re-wo*, PY 115=En03, 122=En05. Gen.: *Pigruis*.  
*pi-ke-re-we*, PY 122=En05. Dat.: *Pigruis*.  
*pi-me-ta*, PY 61=En04. Dat.  
*pi-ra-jo*, PY 30=Ac03, 104=Un09. *Philaos*. [Φίλαος.]  
*pi-ra-ka-ra*, KN Ap639. Fem.: *Philagrā*. [Cf. Φιλαγρος.]  
*pi-ra-me-no*, KN E 36, PY 254=Jn04. *Phila-menos*? [Cf. φίλατο II, v, 61+, φιλάμενος IG xiv, 1549.]  
*pi-ra-qo*, KN Vc181. *Philāgōs*? [Φιλαγός; but this is doubtful in view of Dor. ἤβα.]  
*pi-re-se-[u?]*, PY Fn03. *Philēus*?  
*pi-ri-ja-me-ja*, PY 50=An18 rev. *Priamēiās*? [Cf. Πρίαμος II, i, 19+.]  
*pi-ri-no*, KN 38=As1516. *Philēnos*. [Φίλινος.]  
*pi-ri-sa-ta*, KN U 0478. *Philistās*. [Φιλίστης.]  
*pi-ri-ta*, PY Vn1191. Fem.: *Philistā*. [Φιλίστα.]  
*pi-ri-ta-wo-no*, PY 117=En01. Gen.: Björck: *Brithāwonos*. [Cf. Βριθαγόρας.]  
*pi-ri-to-jo*, KN C 911. Gen.: *Philistina*. [Φιλίστος.]  
*pi-ro-i-ta*, KN V 1523. *Philistās*. [Φιλίστης; cf. Φιλίστος Od. xx, 185+.]  
*pi-ro-na*, PY Ep03. Fem.: *Philōnā*.  
*pi-ro-ne-ta*, PY 255=Jn658. *Philōnētās*?  
*pi-ro-ra-ta-ra*, PY Vn1191. Fem.: *Philopatā*.  
*pi-ro-ra-wo*, KN As609. *Philophrōn* [cf. Φιλοκρήμων] or *Phil-ōphrōn* [cf. *o-ra-wo-ni*].  
*pi-ro-ta-wo*, PY 168=Es644, 167=Es650+. *Philistinos*? [= Φιλίστιος?] *pi-ro-te-ko-to*, PY 167=Es650 rev. *Philotektion* (or is the correct reading *pi-ro te-ko-to Philōn tektion*?).  
*pi-ro-we-ko*, PY 254=Jn04. *Philouergas*. [Φιλοῦργος.]  
*pi-ta-ke-u*, PY 254=Jn04. Ventr.: *Pithakeus*; Chadwick: *Pittakeus*. [Cf. Πιττακος.]  
*pi-we-ri-ja-ta*, PY 254=Jn04. Cf. *pi-we-ri-ti* (dat. plur.) MY 93=Fo101. *Puceridās*. [Cf. Πυρρή II, xiv, 226.]  
*po-i-te-u*, KN Da1083. *Phoitus*. [Cf. next.]  
*po-i-ti-jo*, KN Da1314. *Phaitios*. [Cf. place-name Φοιτίας.]  
*po-ke-we*, PY 61=En04. Dat.: *Phōkēwei*, *Phor-kēwei*?  
*po-ki-ro-qo*, PY 258=Ku01, 43=Sn01, 58=An654. *Poliklas*, *-ōs*?  
*po-ki-te*, KN B 806.  
*po-ko-ro*, PY 61=En04+. Dat.  
*po-ma-ko*, PY Cn13. Georgiev: *Poimarkhos*, *-āgos*.  
*po-mi-ni-jo*, KN V 503, Ga1019. *Poimnias* or *Poimnias*? [Ποιμνίων, Ποιμνιος.]  
*po-no-ra-ja-ta*, PY Fn03. *Pornopāthi*? [Cf. Aeol. πόρνοπα=Att. πόρνοπα.]  
*po-ri-ko*, PY Cn05. *Poliklas*? [Πολίχος.]  
*po-ri-wo*, KN C 911.3. *Polinos*. [Πολινός, cf. *po-ri-wo* in Vocabulary.]  
*po-ro*, KN 67=Dd1171. Georgiev: *Pōlos*. [Πώλος.]  
*po-ro-ra-ja-jo*, PY 62=En655. *Pōrpalinos*? [Cf. Πρόσπαλτα name of an Attic deme.]  
*po-ro-qe-re-je-wo*, KN B 822. Gen.: *Furumark*; *Presgōstias*.



po-ro-u-fo, PY 255 = Jn658 +.  
 po-ro-u-te-u, KN 66 = Dcl129, PY 253 = Jn01, [Vn03]. *Ploutai*, [Πλουτεύς].  
 po-ro-u-te-wo, PY 253 = Jn01. Gen.: *Ploutai*.  
 po-ro-u-te-we, PY 61 = Cn04. Dat.: *Ploutai*.  
 po-ro-te-u, PY Eq02. Incomplete spelling of nom.; or = *Pythas*?  
 po-ta-da-si-fo, PY An29. Cf. *po-ti-da-si-*, KN X 7561.  
 po-ta-e-ro, PY 255 = Jn658. *Polu-*.  
 po-tu-ku-to, KN Vc74. *Polukantus*? [Cf. Πολυκάστη *Od.* iii, 464.]  
 po-tu-qo-ta, PY Cn14, Jn845. Nom. and dat.: *Polug'hantiā*, -ā. [Πολυφάντης *Il.* iv, 395]; Georgiev: *Polug'ōtās*, [Πολυβώτης].  
 po-tu-to, PY An24. Georgiev: *Polutās*.  
 po-tu-we-wo, PY Sa796. Gen.  
 po-to-pe-re-i, PY Cn14. Dat.: *Pasophelā*? [Cf. προσοφέλω, Προσπελάω].  
 po-to-re-ja, PY 119 = Eo02, Ep03. Fem.: *Poleia*?  
 po-to-ri-fo, PY 258 = Kn01 edge. *Psolōn*?  
 po-to-ri-fo-no, PY 43 = Sn01. Gen.: *Psolōn*.  
 po-to-ro, PY Jn02 +. *Psolōn*? [Υδίων].  
 po-te-u, PY 57 = An43, Cn13. Cf. *po-i-te-u*; or *Pontus*. [Ποντικός *Od.* viii, 113.]  
 po-te-wo, PY 129 = Eo268 (Ea20), 117 = En01.  
 po-ti-fo, KN B 904. *Pontias*. [Πόντιος].  
 po-to, KN 38 = As1516. *Pantos*? Georgiev: *Potos*. [Πόντος, Πότος].  
 po-to-re-ma-ta, PY Jn02. *Ptolemāds*. [Cf. Πολεμάτας].  
 po-to-ri-fo, KN 39 = As1517. *Ptolōn*?  
 po-to-ri-ka-ta, KN 162 = Uf983. *Ptolikhdiās*?  
 pte-fo-ri, PY 50 = An18 rev.  
 pu-ka-ro, MY 93 = Fo101. Dat.  
 pu<sub>2</sub>-ke, MY 105 = Ge602 +. *Pugē*, *Phukēs*?  
 pu-ke-o, MY 106 = Ge603. [107 = Ge604.]  
 pu<sub>2</sub>-ke-qi-ri, PY 235 = Ta711. Fem.?  
 pu-ko-ro, PY 50 = An18 rev., Fo864; cf. *pu-ko-ro* [?] Jn05. *Purkolos*. [πυρπόλος; cf. πυρπόλεω *Od.* x, 30.]  
 pu-ko-wo, PY 143 = Ep705. *Purkaios*. [Cf. Delph. Πυρκάοι].  
 pu-ra-ko, KN X 141. *Phulākes*. [Φύλακος *Il.* vi, 35.]  
 pu-ra-vo, KN Dv5677. *Puraios*. [Πύρασος *Il.* xi, 491.]  
 pu-re-wa, KN U 0478. [Cf. Φυλάς].  
 pu-ri, KN F 452, V 479, B 799. *Purix*. [Πύρις *Il.* xvi, 416.]  
 pu-te, KN 38 = As1516. *Pythās*. [Πύθης].  
 pu-te-u, PY Jn03. *Phutei*. [Φυτεύς].  
 pu-ti-ja, PY An21. *Pythās*. [Πυθίας].  
 pu<sub>2</sub>-ti-ja, PY Jn02, 59 = An556. Alternative spelling of the preceding?  
 pu<sub>2</sub>-to, KN Uf1522. Dat.? [Cf. Φύτων].  
 pu-to-ro, KN 38 = As1516, Dal333 (PY 251 = Vn02 not name).  
 pu-wa, KN Ap639. Fem.: *Purwā*. [Πύρρα].  
 pu-wi-no, PY 61 = Cn04, 62 = Cn655. Nom. and dat.: *Purwinos*, -ō. [Πύρρινος].

pu-wo, KN C 912, 38 = As1516, MY 106 = Ge603  
*Purwos*. [Πύρρος; cf. Corinth. Πύρρος (name of a horse), Schwyzler, *Dial.* 123, 15.]  
 pu-ta-ko, PY Cn05.

qe-ra-di-ri-fo, KN Sc246. *Q'ēlandrios*. [Cf. Τήλανδρος].  
 qe-ra-jo, KN Ap482, X 5523. Georgiev: *Q'hēraias*. [Cf. Θηραῖος ethnic of Θήρα; θήρ < \*ghér-].  
 qe-re-me-ae-u, PY Jn845. *Q'ēlēmeneus*, *Q'hēlēmeneus*? [Τηλε-; cf. Θηριμένης].  
 qe-re-qo-ta-o, PY 116 = En659. Gen.: *Q'ēlēpho(n)io*, etc. (see pp. 94, 245).  
 qe-re-wa, KN X 122, X 296. *Q'ēleuās*? Georgiev: *Q'ēleuās*. [Cf. Τελέων; Τηλέως].  
 qe-re-wa-p, PY 62 = Cn655. Gen.: *Q'ēleuāo*.  
 qe-ri-fo, KN 23 = Ag1654. Nom. or gen.? Georgiev: *Q'hēriōn*. [Θηριών].  
 qe-ri-ta, PY [148 = Ep04], Eb900. Fem.  
 qe-ta-ra-je-u, PY Jn845.  
 qe-ta-se-u, KN As5869.  
 qe-ta-wo, PY 253 = Jn01. *Q'hēstūwōn*? [Cf. Θέστοω *Il.* xvi, 401.]  
 qe-te-se-u, KN As3866.  
 qi-ja-to, KN Db1140. [Cf. Τιάτος].  
 qi-qe-ro, KN 39 = As1517.  
 qi-ri-ta-ko, PY 62 = Cn655.  
 qi-si-ja-ko, PY Jn706.  
 qi-ta-no-ro, KN 38 = As1516.  
 qo-ja-ni, KN Ap639. Fem. [Cf. Ποίας?]  
 qo-ta-wo, PY 50 = An18 (in PY Na 24 place-name).  
 qo-te-ro, KN X 1495, 38 = As1516, PY 32 = Ae05, 40 = An22.  
 qo-wa-ke-se-u, KN As602. *Q'awakias*. [βους + ἄγω].  
 ra-ke-da-no, MY 106 = Ge603. ?-ānōr. [Cf. Λακεδαίμων?]  
 ra-ke-da-no-re, MY 107 = Ge604. Dat.: -ānōri.  
 ra-ku-ro, PY Eb02, 126 = Eo281 (Eo04), 131 = Ep01. Nom. and dat.  
 ra-ku-ro-jo, PY 116 = En659. Gen.  
 ra-pa-do, PY Ec01. *Lampadōn*? [Cf. Λαμπάδων].  
 ra-pa-sa-ko, PY 61 = Cn04. Dat.: *Lampadōs*? [Cf. place-name Λάμψακος].  
 ra-pa-sa-ko-jo, PY 62 = Cn655. Gen.: *Lampadōn*.  
 ra-pe-do, PY 58 = An654.  
 ra-u-ro, PY 116 = En659, Ep02.  
 ra-u-ra-ta, KN Dd1300. *Lauriās*?  
 ra-wa-ra-ta, PY An723. Alternative spelling of the preceding?  
 ra-wo-do-ko, PY Ea802. *Lāwodokos*. [Λαώδοκος *Il.* iv, 87 +.]  
 ra-wo-ke-ta, [KN As5869], PY Jn05. *Lāwōskhetās*?  
 ra-wo-ro-qo, KN As0493. Ventris: *Lāwōrophōas*; Georgiev: *Lāwōrophōas*. [Cf. Δημόκοπος; Δηλ-φόβος].  
 ra-wo-qo-no, KN B 798. *Lāwōq'hānis*. [Cf. next.].



- ra-wo-qo-no-fo*, KN D1928, Da1650. Gen.: *Láwoq<sup>h</sup>onoio*.  
*ra-wo-qo-ta*, PY Jn750. *Láwoq<sup>h</sup>ontás?* [*Λωφόντης*.]  
*ra-wo-ti-fo*, KN Ce61, X 203.  
*re-ka*, PY Eb886, Ep02. Fem. [Cf. masc. *Λείκος* or *Ψέκος*.]  
*re-pi-ri-fo*, PY Eq02. *Leprios?* [Cf. *Λεπρίος*; *Λεπρίων* town in Triphylia.]  
*re-u-ka-so*, PY Pa01. Dat.: *Leukasi?* [Cf. *Λευκασία* Messenian stream.]  
*re-u-ka-ta*, KN Ce61, PY 255=Jn658. *Leukátas?*  
*re-u-ko-fo*, THESES III, IV. Gen.: *Leukio*. [*Λεύκος* II, IV, 491.]  
*re-u-ko-ro-o-pu<sup>2</sup>-ru*, PY Jn08. Palmer: error for *Leukophrus*.  
*re-wa-fo*, KN 216=Ld871. Dat.  
*re-wa-o*, PY Fn03. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
*re-wo*, KN X 7663. *Léwon*. [*Λέων*.]  
*ri-me-ne*, PY 56=An657.  
*ri-so-wa*, KN X 7756, PY 44=An29.  
*ri-zo*, KN B 800, 39=As1517+, PY 40=An22. *Rizón?* [*Ρίζων*.]  
*ro-ko*, PY Cn14. Dat.: *Logói*; Georgiev: *Lokhói*. [*Λόγος*, *Λόχος*.]  
*ro-qo-ta*, PY 60=An661.  
*ro-u-ko*, PY [44=An29], 57=An43. Georgiev: *Loukón*. [But *Λούκων* is merely Boeotian spelling for *Λύκων*.]  
*ro-wo*, PY Jn750. *Rhóios?* [Cf. *Ῥόιος*?]  
*ru-ki-fo*, PY Cn720, Jn08. *Lukios*, *Lurkios?* [*Λύκιος*, *Λύρκιος*.]  
*ru-ko*, PY Pn01. *Lukos*, *Lukón?* [*Λύκος*; *Λύκων* II, XVI, 335.]  
*ru-ko-ro*, PY Ea09, 109=Ea782+. *Lugros?*  
*ru-ko-ro-fo*, PY Ea823. Gen.: *Lugroio*.  
*ru-ko-wo-ro*, PY [168=Ea644], 167=Ea650 rev; *Lukouros*, *Lukouros*. [Cf. place-name *Λυκουρία* (Arcadia).]  
*ru-ko-u-ro*, PY Ea729. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
*ru-na*, KN 38=As1516. [Cf. place-name *Λύνας*.]  
*ru-nú-so*, KN X 1439+. *Lurnaisos?* [Cf. place-name *Λυρνησσός* II, II, 690+.]  
*ru-ro*, KN V 832, PY 258=Kn01, 43=Sn01. *Luros?* [*Λύρος*.]  
*ru-ta<sub>1</sub>*, KN Dx5294. [Cf. place-name *Ῥύτιος* (Crete) II, II, 648.]  
*ru-ta<sub>2</sub>-no*, KN Ap639. Fem.  
*ru-\*83-o*, PY 115=En03. Gen.  
*ru-\*83-e*, PY 120=Eo03. Dat.  
*sa-ke-re-u*, PY Ea776, Jn03. Georgiev: = *Zagpeús?*  
*sa-ke-re-wo*, PY Ea756. Gen.  
*sa-ke-re-we*, PY Ea01, Ea18. Dat.  
*sa-ma-ti-ja*, KN Ap639. Fem.: *Sarmatiá?*  
*sa-me-ti-fo*, KN 232=K 875.  
*sa-mí*, KN Ap639. Fem.  
*sa-mu?-ta-fo*, KN 225=L 520, PY 254=Jn04, Vn865. *Samuthaios?* [Cf. fem. *Σαμόθα*.]  
*sa-ní-fo*, PY An24, Cn09. *Sanniôn*. [*Σαννίων*.]  
*sa-pi-ti-nu-wo*, KN 38=As1516.  
*sa-ra-pe-do*, PY 153=Er02. Sittig: *Sarpedôn*; but possibly not a myth's name; see Vocabulary.  
*sa-u-ri-fo*, KN 38=As1516. *Saurios?* [Cf. *Σαῦρος*, *Σαυρίας*.]  
*se-no*, PY 61=Cn04, 62=Cn655, 168=Ea644, 167=Ea650+. Nom. and dat.  
*se-ri-na-ta*, KN U 0478. *Sellinátas*. [*σέλλιναν*; cf. *se-ri-no* in Vocabulary.]  
*si-da-fo*, KN Od562, X 7626. *Sidaioi*. [Cf. place-name *Σίδαι*.]  
*si-ja-pu<sup>2</sup>-ro*, KN 38=As1516.  
*si-ma*, PY 114=En02, 118=Eo01. Fem.: *Simá*. [*Σιμη*.]  
*si-mo*, KN Sc263. *Simos*, *Simôn*. [*Σιμος*, *Σιμων*.]  
*si-ne-e-ja*, KN Ap639. Fem.  
*si-mu-ke*, KN Ap639. Fem.  
*si-pu<sup>2</sup>*, KN 38=As1516.  
*si-ra-no*, KN V 466. *Siláms*. [*Σιλανός*, *Σιληνός*.]  
*si-ri-fo*, PY 148=Ep04. *Sirios?*  
*si-[ri]-jo-fo*, PY Eb22. Gen.: *Siriois*.  
*si-za*, KN As1520.  
*so-u-ro*, PY 119=Eo02.  
*su-ke-re*, KN As40.  
*su-ke-re-o*, KN 38=As1516. Gen.  
*su-ki-ri-to*, KN 38=As1516. Georgiev: *Sunkritos*. [*σύνκριτος*; but the usual Myc. form is *ξυν-*, see Vocabulary.] Cf. place-name *su-ki-ri-ta*.  
*su-mí*, KN 38=As1516.  
*ta-de-so*, KN Df1285, De1409, THESES VIII.  
*ta-mí-de-so*, KN D1944.  
*ta-mí-e-u*, PY 253=Jn01. *Tamíei*. [Cf. *Ταμίος*.]  
*ta-na-wo*, PY Jn693. *Tannios?* [Cf. *ta-na-ua* in Vocabulary.]  
*ta-ra-ma-ta*, PY Ea13, 112=Ea825+, Vn851. *Thalamátas*. [Cf. *Θαλαμάτας* inhabitant of *Θαλάμαι*.]  
*ta-ra-ma-ta-o*, PY (31=Ac04), 32=Ac05+, Ea821. Gen.: *Thalamátáo*.  
*ta-ra-mí-ka*, PY Eb27, 143=Ep705. Fem.: *Thalamiká*, *-iká*.  
*ta-ra-to*, PY An16, 121=Eo04. *Stratón?* [*Στράτων*; but cf. Aeol. Boeot. *στρατ-*.]  
*ta-ra<sub>2</sub>-to*, PY Eb45, 124=Eo351 (Eo02), 115=En03, 116=En659. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
*ta-re-u*, PY Jn693. *Thaleus?* [*Θαλέης*=*Θαλής*; not = *Τηρεús*?]  
*ta-so*, KN C 911, X 5200. *Stasón?* [*Στάσων*.]  
*ta-ta-ke-u*, PY 62=Cn655. *Startágeu?* [Cret. *σταρτος*=*στρατός*.]  
*ta-ta-ro*, PY 119=Eo02, 131=Ep01. Nom. and dat.: *Tantulos*, *-ái*. [*Τάνταλος* Oit. xi, 582.]  
*ta-ti-go-we-u*, PY 55=An724(32). *Státig<sup>h</sup>oueni?*  
*ta-ti-go-we-wo*, PY 58=An654. Gen.  
*ta-to*, KN As602, PY Cn09(?). *Statos?*  
*ta-u-ro*, KN V 832. *Taurus*. [*Ταῦρος* mythical king of Crete.]  
*ta-we-si-fo*, KN Dw1332.



- ta-we-si-jo-jo*, PY 40 = An22 +. Gen.  
*ta-zo-ro*, KN V 503, 85 = Ch896, Db1097 +.  
*te-o-po-*[, PY 50 = An18 rev. *Thes*?  
*te-pa-ja*, KN Ap5864, PY Ep03. Fem. *Thēuid*?  
*te-pe-u*, PY An21.  
*te-po-se-u*, PY 258 = Kn01, On01. [Cf. place-name Τεφουσα (Arcadia).]  
*te-ra-wo*, MY 46 = Au102. *Teldūn*? [Cf. Τελδών.]  
*te-ra-wo-ne*, PY Fn1192. Dat. *Teldūnēi*?  
*te-re-ja-wo*, KN Vc188. *Telēiūn*? [Cf. *te-re-ja* in Vocabulary.]  
*te-se-u*, PY 115 = En03, 120 = Eo03. *Thēus*. [Θηεύς II. i, 265.]  
*te-te-re-u*, PY Ep03, 254 = Jn04. *Tethrew*?  
*te-te-u*, KN V 958. *Tenthrew*, *Terthrew*? [Τερθεύς.]  
*te-u-to*, KN X 292, PY Jn02 +. *Teuthos*?  
*te-wa-jo*, KN Ce156, PY Fn03. Palmer: = *te-wa-ro*.  
*te-wu-ro*, MY 228 = Oc111. Dat.: Palmer: *Thēcalōi*.  
*ti-ma-wo*, PY 62 = Cn655. Bennett reads *ti-ke-wo*.  
*ti-pa-jo*, KN 39 = Aa1517, PY 128 = Eo278 (Eo01), 253 = Jn01. *Silthaios*? Andrews: *Thishaios*. [Σιλθαίος, Θισθαίος.]  
*ti-pa-jo-jo*, PY 117 = En01. Gen.: *-oio*.  
*ti-ri-da-ro*, PY Ea14. *Tridālos*? [Cf. Ἀγλ-δηλος, etc.]  
*ti-ri-jo*, PY Cn09. [Cf. place-name Θριοῦς.]  
*ti-ri-jo-pa-jo*, KN 298 = Se226, Vc303 +. *Triopās*. [Τριόπας; cf. Τριόπος h. Hom. iii, 213.]  
*ti-ri-po-di-ko*, PY Cn12. Dat.: *Tripdiskōi*. [Cf. place-name Τριποδίσκος and *ti-ri-po-di-ko* in Vocabulary.]  
*ti-ta-[-]wo*, PY 254 = Jn04.  
*to-ke-u*, PY An13. *Tokrus*? *Stoikheus*? [Στοιχεύς.]  
*to-ko-to-ta*, KN X 7624. *Toxotās*: perhaps not a name.  
*to-ri-jo*, PY Jn605. *Stolius*?  
*to-ro-ja*, PY 143 = Ep705. Fem.: *Trēid*?  
*to-ro-o*, PY 57 = An43. Gen.: *Trōs*. [Τρώς II. v, 265 +.]  
*to-ro-wi*, PY 61 = Cn04, Jn02.  
*to-ro-wi-ko*, PY 62 = Cn655. Gen.?  
*to-ro-wi-ka*, PY An24.  
*to-ru-ko-ro*, PY 62 = Cn655.  
*to-ti-ja*, MY 93 = Fo101. Fem.?  
*to-wi-no*, KN Do923. [Cf. Θωίος?]  
*tu-ka-na*, KN Ap659, 10, 11. (Two women of the same name?) Fem.: *Stagnā*?  
*tu-ke-ne-u*, PY 253 = Jn01. *Stagnew*?  
*tu-pa-ni-ja-so*, KN [Dw920], Db1279 +. [Cf. place-name Tu[μ]ναίαι; τυμναίος?]  
*tu-ri-ja-jo*, PY Jn03. *Thuraios*? [Cf. place-name Θυραίαι.]  
*tu-ri-ja-ti*, PY 116 = En659. Fem.: *Thuriātis*? [Cf. Θυρεάτης (yfl).]  
*tu-ri-jo*, PY Jn693. *Turios*?  
*tu-ri-si-jo-jo*, PY Sa758. Gen.: *Tuliziōis*. [Cf. *tu-ri-so* in Place-names.]  
*tu-ri-ta*, PY Cn14. Dat.  
*tu-ru-we-u*, PY 40 = An22, Cn15. *Thruens*. [Cf. place-name Θρόεν (Pylos) II. ii, 392.]  
*tu-si-je-u*, PY 57 = An43. [Cf. next.]  
*tu-ti-je-u*, PY Cn09. [Cf. place-names: Θύσταον, Θύτιον.]  
*tu-we-ta*, PY 103 = Un08. Palmer: dat.: *Thuestāi*. [Θυεστής II. ii, 107.]  
*tu-wi-no*, KN 102 = Ga517. *Twinān*? [Cf. Σινών, σινωμα < \**heim*-.]  
*tu-wi-no-no*, KN Ga676. Gen.: *Twinōnos*?  
*tu-zo*, KN Ap639. Fem.  
*tu-49-mi*, KN Ap639. Fem.  
*u-pa-mo*, KN Mc0454. Ventris: *Hupamos*? [= ὕπατος.]  
*u-ra-jo*, KN B 799, Dw1199 +. *Hulaios*, *Huraios*? [ῥαίος, ῥπαίος.]  
*u-ra-mo-no*, KN 38 = Aa1516. *Hulammos*?  
*u-re-u*, PY Vn865. *Huleus*, *Hulleus*? [ῥαεύς, ῥαλεύς.]  
*u-ro*, KN Db5367. *Hullis*. [ῥαλλος; as name of a river II. xx, 392.]  
*u-wa-mi-ja*, PY 137 = Eb30, 135 = Ep704. Fem.: *Huamid*? [Cf. place-name ῥάμια (Messenia).]  
*u-wa-ta*, KN Dd1286. *Huamtās*? [Cf. ῥάαντες; Georgiev: cf. ῥάαν.]  
*u-wa-si-jo*, KN Ai115. Adjective from the preceding? (*pu-ro u-wa-si-jo ko-wo* 'from the son of H.').  
*wa-a-ta*, MY 46 = Au102.  
*wa-de-o*, PY Sa766. Gen.: *Wādeas* (from nom. *-ās*?). [Cf. ῥδός.]  
*wa-di-re-we*, PY Fn06. Dat.? *Wādillēwi*? [Cf. ῥδύλλος.]  
*wa-de-me-no*, PY Vn04. *Wādomeus*. [ῥδωμα.]  
*wa-du-ka-sa-ro*, KN Da1445. *Wādū*?  
*wa-du-na*, KN V 503 +. *Wādūnās*?  
*wa-du-na-ro*, KN C 912, Dd1118, Db1242 +. *Wādū*?  
*wa-du-na-to*, KN 38 = Aa1516. (Erroneous spelling of the preceding?)  
*wa-du-ri-jo*, PY Jn725. *Wādullis*. [Cf. ῥδύλλος.]  
*wa-ka-ta*, PY 255 = Jn658.  
*wa-na-ta-jo*, KN V 466, PY (114 = En02), 118 = Eo01, 119 = Eo02, 131 = Ep01. Nom. and dat. *Warnataios*, *-ās*? [Cf. ῥαυαίος Od. xiv, 5.]  
*wa-na-ta-jo-jo*, PY 114 = En02, 118 = Eo01. Gen.: *Warnataiois*.  
*wo-mi-ko*, PY Jn05. Georgiev: *Warniskos*. [ῥαυισκος.]  
*wa-no-jo*, PY Cn12, Cn14. Gen.: *Warnais*? [ῥαυός.]  
*wa-pa-ro-jo*, PY 59 = An656. Gen.: *Wapalois*? [ῥαπαλος Boissacq s.s. ἀπαλός.]  
*wo-ra-pi-si-ro*, MY 46 = Au102, [PY Cn08]. *Wrpailis*?  
*wa-ru-wo-qa*, KN38 = Aa1516.  
*wa-tu-o-ko*, PY Ea03. *Wasthokhos*. [Cf. ῥαστυόχη II. ii, 513.]  
*wa-tu-wa-o-ko*, PY 57 = An43. Apparently alternative spelling of the preceding; influenced by \**πολιόσχος*, Epic: *πολιήσχος*; Laton: *πολιόχῃ*?



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*wa-u-do-no*, PY 254 = Jn04. *Waud(o)nos*? [Cf. *Αὔδωνος*, *Αὔδωνος* name of Macedonian month.]  
*we-da-ne-wo*, PY 54 = An19, Cn11, 168 = Es644+. Gen. [Ventris: cf. *Εὔδαντος*.]  
*we-da-ne-we*, PY 169 = Es646+. Dat.  
*we-a-da-ne-we*, PY 77 = Cn23. Alternative spelling of the preceding?  
*we-i-we-sa*, MY 93 = Fo101. Dat.; fem.?  
*we-ka-di-jo*, KN V 831, U 0478. *Wergadios*, *Wekadios*? [Cf. *Ἐργάδιος*, *Φηκαδαριος* (Bocot.) Schwyzer, *Dial.* 452, 5.]  
*we-ke-i-jo*, PY Jn937 (joined). *Ekheion*? [Cf. *Ἐχίων*.]  
*we-ro-ta*, PY An15. *Welōds*? [= *ελώτης*? (Bonnacq *\*ἐλῶν*).]  
*we-te-re-u*, PY 142 = Es632+, 115 = En03, 116 = En659, 121 = Eo04, Ep03. *Westreus*? (Possibly a title).  
*we-we-si-jo*, KN L 634, 70 = Dg1158+, PY 255 = Jn658+. *Wetansios*? Palmer: *Wetansios*. [Cf. *Εἰρεσιώνη*.]  
*we-we-si-jo-jo*, KN 68 = De1648+. Gen. -*aios*.  
*wi-da-jo*, KN V 60. *Widaios*. [*Ἰδαίος*.]  
*wi-da-ma-ta*, KN Ap639, L 1568. Fem.  
*wi-do-wo-i-jo*, PY Ad17, An24. *Widawois*. [Cf. *Ἰδῶις*, Lacon. *βιδῶις*, Messen. *βιδῶις*.]  
*wi-du-wo-i-jo*, PY Jn08. Alternative spelling of the preceding.  
*wi-wo-wo-i-jo*, PY Ep03. Erroneous spelling?  
*wi-da-ro*, KN B 799. [Cf. *Ἰδῶρος* name of a river.]  
*wi-du-wa-ko*, PY 253 = Jn01.  
*wi-ja-ma-ro*, KN Da1378, 38 = As1516.  
*wi-ja-na-tu*, KN Ap769. Fem.

*wi-ja-ni-jo*, PY Jn03. [Cf. *Ἰάννης*.]  
*wi-ja-te-wo*, PY Jn03. Gen.  
*wi-ja-te-we*, PY Cn11+. Dat.  
*wi-jo-go-tu*, KN Db1305. *Wioq\*ekia*? [*Ἰοβάτης*.]  
*wi-jo-ro-jo*, PY Jn725. [Cf. *Ἰόλαος*.]  
*wi-na-jo*, KN 232 = K 875, Fh1059, Da1197+. Gen.  
*wi-pl-no-o*, KN V 958. *Wiphinai*. [*Ἰφίνοος* *Il.* vii, 14.]  
*wi-pl-o*, KN X 5103. *Wiphion*. [*Ἰφίων*.]  
*wi-ra-ne-to*, KN 38 = As1516.  
*wi-ri-ja-no*, PY Ea06. *Wriamus*. [*Ῥιανός*.]  
*wi-ro*, KN 38 = As1516. *Wrios* or *Wrios*. [*Ῥίος* *Il.* xx, 232; *Ῥίος* *Od.* xvi, 1.]  
*wi-tu-ri-jo*, KN X 770. *Witulos*? [Cf. *Ῥιτύλος* *Od.* xix, 522.]  
*wo-di-je-ja*, KN Ap639, PY Vn1191. Fem.  
*wo-di-jo*, KN V 60, PY Jn02.  
*wo-ki-to*, PY 61 = Cn04.  
*wo-ne-wa*, PY 58 = An654. *Wainewda*?  
*wo-ro-ko-jo*, PY Sa763. Gen.: *Wroikio*? [but cf. *ro-i-ko* in Vocabulary].  
*wo-ro-ti-ja*, PY Es728, [168 = Es644]. *Worthias*?  
*wo-ro-ti-ja-o*, PY 167 = Es650. Gen.  
*wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jo*, PY 60 = An661. [Cf. place-name *Ῥθουπία*?]  
*wo-tu-ko*, PY Xn03. *Wertugon*. [*Ὀρτύγων*; cf. *γόρτυξ* Hesych.]  
*wo-wi-ja-ta*, PY An25, 255 = Jn658+.

*za-ku-si-jo*, MY Oe122. *Zakunsios*. [Cf. ethnic *Ζακύνθιος*; *Ζακύνθος* *Il.* ii, 634; cf. *za-ku-si-jo* in list of Pylos place-names.]  
*ze-mi<sup>2</sup>-ro*, PY Ea18. Palmer: *Zephuros*.  
*zō-wi-jo*, KN V 1523, PY Cn14. Nom. and dat.: *Ζῶνιος*, -*ῶι*?

## NAMES WITH UNTRANSCRIBED INITIALS

*\*18-to-no*, KN Ap639. Fem.  
*\*85-ja-to*, MY 46 = An102.

*\*85-ke-wa*, PY An16, 258 = Kn01, 235 = Ta711.  
*\*85-ta-mo*, PY 255 = Jn658+.

## NAMES WITH MISSING INITIALS

*]-ke-se-ra-wo*, see *de-ke-se-ra-wo*.  
*]-mo-ke-re-we-i*, see *da-mo-ke-re-we-i*.  
*]-pi-ge-ra-wo*, see *e-pi-ge-ra-wo*.

*]-re-qa-no*, see *pe-re-qa-no*.  
*]-ru-po-to-re-mo-ja*, see *e-u-tu-po-to-re-mo-ja*.  
*]-sa-do-ro-jo*, see *ke-sa-do-ro-jo*.

## NAMES OF OXEN

The following names are given to yokes of oxen on Knossos tablets. They were first identified and interpreted by Furumark (1954, pp. 28-9), who, however, took the ideogram to mean HORSE, not OX (see p. 105).

*ai-wo-ro*, KN Ch896, [X 5754 (?). *Aiwolos*. [Cf. *Αἰώλος* *Od.* x, 2.]  
*ke-ra-no*, KN 85 = Ch896. *Kelainos*.  
*ko-so-u-to*, KN Ch900. *Xouthas*. [Cf. *ko-so-u-to* in Index of Personal Names.]  
*po-da-ko*, KN Ch899, Ch1029, [Ch5728]. *Pod-*

*argos*. [*Πόδαργος* name of two horses *Il.* viii, 185, xxi, 295.]  
*to-ma-ko*, KN Ch897, Ch898, Ch1015. *Stomargos*.  
*wo-no-qa-ro*, KN Ch897, Ch1015. *Wuinog<sup>2</sup>*. [*Ὀῖνοψ* as man's name *Od.* xxi, 144; cf. *βὸς οἶνοψ* *Il.* xii, 703+.]



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This does not pretend to be an exhaustive list on the subject of Aegean archaeology, linguistics and script, but includes all books and articles quoted in the text, as well as other reference works which have proved useful to us. For extensive bibliographies which include earlier less productive attempts at decipherment see Anstock-Darga and Deroy. With few exceptions works are referred to in the text simply by their author and by the date or other identification printed in brackets below.

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## TABLET CONCORDANCES

Concordance A lists the tablets quoted in this book in serial order with their numbers in the original publication by Evans and Bennett. Concordance B is the reverse of this list, with the tablets in the order of publication and with the dates of excavation. References in round brackets are to tablets which have since been joined or reclassified under another number. Evans' numbers have now been labelled on the originals in Iraklion by Bennett in addition to the Museum's own register numbers. While this book was in the press Bennett republished the 1939 Pylos tablets in a completely revised numbering, corresponding to the original dig inventory numbers. In Concordances A and B these numbers have been added where appropriate in *square* brackets. Concordance C consists of a list derived from *PT II*, pp. xvii-xx, of all the 1939 Pylos tablets in their new serial order irrespective of prefix, with the old number in *round* brackets; the first number, in *heavy* type, is that given to the tablet in this book.

### TABLET CONCORDANCE A

Ch. vi:		Pylos:	26 = An02	[292]	
Lists of personnel			27 = Ae08	[303]	
			28 = An42	[607]	
Pylos:	1 = Aa01	[62]			
	2 = Aa815		Knossos:	29 = As821	
	3 = Ad694				
	4 = Aa04	[240]	Pylos:	30 = Ae03	[264]
	5 = As792			31 = Ae04	[134]
	6 = Ab02	[379]		32 = Ae05	[108]
	7 = Aa717			33 = Ae07	[26]
	8 = Ad670				
	9 = Ab27	[533]	Knossos:	34 = Am601	
	10 = Ad676			35 = Am819	
	11 = Ad690			36 = B 817	
	12 = Ad671			37 = B 823	
	13 = Ad691			38 = As1516	
	14 = Ad697			39 = As1517	
	15 = Ad684				
	16 = Ad686		Pylos:	40 = An22	[261]
Knossos:	17 = Ai739			41 = An14	[35]
	18 = Ak611			42 = An17	[37]
	19 = Ak627			43 = Sn01	[64]
	20 = Ak824			44 = An29	[218]
	21 = Ak624			45 = An830	
	22 = Ak781				
	23 = Ag1654		Mykenae:	46 = Au102	
	24 = Ai63				
	25 = Ap694		Knossos:	47 = Am826	
				48 = B 101	



# TABLET CONCORDANCES

PYLOS:	49 = An07	[427]	KNOSSOS:	94 = F 841	
	50 = An18	[39]		95 = F 852	
	51 = An20	[18]	PYLOS:	96 = Un02	[138]
	52 = An26	[207]		97 = Un03	[2]
	53 = An12	[1]	KNOSSOS:	98 = Ga415	
	54 = An19	[610]		99 = Ga418	
	55 = An724			100 = Og424	
	56 = An657			101 = Ga675	
	57 = An43	[519]		102 = Ga517	
	58 = An654		PYLOS:	103 = Un08	[267]
	59 = An656			104 = Un09	[249]
	60 = An661		MYCENAE:	105 = Ge602	
Ch. vii:				106 = Ge603	
Livestock and agricultural produce				107 = Ge604	
PYLOS:	61 = Cn04	[131]	Ch. viii:		
	62 = Cn655		Land ownership and land use		
	63 = Cc660		PYLOS:	108 = Ea817	
KNOSSOS:	64 = Da1221			109 = Ea782	
	65 = Db1232			110 = Ea800	
	66 = Dc1129			111 = Ea23	[71]
	67 = Dd1171			112 = Ea825	
	68 = De1648			113 = Ea824	
	69 = Df1119			114 = En02	[609]
	70 = Dg1158			115 = En03	[74]
	71 = Dk1072			116 = En659	
	72 = Dk1074			117 = En01	[467]
	73 = Dl943			118 = Eo01	[211]
	74 = Dl1061			119 = Eo02	[224]
PYLOS:	75 = Cn02	[608]		120 = Eo03	[276]
	76 = Cn22	[3]		121 = Eo04	[247]
	77 = Cn23	[418]		122 = Eo05	[160]
KNOSSOS:	78 = C 914			123 = Eo06	[444]
	79 = Dn1094			124 = Eo351	
	80 = C 913			125 = Eo471	
	81 = Dm1180			126 = Eo281	
	82 = Ca895			127 = Eo269	
	83 = Ch902			128 = Eo278	
	84 = C 59			129 = Eo268	
	85 = Ch896			130 = Eo371	
	86 = Co907			131 = Ep01	[301]
	87 = E 668			132 = Eb818	
	88 = E 749			133 = Eb08	[846]
	89 = E 777			134 = Eb895	
	90 = G 820			135 = Ep704	
PYLOS:	91 = Fo02	[50]		136 = Eb31	[294]
KNOSSOS:	92 = Fh349			137 = Eb30	[416]
				138 = Eb10	[409]
MYCENAE:	93 = Fo101			139 = Eb21	[321]
				140 = Eb35	[297]



## PYLOS: (cont.)

141 = Eb20 [338]  
 142 = Eb32 [317]

143 = Ep705  
 144 = Eb866  
 145 = Ea05 [259]  
 146 = Eb34 [473]  
 147 = Eq03 [59]  
 148 = Ep04 [617]  
 149 = Eb33 [236]  
 150 = Ec07 [411]  
 151 = Eb36 [901]

152 = Er01 [312]  
 153 = Er02 [890]  
 154 = Eq01 [213]

## KNOSSOS:

155 = Uf981  
 156 = Uf1031  
 157 = Uf835  
 158 = Uf836  
 159 = Uf990  
 160 = Uf970  
 161 = Uf839  
 162 = Uf983  
 163 = X 984

164 = Gv863  
 165 = Gv862  
 166 = Gv864

## Ch. ix:

Proportional tribute  
 and ritual offerings

## PYLOS:

167 = Ea650  
 168 = Ea644  
 169 = Ea646  
 170 = Ea649

171 = Un718  
 172 = Kn02 [Tn316]

173 = Ma06 [222]  
 174 = Ma08 [346]  
 175 = Ma10 [303]  
 176 = Ma12 [123]  
 177 = Ma02 [190]  
 178 = Ma13 [365]  
 179 = Ma09 [193]  
 180 = Ma01 [225]  
 181 = Ma14 [378]  
 182 = Ma18 [126]

183 = Nn831  
 184 = Nn01 [228]  
 185 = Na32 [419]  
 186 = Na46 [543]

187 = Na49 [514]

188 = Na928  
 189 = Na65 [568]  
 190 = Na55 [395]  
 191 = Na56 [248]  
 192 = Na50 [252]  
 193 = Na57 [520]  
 194 = Na58 [334]  
 195 = Na67 [245]  
 196 = Na70 [926]  
 197 = Na69 [1088]  
 198 = Ng02 [319]  
 199 = Ng01 [332]

## KNOSSOS:

200 = Fp1  
 201 = Fp14  
 202 = Fp13

203 = F 953 + 955  
 204 = Gg704  
 205 = Gg702  
 206 = Gg705  
 207 = V 280  
 208 = V 52

## Ch. x:

Textiles, vessels  
 and furniture

## KNOSSOS:

209 = Lc525  
 210 = Lc526  
 211 = Lc532  
 212 = Lc535  
 213 = L 641  
 214 = Ld571  
 215 = Ld573  
 216 = Ld871  
 217 = L 587  
 218 = L 598  
 219 = L 594  
 220 = L 870  
 221 = L 647  
 222 = J 693  
 223 = L 471  
 224 = L 474  
 225 = L 520

## MYCENAE:

226 = Oe129  
 227 = Oe127  
 228 = Oe111

## KNOSSOS:

229 = K 434  
 230 = K 740  
 231 = K 872  
 232 = K 875  
 233 = Uc160 rev.

MYCENAE: 234 = Uc611 rev.



# TABLET CONCORDANCES

## Pylos: (cont.)

235 = Ta711  
236 = Ta641  
237 = Ta709  
238 = Tn996  
239 = Ta642  
240 = Ta713  
241 = Ta715  
242 = Ta707  
243 = Ta708  
244 = Ta714  
245 = Ta721  
246 = Ta722  
247 = Ta716

248 = Va01 [15]  
249 = Va02 [402]  
250 = Vn01 [20]  
251 = Vn02 [46]  
252 = Vn06 [10]

## Ch. xi:

Metals and  
military equipment

Pylos: 253 = Jn01 [310]  
254 = Jn04 [389]  
255 = Jn658  
256 = Ja749  
257 = Jn09 [829]  
258 = Kn01 [Jo438]

Knossos: 259 = Og1527  
260 = Og0467

261 = Ra1540  
262 = Ra1548  
263 = R 0481 *bia*  
264 = Wa1704

265 = Sd0403  
266 = Sd0401  
267 = Sd0409  
268 = Sd0413  
269 = Sd0404  
270 = Sd0402  
271 = Sd0422  
272 = Sf0421  
273 = Sf0420  
274 = Sf0428  
275 = Se879  
276 = Se1006  
277 = Se1028

278 = So894  
279 = So0437  
280 = So0439  
281 = So0440  
282 = So0490  
283 = So0442

Pylos: 284 = Sa01 [488]  
285 = Sa02 [487]  
286 = Sa787  
287 = Sa793  
288 = Sa790  
289 = Sa682  
290 = Sa03 [287]  
291 = Sa794

292 = Sh740  
293 = Sh737  
294 = Sh733  
295 = Sh734  
296 = Sh736

Knossos: 297 = Sc222  
298 = Sc226  
299 = V 789  
300 = G 5670

# TABLET CONCORDANCE B

Knossos  
1900-03: 200 = Fp 1  
202 = Fp 13  
201 = Fp 14  
201 = (27)  
201 = (28)  
208 = V 52  
84 = C 59  
24 = Ai 63  
48 = B 101  
233 = Uc 160 rev.  
297 = Sc 222  
298 = Sc 226  
207 = V 280

92 = Fh 349  
98 = Ga 415  
99 = Ga 418  
100 = Og 424  
229 = K 434  
223 = L 471  
224 = L 474  
102 = Ga 517  
225 = L 520  
209 = Lc 525  
210 = Lc 526  
211 = Lc 532  
212 = Lc 535  
212 = (538)  
211 = (554)



## DOCUMENTS IN MYCENAEAN GREEK

Knossos: (cont.)

		163=X	984
214=Ld	571	159=Uf	990
215=Ld	573	276=Se	1006
217=L	587	277=Se	1028
217=(589)		156=Uf	1031
219=L	594	276=(1042)	
217=(596)		74=Dl	1061
218=L	598	71=Dk	1072
34=Am	601	72=Dk	1074
18=Ak	611	79=Dn	1094
21=Ak	624	69=Df	1119
19=Ak	627	66=Dc	1129
213=L	641	70=Dg	1158
221=L	647	67=DD	1171
87=E	668	81=Dm	1180
101=Ga	675	64=Da	1221
222=J	693	65=Db	1232
25=Ap	694	79=(1311)	
205=Cg	702	38=As	1516
204=Cg	704	39=As	1517
206=Cg	705	259=Og	1527
17=Ai	739	261=Ra	1540
230=K	740	262=Ra	1548
88=E	749	68=Dc	1648
89=E	777	23=Ag	1654
22=Ak	781	264=Ws	1704
299=V	789	221=(M 12)	
36=B	817		
35=Am	819	1904:	266=Sd 0401
90=G	820		270=Sd 0402
29=As	821		265=Sd 0403
37=B	823		269=Sd 0404
20=Ak	824		267=Sd 0409
47=Am	826		268=Sd 0413
157=Uf	835		273=Sf 0420
158=Uf	836		272=Sf 0421
161=Uf	839		271=Sf 0422
94=F	841		274=Sf 0428
95=F	852		282=So 0430
165=Gv	862		279=So 0437
164=Gv	863		280=So 0439
166=Gv	864		281=So 0440
94=(867)			283=So 0442
220=L	870		260=Og 0467
216=Ld	871		267=(0481)
231=K	872		263=R 0481 bis
232=K	875		
275=Se	879	Fragments:	300=G 5670
278=So	894		221=(5943)
82=Ca	895		221=(5974)
85=Ch	896		
83=Ch	902		
86=Co	907		
80=C	913		
78=C	914		
73=Dl	943		
203=F	953		
203=(955)			
160=Uf	970		
155=Uf	981		
162=Uf	983		
		PYLOS	
		1939:	1=Aa01 [6 4=Aa04 [24
		1952:	7=Aa717 5=Aa792 2=AaB15



# TABLET CONCORDANCES

PYLOS: (cont.)			1939:	133 = Eb08	[846]
1939:	6 = Ab02	[379]		138 = Eb10	[409]
	9 = Ab27	[553]		139 = (Eb14)	[Eb321]
				141 = Eb20	[338]
1952:	8 = Ad670			139 = Eb21	[321]
	12 = Ad671			127 = (Eb26)	[Ea269]
	10 = Ad676			137 = Eb30	[416]
	15 = Ad684			136 = Eb31	[294]
	16 = Ad686			142 = Eb32	[317]
	11 = Ad690			149 = Eb33	[236]
	13 = Ad691			146 = Eb34	[473]
	3 = Ad694			140 = Eb35	[297]
	14 = Ad697			151 = Eb36	[901]
1939:	30 = Ae03	[264]	1952:	132 = Eb818	
	31 = Ae04	[134]		144 = Eb866	
	32 = Ae05	[108]		134 = Eb895	
	33 = Ae07	[26]	1939:	124 = (Ec02)	[Ea351]
	27 = Ae08	[303]		125 = (Ec03)	[Ea471]
1939:	26 = An02	[292]		126 = (Ec04)	[Ea281]
	49 = An07	[427]		150 = Ec07	[411]
	53 = An12	[1]	1939:	117 = En01	[467]
	41 = An14	[35]		114 = En02	[609]
	42 = An17	[37]		115 = En03	[74]
	50 = An18	[39]	1952:	116 = En659	
	54 = An19	[610]	1939:	118 = Ea01	[211]
	51 = An20	[18]		119 = Ea02	[224]
	40 = An22	[261]		120 = Ea03	[276]
	52 = An26	[207]		121 = Ea04	[247]
	44 = An29	[218]		122 = Ea05	[169]
	55 = (An32)	[724]		123 = Ea06	[444]
	28 = An42	[607]	1939:	129 = Ea268	
	57 = An43	[519]	(reclassified)	127 = Ea269	
1952:	58 = An654			128 = Ea278	
	59 = An656			126 = Ea281	
	56 = An657			124 = Ea331	
	60 = An661			130 = Ea371	
	55 = An724			125 = Ea471	
	45 = An830		1939:	131 = Ep01	[301]
1952:	63 = Ce660			148 = Ep04	[617]
1939:	75 = Cn02	[608]	1952:	135 = Ep704	
	61 = Cn04	[131]		143 = Ep705	
	76 = Cn22	[3]	1939:	154 = Ea01	[213]
	77 = Cn23	[418]		147 = Ea03	[59]
1952:	62 = Cn655		1939:	152 = Er01	[312]
1939:	145 = Ea05	[259]		153 = Er02	[680]
	129 = (Ea20)	[Ea268]	1952:	168 = Ea644	
	132 = (Ea21)	[Eb818]		169 = Ea646	
	111 = Ea23	[71]		170 = Ea649	
	130 = (Ea24)	[Ea371]		167 = Ea650	
1952:	109 = Ea782				
	110 = Ea800				
	108 = Ea817				
	113 = Ea824				
	112 = Ea825				



## DOCUMENTS IN MYCENAEAN GREEK

PYLOS: (cont.)			288 = Sa790		
1939:	91 = Fn02	[50]	287 = Sa793		
			291 = Sa794		
1952:	256 = Ja749				
1939:	253 = Jn01	[310]	294 = Sh753		
	254 = Jn04	[389]	295 = Sh734		
	257 = Jn09	[829]	296 = Sh736		
			293 = Sh737		
			292 = Sh740		
1952:	255 = Jn658				
1939:	258 = Kn01	[Jo438]	1939:	43 = Sn01	[64]
	172 = Kn02	[Tn316]	1952:	236 = Ta641	
1939:	180 = Ma01	[225]		239 = Ta642	
	177 = Ma02	[90]		242 = Ta707	
	173 = Ma06	[222]		243 = Ta708	
	174 = Ma08	[346]		237 = Ta709	
	179 = Ma09	[193]		235 = Ta711	
	175 = Ma10	[393]		240 = Ta713	
	176 = Ma12	[123]		244 = Ta714	
	178 = Ma13	[365]		241 = Ta715	
	181 = Ma14	[378]		247 = Ta716	
	182 = Ma18	[126]		245 = Ta721	
				246 = Ta722	
1939:	185 = Na32	[419]	1953:	238 = Tn996	
	186 = Na46	[543]	1939:	96 = Un02	[138]
	187 = Na49	[514]		97 = Un03	[2]
	192 = Na50	[252]		103 = Un08	[267]
	190 = Na55	[395]		104 = Un09	[249]
	191 = Na56	[248]			
	193 = Na57	[520]	1952:	171 = Un718	
	194 = Na58	[334]	1939:	248 = Va01	[15]
	189 = Na65	[568]		249 = Va02	[482]
	195 = Na67	[245]			
	197 = Na69	[1088]	1939:	250 = Vn01	[20]
	196 = Na70	[926]		251 = Vn02	[46]
1952:	188 = Na928			252 = Vn06	[10]
1939:	199 = Ng01	[332]			
	198 = Ng02	[319]			
1939:	184 = Nn01	[228]			
	183 = (Nn02)	[Nn831]	1952:	93 = Fo101	
1952:	183 = Nn831			46 = Au102	
1939:	284 = Sa01	[488]		228 = Oe111	
	285 = Sa02	[487]		227 = Oe127	
	290 = Sa03	[287]		228 = (136)	
1952:	289 = Sa682		1954:	105 = Ge502	
	286 = Sa787			106 = Ge603	
				107 = Ge604	
				234 = Ue611 rev.	



# TABLET CONCORDANCES

## TABLET CONCORDANCE C

53 = An1 (12)	Aa85 (08)	Xa191 (32)
97 = Un2 (03)	Aa89 (03)	An192 (16)
76 = Cn3 (22)	177 = Ma90 (02)	179 = Ma193 (09)
Cn4 (09)	Aa93 (10)	Ab194 (30)
An5 (24)	Aa94 (07)	Na195 (77)
Un6 (06)	Aa95 (09)	Na197 (59)
An7 (30)	Aa96 (19)	Xa198 (33)
Ae8 (02)	Aa98 (13)	An199 (01)
Ua9 (01)	An101 (06)	Xb200 (02)
252 = Vn10 (06)	Xa102 (06)	Cn201 (24)
Mn11 (03)	Na103 (75)	Cn202 (05)
Xn14 (39)	Na104 (Xb04)	52 = An207 (26)
248 = Va15 (01)	Na105 (18)	Ea208 (04)
Fa16 (01)	Na106 (51)	An209 (13)
Ua17 (02)	Ea107 (27)	Ab210 (03)
51 = An18 (20)	32 = Ae108 (05)	118 = Eo211 (01)
Vn19 (05)	Ea109 (08)	Ep212 (02)
250 = Vn20 (01)	Ae110 (09)	154 = Eq213 (01)
Sa22 (04)	Xc113 (01)	Ma216 (16)
Ua25 (03)	Wa114 (01)	Ab217 (26)
33 = Ae26 (07)	An115 (39)	44 = An218 (29)
Ae27 (10)	Ma120 (03)	Un219 (11)
Ea28 (14)	176 = Ma123 (12)	Ma221 (04)
Ea29 (16)	Ma124 (05)	173 = Ma222 (06)
Pn30 (01)	182 = Ma126 (18)	119 = Eo224 (02)
Xn31 (40)	An128 (31)	180 = Ma225 (01)
Xn34 (41)	An129 (15)	184 = Nn228 (01)
41 = An35 (14)	Vn130 (04)	An233 (10)
42 = An37 (17)	61 = Cn131 (04)	149 = Eb236 (33)
50 = An39 (18)	Ea132 (09)	4 = Aa240 (04)
Cn40 (14)	31 = Ae134 (04)	Xn244 (16)
Fa41 (05)	Ea136 (03)	195 = Na245 (67)
Cn45 (13)	Xa137 (02)	Na246 (16)
251 = Vn46 (02)	96 = Un138 (02)	121 = Eo247 (04)
Un47 (04)	Ad142 (02)	191 = Na248 (56)
Vn48 (07)	Eq146 (02)	104 = Un249 (09)
Pa49 (02)	Eb149 (37)	Xn250 (95)
91 = Fn50 (02)	Eb152 (11)	192 = Na252 (50)
Ea52 (06)	Cn155 (26)	Fg253 (03)
Pa53 (01)	Eb156 (24)	Cn254 (Xn15, 89)
Ea56 (18)	Ec157 (06)	Ea258 (07)
Ea57 (02)	Ua158 (04)	145 = Ea259 (05)
Xa58 (03)	Eb159 (22)	An261 (Xn14)
147 = Eq59 (03)	122 = Eo160 (05)	Na262 (06)
Aa60 (06)	Mn162 (02)	30 = Ae264 (03)
An61 (15)	Xa167 (37)	103 = Un267 (08)
1 = Aa62 (01)	Eb169 (43)	129 = Eo268 (Ea20)
Aa63 (12)	An172 (25, 40)	127 = Eo269 (Eb26)
43 = Sn64 (01)	Eo173 (Ec05)	Ea270 (12)
Na66 (64)	Xb176 (01)	Cn272 (25)
Na69 (68)	Eb177 (25)	120 = Eo276 (03)
Xa70 (07)	Na184 (30)	Ab277 (01)
111 = Ea71 (23)	Na185 (66)	Eo278 (Eb01)
Ae72 (01)	Ab186 (17)	Xn279 (46)
115 = En74 (03)	Fa187 (01)	126 = Eo281 (Ec04)
Aa76 (11)	Ab189 (12)	An283 (Xn47)
Fa79 (06)	Ab190 (14)	Na284 (60)



Cn285 (07)	52 = An360 (26)	123 = Eo444 (06)
Cn286 (Xb03)	Na361 (03)	Xn449 (60)
290 = Sa287 (03)	Wa362 (07)	Cn453 (16)
Xa289 (35)	Eb364 (Xb08)	Mn456 (01)
Ad290 (04)	178 = Ma365 (13)	Ea460 (15)
26 = An292 (02)	Eb366 (42)	Xn463 (Xa36)
136 = Eb294 (31)	Fg368 (01)	Eb464 (27)
Ad295 (06)	Eb369 (09)	Na466 (37)
Na296 (01)	130 = Eo371 (Ea24)	117 = En467 (01)
140 = Eb297 (35)	Ab372 (07)	Ab468 (40)
An298 (08)	Fg374 (02)	125 = Eo471 (Eb45)
An299 (05)	On375 (03)	Eb472 (07)
On300 (01)	Eb377 (03)	146 = Eb473 (34)
131 = Ep301 (01)	181 = Ma378 (14)	Eb477 (06)
27 = Ae303 (08)	6 = Ab379 (02)	Jn478 (05)
Ea304 (01)	Ad380 (09)	Ea480 (10)
Ea305 (11)	Ab382 (28)	Ec481 (01)
Ad308 (05)	Na384 (07)	249 = Va482 (02)
Ea309 (28)	Ab388 (06)	Sa483 (05)
253 = Jn310 (01)	254 = Jn389 (04)	Cn485 (Xn06)
152 = Er312 (01)	Ad390 (13)	285 = Sa487 (02)
Aa313 (05)	175 = Ma393 (10)	284 = Sa488 (01)
Cn314 (21, Eb21b, Xn20)	Na394 (Xa11)	Ae489 (06)
Ad315 (08)	190 = Na395 (55)	Xn490 (63)
172 = Tn316 (Kn02)	Na396 (45)	Cn491 (08a)
142 = Eb317 (32)	Ma397 (17)	Vn493 (03)
Ad318 (20)	Ae398 (Ad15)	Eb495 (40)
198 = Ng319 (02)	Xa400 (13)	Eb496 (05)
Jn320 (06)	Wa401 (06)	Eb498 (28)
139 = Eb321 (21a)	Na405 (47)	Eb499 (13)
Na322 (05)	Na406 (72)	Eb501 (04)
Fn324 (03)	Xb407 (06)	Eb502 (12)
Ea325 (17)	138 = Eb409 (10)	Xn503 (26)
Ad326 (03)	Jn410 (Xb07)	Na504 (44)
139 = Eb327 (14)	150 = Ec411 (07)	Aa506 (14)
Cn328 (05)	Xa412 (09)	Na507 (31)
Na329 (30)	Jn413 (07)	Na512 (22)
Ma330 (15)	Jn415 (08)	Na513 (08)
199 = Ng332 (01)	137 = Eb416 (30, 44)	187 = Na514 (49)
Ma333 (07)	Ab417 (11)	Ab515 (10)
194 = Na334 (58)	77 = Cn418 (23)	Na516 (48)
Ma335 (11)	185 = Na419 (32)	57 = An519 (43)
Ea336 (13)	Ad420 (10)	193 = Na520 (57)
Na337 (04)	Ea421 (25)	Na522 (24)
141 = Eb338 (20)	An424 (09)	Na523 (33)
Eb339 (17)	Na425 (52)	Xa525 (38)
An340 (21)	49 = An427 (07)	Ma526 (07)
Na342 (80)	Cn428 (01, Xa51)	Na527 (73)
Xa343 (01)	Jn431 (03)	Na529 (62)
Ae344 (Ad17)	Xn432 (Xa08)	Na530 (17)
Na345 (61)	Jn433 (03)	Na531 (15)
174 = Ma346 (08)	Un434 (Xn07)	Na532 (23)
Eb347 (29)	An435 (Xn52)	Na533 (25)
124 = Eo351 (Ec02)	Cn436 (08)	Eb534 (19)
Un352 (10)	Cn437 (17)	Na537 (74)
Aa354 (02)	258 = Jo438 (Kn01)	Ep539 (03)
Ab355 (05)	Ea439 (19)	Na540 (10)
Ab356 (18)	Cn440 (30)	Na541 (Xa41)
Ad357 (01)	Co441 (32)	Xb542 (10)
Xn358 (10)	Xn442 (57)	186 = Na543 (46)
	Un443 (01)	Na544 (40)



# TABLET CONCORDANCES

Na547 (09)	Ab746 (41)	Ea1042 (26)
Na549 (36)	An762 (20)	Na1044 (12)
Na551 (27)	Ab789 (31)	Eb1047 (41)
9 = Ab553 (27)	Aa798 (17)	Ma1048 (19)
Ab554 (04)	132 = Eb818 (Ea21, 32)	Ab1049 (37)
Ab555 (09)	257 = Jn829 (09)	Ab1050 (35)
Ab556 (19)	An830 (Xn04)	Na1053 (35)
Ab559 (34)	183 = Nn831 (02, 03)	Na1054 (14)
Ab560 (20)	Cn836 (16)	Xn1055 (49)
Na561 (11)	Eb842 (Ea33)	An1060 (Cn29, Xn11, 53)
Ab562 (22)	133 = Eb846 (08)	Xn1062 (54)
Ab563 (21)	Vn851 (Xn67)	Cn1063 (18)
Ab564 (Aa16)	An852 (38)	Xn1064 (55)
Xa565 (26)	125 = Ea855 (Ec03)	Jn1065 (Xa56)
Eb566 (02)	40 = An857 (22)	Cn1066 (31)
Xa567 (23)	Eb862 (38)	Cn1069 (33)
189 = Na568 (65)	153 = Er880 (02)	Cn1071 (Xn58)
Cn570 (20)	Ae889 (Ad16, 18)	Xn1072 (59)
Na571 (12)	Eb892 (23)	On1074 (02)
Ab573 (13)	Ab899 (15)	Cn1075 (28)
Ae574 (Ad19)	151 = Eb901 (36)	Xn1076 (61)
Ab575 (08)	Eb906 (Ea37)	Xn1077 (62)
Na576 (Xa16)	Ad921 (07)	Xn1078 (65)
Na577 (29)	Ea922 (22)	Na1079 (05)
Ab578 (16)	Na923 (21, 53)	Eb1082 (Xn66)
Ab580 (39)	Na924 (71)	Eb1083 (18)
Ab581 (42)	Cn925 (03)	Xn1084 (21)
Ab582 (44)	196 = Na926 (70)	Na1085 (Xa20)
Ab584 (38)	Eb940 (39)	Na1086 (78)
Ab585 (Xa17)	Na941 (54)	Wa1087 (03)
Ab586 (25)	An943 (11)	197 = Na1088 (69)
Na588 (34)	Un998 (01)	Na1089 (43)
Xn590 (75)	Ea1000 (Xa31)	Xa1090 (Xn71)
Cn591 (01)	Pa1002 (Xa04)	Na1091 (38)
Un592 (07)	Cn1006 (Xn01)	Na1092 (39)
Xn593 (03)	Ea1007 (29)	Wa1093 (05)
An594 (04)	Wa1008 (04)	Xa1094 (21)
Cn595 (10, Xb05)	Na1009 (19)	Xn1095 (68)
Cn599 (12)	Eb1010 (25)	Xn1096 (69)
Cn600 (11)	Xn1011 (43)	Cn1097 (Xn70)
Jn601 (02)	Xn1012 (38)	Xn1098 (72)
Na604 (20)	Na1013 (76)	Ab1099 (29)
Jn605 (Xn22)	Ad1014 (11)	Ab1100 (23)
Na606 (28)	Xn1015 (19)	An1101 (Xn92)
28 = An607 (42)	Na1016 (79)	Ab1102 (32)
75 = Cn608 (02)	Ea1017 (35)	Ab1103 (45)
114 = En609 (02)	Eb1018 (Ea31)	Xn1104 (23)
54 = An610 (19)	Na1021 (Xa19)	Ab1105 (Xa28)
Un612 (05)	Ea1023 (36)	Na1106 (Ea30)
Xn613 (77)	Na1025 (63)	Xa1107 (29)
An614 (33, 34)	Xn1026 (08)	Xa1108 (24)
An615 (35)	Na1027 (02)	Ab1109 (43)
An616 (23)	Xn1028 (09)	Xa1110 (18)
148 = Ep617 (04)	Fn1031 (04)	Xn1111 (13)
Na621 (42)	An1033 (Xn48)	Ab1112 (Xn73)
Aa662 (21)	Eb1034 (15)	Ab1113 (Xa74)
Ad667 (14)	Xa1037 (14)	Xn1114 (12)
Ad696 (13)	Na1038 (13)	Ea1115 (34)
143 = Ep705 (05)	Na1039 (41)	Xn1117 (78)
55 = An724 (32)	Na1040 (26)	Xn1118 (79)
Ab745 (Aa18)	Na1041 (Xa15)	



## DOCUMENTS IN MYCENAEAN GREEK

Xn1119 (81)	Xn1129 (93)	Xn1139 (97)
148 = Ep1121 (Xn24)	Xn1130 (94)	Wal148 (02)
Xn1122 (84)	148 = Ep1131 (04)	Xn1149 (44)
Xn1123 (85)	Xn1132 (25)	Xn1150 (45)
An1124 (Xn86)	Xn1133 (32)	Xn1151 (31)
Xn1125 (87)	Xn1134 (34)	Xn1162 (02)
Xn1126 (88)	Xn1135 (35)	Xn1163 (27)
Xn1127 (90)	Xn1136 (96)	Xn1167 (64)
Xn1128 (91)		





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